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EASTERN ASIA

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THOMAS E. ENNIS, Ph.D.

Professor of History

West Virginia University

Edited by

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM

President, Wagner College

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To my father,
Charles Taft Ennis,
citizen of the world,
who introduced me to Eastern As

Preface

There are in print some good textbooks on the area we customarily call the Far East. Probably other good ones will be written in future. Yet it is a distinct pleasure to introduce the present volume, contributed by one of the ablest American historians of eastern Asia.

Professor Ennis has direct, intimate knowledge of the peoples about whom he has written—and this *is* a history of peoples, rather than of regions or governments. He knows their customs and cultures and art forms and beliefs as well as their political and economic conditions, and he makes all these clear and understandable to the Western reader.

The author has answered three basic questions about the peoples of all eastern Asia, not merely of China and Japan. He has told, in each case and for each major time period, how the particular people have made a living (economics, agriculture, and industry), how they have lived together (political, social, and diplomatic arrangements and adjustments), and what they have thought about the universe around them (cultural pursuits and religious beliefs). The whole, based in many instances on primary sources, offers an exceptionally fine picture of life in the Far East both before and after the meeting of Occident and Orient.

Many years of travel, study, teaching, and writing have gone into the making of this book. It represents a distinct contribution to the literature of an important field. May it have the cordial reception among scholars and students which it richly deserves.

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

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EASTERN ASIA

1 Political Aspects of Ancient China

THE SHANG (1766–1122? B.C.) AND CHOU DYNASTIES (1122–256 B.C.)

Chinese literature contains many references to a "Golden Age," when the country was united under the rulers Fu Hsi, the "conquerer of animals"; Shen Nung, "god of agriculture"; Hwang-ti, "the Yellow Emperor"; Yao, first of the "Model Emperors"; Shun, ideal farmer; and Yu, founder of the Hsia dynasty (2205–1766? B.C.). The Hsia period is darkened by mythical tales of Yu and of Yi, the "Great Archer," destroyer of huge beasts.

The features of the Shang or Yin dynasty (1766–1122? B.C.) also are not clear. It is known, however, that Ch'eng T'ang, founder of the dynasty, came to power in the first successful revolution recorded in Chinese history. The outstanding Shang ruler was Wu Ting (1324–1265 B.C.), who, in 1293 B.C., won battles in the "Land of the Demon," Tatary. His successors, softened by luxurious living, were weak leaders. Tyrants arose, chief among them being the last of the Shangs, Chou Hsin, who, with a cruel concubine, T'ai Chi, helped bring ruin to the state. The country fell an easy prey to the house of Chou.

The first ruler of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) was Wu Wang, who brought together some of the states into a decentralized administration and created a bulwark against the barbarian tribes. The power of the Chous was rendered precarious by incessant warfare. After years of alliances, made and broken, four new and three old states appeared. This period is named the "Age of the Seven States" (450–255 B.C.), during which time the Chou emperors held authority of a feudal character in a small portion of what is now Honan province.

The Chou dynasty, longest in Chinese history, gradually wasted away. Although weak in political bonds during most of its nine hundred years, it was strong in cultural forces. The family system, the religious ceremonies, and the philosophic concepts of Chou days remained without basic changes until the end of the monarchial system in 1912.

The administrative services instituted during the Chou period also functioned in later years. The ruler (*T'ien-tzu*) was assisted by a prime minister (*Ta-ts'ai*) who had supervision of the divisions of government and was in direct charge of the first of these branches, the Board of

"Heaven" (*T'ien-kuan*). This organization possessed general control over all governmental matters, named all officials, and supervised the food, dress, and activities of the ruler and the feudal lords. The Board of "Earth" (*Ti-kuan*), comparable to the modern Department of Public Welfare, served as a bureau of agriculture and also conducted marriage ceremonies. The censors worked in this department. The Board of "Spring" (*Ch'un-kuan*) regulated all secular and religious ceremonies and rites, and it had charge of the calendar and astronomical observations. The Board of "Summer" (*Hsia-kuan*), which later became the Department of War, trained and equipped troops. The Board of "Autumn" (*Ch'iu-kuan*) administered law and meted out justice. This board was known as the Department of Justice by later dynasties. The Board of "Winter" (*Tung-kuan*) supervised all public works.

THE CH'IN DYNASTY (256–207 B.C.)

The bringing of the warring states under a single rule was accomplished in 221 B.C. through the efforts of Prince Cheng, who, by astute dealings, played the feudal lords against one another and conquered them. After these victories, the prince called himself Shih Huang Ti (Emperor Shih) or "First Emperor" and named the dynasty the Ch'in after his native state.

Shih Huang Ti expanded his domains as far east as the Yellow Sea and along the coast of Cochin China, west into the province of Szechuan, and south into the valley of the Yangtze. Several able administrators aided in the consolidation of power, especially the prime minister, Li Ssŭ. He suggested and the emperor decreed that all literature, with the exception of works dealing with agriculture, medicine, and divination, be destroyed. The books spared were placed in the imperial libraries where anyone receiving permission might consult them. Standardization was carried beyond literature. A uniform system of weights and measures was introduced. A new script was made. The state in this manner sought to control all thought and enterprise within the land.

In order to defend his realm, Shih Huang Ti constructed the Great Wall across the northern frontier. Using the crude earthworks thrown up by the states of the north as a foundation, the barrier was built, 1,500 miles in length, 40 to 50 feet high, with turrets and gateways and towers every few miles. The wall served as a defense when the government was strong, but the lure of lush southern plains attracted the northern nomads who were not stopped by stones from invading the regions held by dying regimes.

The Ch'in dynasty was distinguished by the history of this one man, Shih Huang Ti, conqueror of distant regions, builder of many splendid palaces, and first unifier of China.

THE HAN DYNASTY (206 B.C.–A.D. 214), THE "THREE KINGDOMS" (A.D. 221–265), AND THE "PERIOD OF DARKNESS" (A.D. 266–589)

Liu Pang founder of the Earlier or Western Han dynasty, in 206 B.C., who became the Emperor Kao Tsu, was a general and guardian of the grandson of Shih Huang Ti. Unlettered and without family backing he gained power. During his years of rule the state was prosperous. The granaries were filled. Meat and wine were plentiful.

Wang Mang, one of the most fascinating emperors in Chinese history, appeared in the Han period. Wang Mang (d. A.D. 22) was the first Chinese who attempted to create a socialistic state. He confiscated land and ordered that a family with fewer than eight members holding more than a specified amount should farm out the excess acres to needy relatives or neighbors. Salt, wine, iron, woodland, waterways, copper-smelting, and the currency were made state monopolies. These drastic changes made little headway. Wang Mang was opposed by the rich who viewed with anger the destruction of their vested interests. Hatred grew against the emperor. His capital was burned, and his head, shown on the city wall, was stoned. The learned and frugal Wang Mang has been condemned by some Chinese historians. Others view him as a great idealist who failed to accomplish what he believed to be the best for China.

The final days of the Hans were tumultuous. Liu Hsiu, a young leader claiming membership in the Han family, known as the Emperor Kuang Wu, founded the Later or Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 23–220). Kuang Wu was a ruler of ability who encouraged education and the arts but made the mistake of allowing eunuchs to occupy important court positions. The history of the dynasty until the end is the story of the rise and fall of eunuchs. They became so powerful that to be an adopted son of one of them was a certain step toward officialdom. There were cases of self-castration in order to enter their powerful company.

A movement against the eunuchs brought the Hans to ruin. The emperor was dethroned and his brother Hsien Ti proclaimed ruler (A.D. 188–220). Han authoritiy ended when Hsien Ti was imprisoned by his ambitious generals.

Next to Rome, China in these years was the greatest empire in the world. The four hundred years of this dynasty imprinted themselves so indelibly upon society that the Chinese ever since have been proud to call themselves "the sons of Han."

At the close of Han rule the capital at Loyang, Honan province, was too far removed from the western and southern parts of the empire to insure strong and efficient administration. In an age of transportation by oxcart and river boat, imperial orders often took six months to reach outlying posts. The official court language was understood by only a few. It was not long before these unfavorable conditions, intensified by the rule of

eunuchs, resulted in the appearance of three kingdoms: Wei in the north, Wu in the south, and Shu in the west. In their struggles for power these states wrecked the countryside, destroying crops and people as they marched and countermarched against each other.

In the years of the "Three Kingdoms," as this period is called, insecurity and violence were the rule. In the south, dynasty succeeded dynasty, only to be swept aside as new leaders arose. In the north, the twilight of barbarism started. The "Period of Darkness" was even more chaotic than the era of the "Three Kingdoms."

In spite of all these years of desolation the imperial concept was not buried. The northern invasions forced the Chinese to make the Yangtze region a center of stability. Here, influential families gained power and put a Chinese stamp upon all they encountered. Changes were evident in the administration. One theory has been advanced that the separation of military and civilian officials occurred at this time, owing to the fact that the non-Chinese rulers found it expedient to utilize the services of Chinese in important posts and grant the military offices to their own men. China, after passing out of the whirlpools of the "Period of Darkness," experienced relative calm during the years of Sui authority.

THE SUI DYNASTY (A.D. 589–618)

In A.D. 589, the Duke of Sui established the Sui dynasty which lasted for 29 years. This strong-willed duke, known as the Emperor Yang-chien, curbed the recalcitrant lords and allowed the farmers to cultivate the soil in peace. Order being achieved, Yang-chien selected officials for the various administrative services through the competitive examination system, thus beginning a procedure lasting until 1905. Taxes were decreased. Art was encouraged. Libraries were built. After a benign rule of 16 years Yang-chien was killed by his son, Yang-ti.

An aggressive foreign policy was undertaken by Yang-ti. Kokonor was conquered. Expeditions were sent against the Chams of Indo-China. Many of the Seljuk princes were subdued, and some of the Liu Ch'iu [Jap. Ryukyu] islanders were brought into slavery. The emperor of Japan sent an embassy to honor Yang-ti. Korea was attacked in 611 when that country refused to pay tribute.

The efforts of Yang-ti to control all within striking distance weakened his authority. Rebellions broke out. The emperor saw power disappearing yet made no efforts to maintain authority. The problem was solved for the hapless sovereign when he was assassinated. The way was cleared for the brilliant era of the T'angs.

T'ANG DYNASTY (A.D. 618–907)

The first ruler of the T'angs, Li Yüan, the aristocrat, was able to hold power for less than a decade. Conspiracies forced him to abdicate and appoint his son to the throne. The son, T'ai-tsung (A.D. 627–649), realized

that government by the sword alone never endured and sought the aid of some capable statesman. The examination system was reformed in order to obtain more efficient officials, although the emperor appointed many gifted personages to high positions regardless of their formal education. The general features, however, of governmental organization were not radically different from that of earlier days. The emperor was supreme and was assisted by a Chief Executive Secretary, a Chief Councillor, and a Chief Corresponding Secretary. Other officials included the Imperial Librarian; Chamberlain of the Household; eunuchs of various ranks; Censors; Directors of Education, Arts, Mechanics, Armories, Public Works, Worship, and State Rites; Judges of the Court of Revision; Superintendents of Agriculture; and Commissioners of Granaries.

Peaceful construction was not the sole concern of T'ai-tsung. Outlying regions were to be brought into the empire through military pressure. The Turks had been menacing the empire from the north. The Sui emperors had placated them by intermarriage, but assimilation among Turkish chieftains failed to check their encroachments. T'ai-tsung was determined to end these threats and in 630 was victorious over the Turks in Eastern Mongolia and the Khitans in South Manchuria. Tibet also was hostile to the Chinese. During the years of Chinese instability this distant land had grown strong. A military stalemate between the two countries was followed by the marriage of the king of Tibet to a daughter of T'ai-tsung. As a result of this amicable settlement, Tibet came under Chinese influence. Korea, alone of those regions within the orbit of Chinese expansion, remained unbowed in the face of attacks by T'ai-tsung's troops (645).

T'ai-tsung was one of China's greatest emperors. A wise man, tempering principles with honesty and justice, he ruled when the empire was the largest ever attained before or after his time, stretching from the Yellow Sea to the Aral Sea, from Siberia to the southern point of Farther India.

At the death of T'ai-tsung extreme luxury marked court life. One of the loveliest of all Chinese concubines, Yang Kuei-fei, dominated. The intrigues of this beauty brought the emperor to disaster and he fled the capital, leaving his charmer and her brother to suffer death at the hands of a rival faction.

The great T'ang empire soon entered its travail. Tribes appeared on the borders to harass the Chinese. The Tibetans pillaged the capital. The Nan Chao, natives of Yünnan, allied to the Tibetans, controlled Yünnan as well as portions of Szechuan and Kweichow. Famine stalked the land. Eunuchs exercised their baleful control until the end of the dynasty. Many of the local chiefs in opposition to the central government had been placated in the past by being made governors of many of the northern cities. These insatiable military officials further undermined imperial power by making alliances and building fortifications. In other parts of China disloyal soldiers hastened to carve up the moribund T'angs, until the once mighty dynasty was broken into many fragments. In this manner T'ang rule came to an ignominious death.

The T'ang dynasty is remembered chiefly for its poets and painters and

philosophers. And yet T'ang fame was known to the tribesmen of the north and the west and the peoples of Indo-China, Java, and Sumatra. T'ang prestige was recognized by the Greek emperor, Theodosius, who sent a mission in 640 to the court at Ch'angan. T'ang friendship was prized by Persians and Mohammedans. T'ang civilization was studied by the Japanese, who sent students, priests, and statesmen to gain wisdom from their great western neighbor. It can be seen why the Chinese are proud to call themselves not only the "men of Han" but also the "men of T'ang."

THE "FIVE DYNASTIES" (A.D. 907–960) AND THE SUNG DYNASTY (A.D. 960–1280)

Disorganization and strife marked the first half of the tenth century when five different states arose, centered in parts of modern Honan, Hopei, Shensi, Shansi, and Shantung. At the same time numerous petty chieftains maintained uncertain authority in other regions. The history of the "Five Dynasties" is overshadowed by the appearance of the Khitans in the north. By the end of the "Five Dynasties," the Khitans controlled Mongolia and Manchuria and exercised suzerainty over Tibet and Korea. Khitan power was so great that China became known to the west as Khitai, or Cathay, a term used in the Russian language to distinguish that area.

Chao K'uang-yin, founder of the Sung dynasty, was a soldier acclaimed emperor by his followers. After gaining the allegiance of strong factions he summoned his trusted officers who had brought him to the throne and advised them to retire from active service and be compensated by large material rewards. In this manner Chao eliminated the dangers of border governors who in the past had created separate states in defiance of imperial decrees.

The Sung period witnessed an experiment in some ways comparable to the new deal of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. Wang An-shih (1021–1086), a famous statesman, instituted several social innovations. The farmers were aided during spring sowing by a "green sprout" loan. Statute labor was abolished, and regular, fixed employment on public works was begun. A land-survey system determined the productivity of each holding in order that definite taxes could be levied. Trade was supervised and restrictions were placed upon speculations. These reforms, by traditional accounts, reduced the living costs but officialdom was opposed to the radical policies. Wang's plans were discarded, and conservatives since his day have heaped ridicule upon one who was unfortunate in being born too soon.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the empire was beset in the north by the Tanguts of the Hsi Hsia tribe and the Chins, a branch of the Tatars who lived in Manchuria. The Chins were the most persistent foes. They pressed upon the Chinese in 1142 and exacted from them payment of an annual tribute of 250,000 taels of silver, 250,000 pieces of silk, and

promises that the Sung emperors henceforth should receive all imperial titles from the Chins. For 20 years peace marked the relations between the Chins and the Chinese, only to be disrupted when the restless barbarians moved to eradicate all Sung power. The Chinese were beaten, but the Chins were unable to grasp all the fruits of victory. A new arrangement in 1165 decreased payments, fixed the boundaries as they were before the encroachment, and relieved the Sungs of being obliged to receive their titles from the Chins. A treaty in 1208 increased the silver and silk payments, which resulted in weakening the strength of the Chinese and demoralizing the Chins.

The Chins gradually had become softened by contacts with the more civilized Chinese. One Chin leader saw the consequences of assimilation and futilely decreed that Chinese manners and dress be prohibited. The last tribute was paid to the Chins in 1214; they were in no position to demand its continuance, harassed as they were by the aggressive Mongols. In desperation, the Chins requested peace with the Sungs (1222). This offer was rejected, the Chinese having turned to the Mongols for an alliance aiming at the severing of the Chin yoke. The Mongols now came to the front, helped upon the throne of the Chinese emperors by Chin pressure.

MONGOL OR YÜAN DYNASTY (1280–1368)

The early history of the Mongols is obscure. And yet, insignificant in their homeland, they were renowned in other parts of the world. If the Mamelukes in 1260 had not conquered them, most of Europe might have come under Mongolian influence. The effects of Mongolian incursions upon Asia were more permanent than those upon the West. Bagdad was razed (1258), and the organization of the Caliphate destroyed. The Mogul rule was established in India. Persia was entered. The most impressive victories were made in China.

The first Mongol to achieve fame was Temuchin ("excellent steel"), who in 1206 began his career as empire builder. Later, as leader of the Mongols, he took the title of Jenghiz Khan ("most mighty ruler"). He maneuvered as far as the Indus River. He made conquests in Eastern Turkestan, Tashkent, Nur, Bokhara, Samarkand, and Balkh. At the time of his death in 1227, Jenghiz Khan was ready to subdue the Chinese Sungs.

The four sons of Jenghiz Khan were rivals for the throne but the father had commanded that the empire be divided among them. Ogdai was made chief Khan and successor to Jenghiz. The others were given kingdoms in the west and north. The troops of Ogdai soon were on the march and moved into the territory of the Sungs. In 1241 Korea was vanquished, but China did not fall into Mongol hands until the coming of Kublai Khan, second son of Tule', brother of Ogdai.

The 35 years of Kublai's rule were among the most significant in Chinese annals. The domestic policies of Kublai Khan proved his wisdom and ability. He realized that his regime could not long endure if

the subject peoples remained hostile. Accordingly, he employed Chinese in the lower branches of the administration. Trade and commerce were encouraged. Gold brocades and silks were manufactured on a large scale. Scores of carriages and packhorses, laden with raw silk, entered the capital daily. Provisions were made for relief of the poor. Communication between the cities of the empire was made efficient by a post service of 200,000 horses and 10,000 hostels. The Grand Canal was rebuilt in order that rice could be loaded at Hangchow and be transported directly to Tientsin and then by river to the capital. The use of the Uighur characters was abolished, and in 1269 a new method of writing was decreed. A Persian, Jamāl-al-Dīn, was commissioned to construct a modern calendar. Other scholars were put to work to translate the Chinese classics and compile a history of the Mongols. Although Kublai evinced a personal preference for Buddhism, he announced a policy of religious toleration. The most notable achievement of Kublai Khan was the construction of the capital, Kambalu, the "Khan's town," near the site of modern Pei-p'ing. Marco Polo caught the grandeur and the color of the Great Khan's life in his description of the court and its surroundings.

Kublai Khan died in 1294 and left no one of ability to rule over the vast empire consolidated by his genius. Civil disputes increased. Conspiracies and violence marked the elevation of successive khans. Within 72 years there were 10 young emperors put upon the throne by crafty officials who weakened the youths by debaucheries in order to gain power for themselves. The persistent military campaigns, the extensive public works, and court extravagances had depleted the treasury. The Mongols antagonized the Chinese by refusing to give them important posts in the governmental bureaus.

The grip of the Lamas (Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhists) upon the people was a chief element in Mongol decline. The Lamas had created a powerful state within a state, plundering and murdering without interference. Whenever the Chinese attempted to curb Lamaistic exactions, drastic punishment fell upon the protestors. Criminals escaped execution by making payments to powerful Lamas, and many a Chinese evaded taxes by registering his property with a Lamasery.

The leading party opposing the Mongols was headed by Chu Yüan-chang, who came from monastic retirement to seek power. The Mongols, threatened by Tatar invasions, were unable to send troops against the insurgent. The last emperor of the Mongols fled in 1367 and died the following year. Chu Yüan-chang proclaimed himself emperor, calling his new regime the Ming or "bright" dynasty.

MING DYNASTY (1368–1644) AND CH'ING OR MANCHU DYNASTY (1644–1911)

Chu Yüan-chang, first emperor of the young dynasty, known as the Emperor Hung Wu (1368–1398), restored native standards. The Mongols

had made China part of a world empire, extending into eastern Europe. China of the thirteenth century was almost as cosmopolitan as China of the twentieth century, with all types of faces seen, and all kinds of languages spoken. Hung Wu, in contrast, shut China off from foreign influences. The Tibetan monks were cast from high positions. An imperial decree forbade the Mongol garb of boots and military dress and made compulsory the long gown and slippers of ancient China.

Hung Wu was the most energetic ruler of all the Mings. He initiated the provincial administrative system which functioned until 1911 and strengthened the civil service examination procedure. Agriculture was stimulated by the cultivation of wastelands and the extension of irrigation canals. Szechuan and Yünnan were subdued. The Mongols were defeated. Korea and Burma came under the control of the Chinese. After a quarter of a century of well-directed effort the throne was handed over to a grandson. Civil war broke out when an uncle of the young emperor plotted for power.

Between 1456 and 1627 nine incompetents reigned under the influence of eunuchs who looted the treasury and intrigued with generals. The Mongols once more menaced the settled regions. The Japanese raided the coastal villages.

A rebellion in famine-stricken and misgoverned Shensi province was the beginning of the end for the Mings. Opposition spread into other provinces. An ambitious leader, Li Tzŭ-ch'êng, rallied under his banner all hostile to the Mings, and proclaiming himself emperor set out for Peking. The last of the Mings, Ch'ung Chêng, realizing all was lost, hanged himself as the rebels advanced upon the capital. Li ensconced himself in Peking only to be attacked by a loyal Ming general who had allied himself with the Manchus, a young regime located in the Sunzari Valley. In the face of this combined force, Li retreated to his native Shensi, and the Manchus, now established in China, refused to relinquish their position. The Ming remnants moved southward, leaving Peking in the hands of the enemy. The Mings conducted futile campaigns against the Manchus. Nanking fell to the Manchus in 1645 and by 1650 all China, excepting Kweichow and Yünnan, was lost to the new masters of the empire.

The Manchus utilized the political institutions of former dynasties and and were not long in establishing a strong government. Two of the rulers of this period, K'ang Hsi (1661–1722) and Ch'ien Lung (1736–1796), rank among the great emperors of history.

K'ang Hsi was concerned with the welfare of his people. New lands were opened for cultivation. Sericulture was encouraged. Decrees aimed to restrict greedy landlords. Scholars were subsidized. Farseeing in domestic policies, K'ang Hsi was blind to the significance of the white man's appearance within his empire and left the management of foreign affairs in the hands of the *Co-hong*, an association of Cantonese merchants possessing no official status.

The Chinese Empire reached its last high peak during the time of Ch'ien Lung. The governmental features of the Manchus during his rule

are worthy of study because they were the last imperial institutions operating before the forces of the West battered away at China's conservatism and helped usher in political disunion and military dismemberment.

The main organizations of the central government were the Grand Council (*Chün Chi Ch'u*), the Council of State (*Tu Cha Yuạn*), and the many Commissions. The Grand Council held daily sessions and controlled the work of three departments. The first was composed of the Ministers of Administrations, Finance, Rites, War, Justice, and Public Works. The second was the Imperial Chancery, which had charge of all correspondence from the various parts of the empire. The third was the Grand Secretariat, which answered correspondence.

The central government of China was active in the collection of taxes and intervened in local affairs only to eradicate brigandage, aid in flood control, or render relief to famine-stricken regions. A viceroy appointed for no more than four years normally was put in charge of two provinces. When taking over this post he would come to an understanding with the local authorities in regard to the amount of taxes expected by the government at Peking.

Chinese provinces were divided into *tao* (state) and subdivided into *hsien* (county). The official in charge of *hsien* affairs usually selected a village elder (*ti-pao*) to represent his group although he personally carried on the administration, being chief of police, judge, and head of the educational system without a separation of these powers into departments.

Actual control in ancient China, regardless of the strength or weakness of the central government, was found in the village, the family, and the numerous societies and guilds (*hui*). The guilds, composed of fraternal organizations, trade and merchant associations, religious groups, militia, and watch bands, were instrumental in maintaining society during the years of political decadence.[1]

[1] Military theory and practice in ancient China has not been mentioned in this chapter. In spite of the fact that China was administered by civilians, the history of the empire shows that there were great military names, remarkable military deeds, and brilliant theorists. The military elements obviously have influenced governments as well as social organizations.

One of the outstanding Chinese theorists was Sun Tzu (514–496 B.C.), whose *Art of War* ranks with the classical military study of Clausewitz. (See *Sun Tzu on the Art of War*, the oldest military treatise in the world, translated from the Chinese with introduction and critical notes by Lionel Giles, 1910. This book was distributed to the United States armed forces during World War II.)

2 Ancient Chinese Society

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

China is a land of villages. Villages often are self-contained units where the cotton for clothes, hemp for rope and shoes, and food of vegetables, rice, tea, pigs, ducks, and geese are found. Each village houses craftsmen who construct furniture, make implements for the field and home, and decorate articles for the wealthy. Most of the dwellings have common features: dried earth for walls, usually whitewashed, flat roofs for drying grains and vegetables and storing the fuel supply, and wooden gratings, covered with oiled paper, serving as windows.

A Chinese village contains certain fixtures. There is the inn where each traveler spreads his own bedding upon boards supported by trestles. There is the night watchman with lantern, gong, or sticks. There are the streets, lighted in early times by cups of bean oil and wick, later by kerosene lamps. There is the teahouse, center of public eating and drinking, which serves also as club and newspaper office. There is the guest house, maintained for officials and other important travelers. There is the school, taught by a local scholar. There is the village temple, dedicated to one or more gods, which is a meeting center for the inhabitants.

The village, from a distance, has a certain picturesqueness, with its trees and white walls, although the stranger from overseas is confused by the irregular roads of dirt and the temple grounds swarming with dogs, pigs, beggars, idlers, and children.

In Chou days workers went out from the little communities to cultivate the fields. As time went on, others came to join them, making necessary the selection of leaders or elders. These village elders were chosen by their fellows and their position theoretically was confirmed by the District Magistrate who represented the imperial government. The elders were the chief link in the contacts between the people and the government. The land or grain tax was collected by them and also the reed tax, a small fee for those using the reeds from the lands along the river and lake shores; the salt tax; liquor and tobacco taxes; and the *likin,* a tax on goods in transit. The funds collected were turned over to the provincial and imperial treasuries. The village received none of these revenues until 1905 when a tax upon real estate transfers was marked for village school maintenance.

Local administrative problems constantly needed the attention of the elders, such as well construction and repair, care of the village gates, control of fairs and markets, supervision of theatrical activities, crop watching, upkeep of temples, arbitration of disputes between neighbors, negotiations with near-by villages on questions of common concern, and census taking. Every fifth year reports were made to the Ministry of Finance regarding the population of each village. Forms for listing the number in every household were posted outside doorways, and it was the duty of the elders to see that these lists were accurate.

The imperial government put no restrictions upon village activities, except through the peculiar Chinese system of mutual or graded responsibility, whereby, if anything subversive or irregular occurred, the District Magistrate would be held responsible by the government. This official, in turn, held a club over the heads of the elders who saw to it that no acts on the part of the villagers brought them to loggerheads with high authorities.

And so the village has continued through the ages.[1] Its simple type of administration has been the only unbroken government China ever has experienced.

The chief occupation of the Chinese has been farming. Until the nineteenth century, many tilled the fields with stone and shell hoes. The agricultural implements of the twentieth century are as primitive as the hoe. The flail and crude fanning mill are used. Rice is hulled in stone mortars by heavy hammers. Grain is ground in mills, which are turned by mule power and sometimes by water wheels.

The fields of China were divided in a manner developed during the Chou dynasty. The system is called the "well-field" plan. It derives its name from the fact that land, theoretically at least, was divided into square units of 900 *mou* (*mou*—one sixth of English acre). Each unit was redivided into nine equal squares, in which the inner lines resembled the shape of the character *ching* (well), similar to the lines for the game of tick-tack-toe. Eight separate families cultivated the eight outside squares, and the central square was cared for by all for the local lord.

The concept of woman as man's companion was unknown in ancient China, although there were many brilliant women who dominated their era. The *Classic of Poetry* (*Shih Ching*) contains an ode expressing the joy found in male heirs and the contempt for the female:

> Sons shall be born to him;
> They will be put to sleep on couches;
> They will be clothed in robes;
> They will have sceptres to play with;

[1] The utopia of the villager has been expressed as being "heaven, man, and a rice bowl," or "leaning on heaven and eating rice." His lot is found in an ancient song:

> "We rise at dawn
> And rest at sunset,
> We dig wells and drink;
> We till our fields and eat;
> What is the power of the Emperor to us?"

Daughters shall be born to him;
They will be put to sleep on the ground;
They will be clothed in wrappers;
They will have tiles to play with.

Girls were not desired, mainly because they were unable to worship at the ancestral tablets, and consequently many female infants were killed or sold into slavery or prostitution. The average woman had nothing to look forward to except a marriage arranged by the family to a man she had never seen until the day of the ceremony and to become old at thirty after childbearing and hard work.

It was customary when no male heirs were born to take a secondary wife or concubine into the household. The imperial families contained scores of concubines, and men of wealth also carried on this system of polygamy. The sons of concubines were legitimate heirs of the father, and usually land and a house were set aside for the mothers, upon whom no opprobium fell because of their status.

The efficiency of land transportation in ancient times depended upon the strength of horses and the stamina of men. The need to support both was recognized during the Ch'in dynasty (256–207 B.C.), when stations were erected along the roads at regular intervals of 15 miles, with a postmaster and four postmen at each. Every 30 miles a hostel was constructed. Every 50 miles a market place and grain tower were built. Road administration consisted of a surveyor who determined the standards of the different types of thoroughfares, ranging from 8 to 72 feet in width; a superintendent of strategic locations who connected the roads over mountains and planted trees along the routes, and inspectors of hotels who supervised hostels, wells, and trees.

Canals are a prominent feature of China's transportation system. The first canal mentioned in records, the Han, completed in 486 B.C., connected the Han and Wei rivers. In the seventh century A.D., the Turnchi Canal linked the Loh and the Ho rivers to the Hwai River. In the same century the Southern or Grand Canal was started, a route 800 miles long and 100 feet wide, which made possible a water connection from Hangchow to Peking. The system of internal communication was extended by deepening old river beds and joining them to the canals.

In early days there was active trade in silk, lacquer, furs, grass cloth, salt, gems, gold, silver, and ivory. There were few restrictions placed upon commercial intercourse, although later many tariffs hindered development. The wide extent of China's foreign trade is commented upon by two famous travelers of the late Middle Ages, the Italian, Marco Polo, and the Arab, Ibn-batuta.

Some of the first money used in China was made from tin, lead, and iron. Baked earth, stamped with characters, also was a medium of exchange. Other articles constituted money at different periods. Cowry shells, adzes, billhooks, spades, knives, hoes, all were in circulation by the seventh century, B.C.

In the twelfth century B.C. knives and other objects in common use were made into coins. The form of a knife to be used for exchange purposes was cumbersome. Thus the blade was shortened until only the end of the handle remained, with a hole left for stringing several together. This money ("cash") carried the mark of a new moon upon it, according to the legend that a wax model held in the hand of an empress was imprinted with her fingernail. About 140 B.C., paper or parchment money, made of white stag skin, "skin notes" (*p'i pi*), was used as money.

The Chinese, in the same manner as the Christian Church in the Middle Ages, attempted to limit interest rates. In the T'ang period laws were codified and rules were fixed regarding interest. During the Mongol dynasty they were revised so that interest should not be in excess of the principal regardless of the length of time the loan remained unpaid. Interest rates were not to be more than 3 per cent per month. These stipulations were incorporated in the Ming code and remained unchanged until 1911.

The ancient Chinese had an auditing system. In Han days it was a branch of the governmental services and all accounting officers were required to make annual reports personally at the court. A Bureau of Audits was created in A.D. 618. Auditing was made one of six departments of the government in A.D. 960.

Secret societies are one of the outstanding features of Chinese life. One of the most influential of these organizations was the Triad Society (San Ho Hui), formed for protective as well as political purposes. It bore some of the responsibility for the overthrow of the Manchus in 1911. The sole measures the government was able to take against this society and others like it were to prevent them from erecting temples and prohibiting public meetings and processions. Yet, in spite of restrictions, these bodies remained powerful through the centuries.

The time when guilds first functioned in China is not known. It is known, however, that craft guilds in early times were managed in a democratic manner with a committee elected annually to administer the organizations. Many of these were wealthy, obtaining revenues from entrance fees, fines, and trade taxes. The normal duties of the craft guilds consisted of fixing standards of weights and measures, regulating wages, and determining the number of apprentices for each master. Apprentices, as in the West, received no wages but were given room and board and, after serving a stipulated period, were independent craftsmen. Artisans usually remained with one branch of enterprise and in some cities these specialized workers lived in separate districts, as seen in modern Peip'ing where certain streets are limited to one type of production.

Provincial and merchant guilds also were common in ancient China. The provincial guilds were composed of men from the same province. Many of these had clubrooms as a solace for the homesick members. All had benevolent features. The merchant guilds had the same general organization as the craft guilds, the main difference being that the former were concerned with distribution and the latter with production. The

chief duties of the merchant guilds included the fixing of standards, the punishment of infractions, the determining of commission charges, and the settling of disputes among members.

There were many sports and amusements in ancient China. Records show that falcons were used about 2000 B.C. at the court. The Mongol rulers enjoyed falconry and Kublai Khan often employed 7,000 men to carry these birds of prey. The emperors K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung of the eighteenth century encouraged this sport in order to stimulate the military spirit among their subjects and made many a hunting expedition beyond the Great Wall with this in mind.

During the Chou dynasty, chess, archery, lute playing, fencing, cock fighting, and the throwing of arrows into jars were prevalent sports among the idle and the wealthy. The more strenuous recreations included fencing, horsemanship, and hunting of pheasants, hares, wild boar, deer, and tigers.

Polo was introduced into China from Persia about A.D. 600 and was popular at the court. One T'ang prince taught his concubines to play the game, riding donkeys decorated with jewels.

To a Westerner, the games of the Chinese are not exciting. Pitching pieces of earth at a mark, shuttlecock with toes and heels instead of racquets, jacks, fox and geese, have been played for centuries. Running and jumping games were unknown. Fishing and hunting had few devotees, except in court circles. The children play with tops, paper lanterns, iron marbles, or miniature weapons. All, young and old, like noise. Firecrackers are a constant delight upon every possible occasion, such as funerals, feasts, weddings, and New Year celebrations. Kite-flying is the universal sport of the Chinese. The adults fly the gaily decorated kites and the children watch.

The games of South China are less active than those of the north. Here is found weight-lifting, shuttlecock, kite-flying, carrying birds on perches and throwing seeds in the air for them to catch on the wing, sauntering in the fields, boating, cricket and quail fighting, pitching coins, tossing several balls at one time, stick-snapping, stone-throwing, and an exciting game of guessing the number of seeds in an orange. It can be seen that China has had few violent sports and most of them have been of an individualistic character.

LAW AND "SCIENCE"

One of the oldest concepts in China is the belief in natural order and the harmonious relations between it and the social order. The influence of Confucius is dominant in this thinking. The philosopher's theory has a patriarchal foundation. The emperor and his officials were held responsible for the actions of the people under their supervision in the same way that a father exercises authority in the home. A ruler, therefore, without virtue was not a genuine "father and mother" and, not possessing indi-

vidual morality, would be incapable of evincing political morality. This Confucian principle emphasizes a government of man and not laws. A good ruler signified a contented and happy people. Impressed by this reasoning, the Chinese officials served as governor-magistrates, functioning also in the role of judge, tax collector, chief executive, head priest, councillor, and guide. The governor-magistrate was responsible to the emperor for the maintenance of law and order and was rated by the propriety of his administration. If he failed to apprehend and punish a criminal, or if civil war broke out, he was forced out of office.

Early Chinese law also was moulded by the Taoists, who taught that a universal law controls the state and that wise rulers should conduct themselves in harmony with this law. The theory is based neither upon divine nor human instruments but maintained by a harmonious adjustment to the functions of life. It has been compared to the Greek "Logos" and the Christian "Word."

Chinese law is not rooted in the supernatural. There is no code handed down from on high. The experiences of the people and the problems encountered were the basis for the first laws. Business law was unknown because disputes were settled by the craft and merchant guilds. Administrative or statutory law also was nonexistent in a land where government was personalized.

The tradition has persisted in China, partly owing to Confucian thought, that written law indicated a weak government. Written law merely signified that wily men could circumvent every measure intended to restrict the individual for the safety of the social order. Confucius expressed in the *Analects* his feelings regarding law when he said that "I can try a lawsuit as well as other men, but surely the great thing is to bring it about that there be no going to law."

The code of the Manchu dynasty (1644–1911) is an excellent illustration of Chinese legal construction. These laws as incorporated were called the *Statutes and Rescripts of the Great Pure Dynasty* (*Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*), arranged under seven heads of General, Civil, Ritual, Fiscal, Military, Criminal, and Public Works, and subdivided into 436 sections or statutes (*Lü*) which were reprinted in a new edition every five years.

There were 47 sections in the General Laws, including the principles and rules for the entire body. Descriptions of the five common punishments, the 10 offenses constituting treason, the rules for the conduct of the eight special classes of officials, and the general directions for the guidance of all governmental servants were included. The Civil Laws contained 28 sections, divided into two books. One dealt with the administrative system and the other with instructions for officials. The Fiscal Laws, in 82 sections, included directions for the registration of the people and rules relating to inheritance, marriage, smuggling, usury, guarding of granaries and imperial treasuries, and supervision of shops. One of the sections of the fiscal laws (LXXVI), ordered that all within the empire represent truly their profession and forbade a change of occupation—"generation after generation they must not vary or alter it."

Ritual Laws were described in 26 sections and contained precepts for state ceremonies and sacrifices, ancestor-worship, and ordinances for soothsayers. Heavy penalties were specified for all found guilty of combining illegally to practice religious rites. There were prohibitions against processions in honor of the gods in the capital.

The Military Laws, in 71 sections, provided for palace guards, army administration, frontier defense, supervision of the imperial cattle, courier service, city police, and rescripts for officers traveling on imperial missions. The division of Criminal Laws, in 11 books and 170 sections, was the most important of all. Herein were references to robbery, treason, homicide, murder, brawling, abusive language, disobedience to parents, false accusations, bribery, forgeries, adultery, etc. Strangulation was prescribed for anyone speaking impudently to father, mother, or grandparents. The seventh portion of the Manchu law concerned Public Works and Ways, including stipulations for the weaving of silk for the imperial household, the repair of dikes, and the construction of governmental buildings.

There are certain features of ancient Chinese law which are foreign to the West. The concept of joint responsibility whereby an entire family can be held for the crime of one member is the antithesis of the Occidental idea of sanctity of human rights. A vagueness surrounded Chinese law because no distinctions were made between criminal and civil violations. The Chinese accepted the Platonic view that law tyrannized over man and frequently forced him into unnatural actions. They, therefore, considered a hungry man brought before justice for stealing as being less guilty than the farmer or merchant who failed to protect the commodities appropriated.

Chinese law was practical and logical, with none of the verbiage found in the law of the West. It did not recognize individual freedom or political independence but served as an instrument of stability and respect for the officials of the empire. Conciliation and adjustment marked this ancient legal philosophy. To the Chinese, compromise, not rights, was the *modus vivendi*. This is seen in the efforts to "save face" when confronted by embarrassing situations.

The roots of science in China are found in alchemy, that striving after longevity through discovery of the "golden pill" which once eaten was the elixir of life. The pioneers in the field of science are the Taoists, who used as the basis of their investigations the words in the *Book of Changes* (*I Ching*) that "changes are transmutations of the creative principle" and make possible unlimited power in the hands of man. Orthodox approval of the concept also was furnished by Confucius when he spoke of the wonder of change and "should change cease to take place, heaven and earth would soon cease to exist."

These Chinese searchers after the riddle of life evolved a belief that jade, cinnabar, pearls, and mother-of-pearl were immortal substances, provided they were made artificially and taken internally. Taoist priests, fascinated by the quest for eternal life, concocted recipes for the trans-

forming of gold, the melting of jade, and the preparing of esoteric waters of rejuvenation. At one time a marvelous formula was discovered whereby heaven could be reached without dying. In the fourth century B.C., a group of Taoists was given charge of medical supplies in the state of Wei and experiments were carried on with diets and the ingredients necessary for long life. Some criminals under sentence of death were ordered to taste the various brews, but records do not furnish proof of permanent existence.

The Chinese, like all ancient people, did not neglect astronomical studies. By tradition, Hwang-ti, the "Yellow Emperor" (2697–2595? B.C.), was interested in astronomy and constructed an observatory. The story is found in the classics of the Emperor Yao ordering the court officials to determine the four seasons and discover the solstices and equinoxes in order to aid the farmers during planting time. As late as the Manchu dynasty, an imperial Board of Astronomy was connected with the Board of Rites.

The Chinese in early days possessed standards for measuring time. The day was divided into 12 periods of two hours each, starting at 11 P.M. Every hour was divided into eighths. Watches took the form of "time sticks," made from sawdust and clay, wound spirally, and burned. Dials and clepsydrae or waterclocks also were in use. Arithmetic was introduced in the eighth century A.D. from India, and the chief Brahmanical works on this subject were translated into Chinese by Hindu priests. In A.D. 684 the Hindu calendar was brought to China by an Indian monk.

When attention is directed to the more scientific creations of the Chinese, one is amazed by objectiveness existing side by side with artlessness. This is especially true of *materia medica*. The most famous work, the *Herbal of the Chinese Pharmacopoea*, first published about 1596, mentions 385 drugs. The compiler of this undertaking consulted more than 800 authors, from whom he selected 1,518 prescriptions. It has a note of modernity entitled "The Art of Acquiring a Long and Healthy Life," based upon four rules: "(1) Regulate the affections of the heart; (2) Be moderate in the consumption of food and drink; (3) Have a definite plan for the work of the day; and (4) Have a definite time for rest and sleep." The same book includes many a nostrum from folklore, such as a cure for toothaches by the application of horse warts and a sedative drink of a compound of skull ashes and water.

The field of Chinese medicine furnishes some interesting facts and fancies. Chang Chung-ching (A.D. 170) wrote a treatise on fevers. In the third century an alchemist composed an accurate description of smallpox. In these years hydrotherapy was practiced in the form of cold baths for feverish patients. Sun Ssü-miao (A.D. 620) left accounts of acupunctures and cautery, as well as 30 volumes on general medical procedures. In the same century the pus of a patient was injected under the skin around the infected region. Beri-beri was discussed in the tenth century, and rice was mentioned as a possible cause of the complaint. The Imperial Medical College in the twelfth century divided the branches of

medicine into: "Great Blood-Vessel and Smallpox Complaints; Lesser Blood-Vessel Complaints; Fevers; Female Complaints; Cutaneous Complaints; Cases of Acupuncture; Eye Complaints; Throat, Mouth, and Tooth Complaints; and Bone."

These reasonable features of Chinese medicine are overbalanced by ludicrous quackery. The influence of poetry upon science is seen in titles like the "Song of the Carbuncle" and the "Song of the Spleen," and the literary flavor of names for pills. There are "Pills of Ten Thousand Efficacies," "The Great Blessing Pills," "Accumulation Pill," "The Nine Fairies," etc., made from snakeskins, silkworms, moths, oyster shells, camphor, myrrh, rhubarb, gentian, leaves, seeds, and bard. Deer pills are of special virtue and frequently contain parts of the skin, hair, and bones and are supposed to cure all ills. Bear paws from Tibet, soaked in alcohol, are given to gout sufferers. Baked infant brains cure skin diseases and leprosy. Dried buffalo hide, bat's wings, rat's bones, powdered cobweb, all have healing qualities.

The unprogressive character of Chinese medicine is due to several peculiar conditions. The thinkers of China tended to utter generalities. Science never was developed, according to Lin Yu-tang, because the method of a scientist necessitates analytical thinking which "involves an amount of stupid drudgery, while the Chinese believe in flashes of common sense and insight." This simple explanation does not give a satisfactory reason for the status of Chinese science. In order to obtain full comprehension, the concepts of *Yin* and *Yang* and *feng shui* must be explained.

Yin and *Yang* are viewed by the Chinese as controlling every act of the human being, with *Yang,* the male principle, possessing life-giving virtues and *Yin,* the female principle, being the instrument of death. *Yang* principles are connected with heaven, light, fire, and goodness. *Yin* principles are connected with earth, moon, and evil. The action of these two forces produce the five elements which the Chinese believe are the composition of the material world—fire, water, earth, wood, and metal.

Feng shui, or "wind and water," is closely allied to the *Yang* and *Yin* and seeks to bring about harmony between these two opposing yet mutually necessary forces. *Feng shui* is the belief that every moment of life and the eons beyond death are influenced by the supernatural forces of good and evil. They are at work in every part of the earth and dominate man wherever he goes. It being impossible to determine whether *feng shui* benefits or injures man, it is best to do nothing without consulting the experts on the subject who usually hesitate to recommend innovations. It is not surprising to see that these folkways enslaved the minds of even the most intelligent Chinese and served as barriers in the path of scientific thought.

Investigations in the field of natural sciences also were rare, partly because of the Confucian influence which emphasizes the relations between man and man instead of man's relations to bodily functions and universal phenomena. Chinese humanism, furthermore, deals mainly with the past

and as a result the present suffers. Finally, the character of the examination system affected the intellectual life of the educated Chinese by requiring perfection in the literary style instead of training for critical objectivity. China has bred brilliant poets, historians, and philosophers but no one in ancient times who was a master in the interpretation of the forces at work within the body of man and in the world surrounding him.

3. Religion, Philosophy, and Education in Old China

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND OTHER RITUALS

Ancestor-worship is a complex tradition. The chief concept is the belief in the unity of all possessing the same surname, through the living and dead males of the family. The rulers of ancient China associated their chief ancestor or Supreme Ruler (*Shang Ti*) with Heaven (*T'ien*) during the state ceremonies.

The first ruler of the Shang dynasty is supposed to have worshipped *Shang Ti*. According to legend, he believed himself responsible for a seven years' drought and, praying for rain, brought down a gracious answer from the skies. This incident became the basis for the development of the thought that the emperor was the "Son of Heaven" who by virtue of a supernatural status composed the third part of a trinity (i.e. Heaven, Earth, and Man), and served as heaven's representative to be exalted above all others to such an extent that his functions as ruler were inseparable from those as high priest.

During the Manchu dynasty (1644–1911), last of imperial lines, worship centered in the Supreme Ruler, Heaven, Earth (*Ti*), the ancestors of the emperor, and the guardian spirits of Harvests and the Soil. Confucius was added in 1907. In a secondary group were the sun, the moon, the rulers of the preceding dynasties, the patron of agriculture, the goddess of sericulture, the minor spirits of Heaven, Earth, and the planet Jupiter. A tertiary group was composed of the patron of medicine; the gods of War and Literature; the North Star; the guardian spirit of Peking; the god of Fire; the spirit of the Black Dragon Pool, near Peking; the spirit-dragon of Jade Fountain, near the Summer Palace; the god of the Soil; the patrons of the mechanical arts; the god of the Furnace; the god of the Granary; the scores of door gods; and numerous canonized individuals.

The emperor was assisted in the ceremonies connected with the major group by the Board of Rites and the male members of his family. Symbolism was adhered to whenever possible. For example, during the sacrifices to Heaven, garments of blue were donned. Yellow robes were used during the Earth rituals. Red was the dominant color for Sun worship and white for the Moon cult.

Many of the ceremonies connected with ancestor-worship are inspired by Confucianism. Other traditions relating to death, burial, and mourning periods are found also in the classics. Ceremonies for the dead fre-

quently begin before death occurs. The dying may be taken from the bed or a hole is made in the roof in order to aid the escape of the struggling spirit. It is not uncommon to have coffins in the bedrooms years before they are needed, the presence of this funeral piece being proof of filial devotion. The body is not buried at once and often months elapse before a suitable resting spot is located, with the aid of Taoist priests. Funerals are elaborate affairs, even for the poor, who impoverish themselves further in order to render honor to parents. The mourning period averages about 27 months. In pre-Republican days widows often committed suicide to show their loyalty. This act was carried out with ritual and was acknowledged by a mark of esteem from the emperor in the form of a special tablet or arch.

Ancestor-worship, with all its virtues stimulating parental love and veneration for the past, contains certain objectionable features. There is no adequate place for expression of grief for dead children and similar emotions for departed husband or wife. The system of ancestor-worship relegates women to an inferior position, because males only are allowed to perform the ceremonies. Finally, any parent, good or bad, must be worshipped. And yet, regardless of these defects, ancestor-worship remains a prominent part of the emotional composition of Chinese society and persists in spite of the advances of science and the "new" conceptions of morality.

The spirit world also plays an important part in the consciousness of the Chinese masses. Idols are conspicuous in houses and shops. Incense pots are seen at the foot of trees and rocks. Charms are placed on arms, necks, over doors, and upon roofs, in order to propitiate the supernatural powers which take the form of gods, demons, and witches. No distinctions are made between man and animals. All natural forms, from trees to moss-covered stones, to birds, beasts, and men, are regarded as potential enemies or friends. In many parts of China the view is held that life is bound to more than one animal. A Taoist tract contains a list of 36 souls scattered throughout the human body, each one being related to a special animal.

The Chinese regard for nature takes many forms. Effigies of enemies are made of wood, bamboo, or paper and whatever injury is inflicted upon these is supposedly transmitted to the disliked person. Grave clothes possess magic, especially if a young woman makes them, because part of her vitality passes into the garments. Special proof of filial piety is the custom of presenting parents with "longevity" clothes. These are worn on festival days in order to enable life-giving qualities to pass into the body of the wearer. Small figures of a stag, crane, tortoise, or peach, emblems of long life, are given to women as charms.

Contempt for death is a characteristic feature of ancient civilizations and stands in contrast to the fear of death, a "western malady," which colors Occidental society. In China many suicides have as a motive the conviction that they are capable of tormenting their enemies as ghosts. Among the primitive Chinese it was customary to offer one of the poor

members of a family as a sacrifice in order to thwart the evil powers of plague and famine. Thus, not only was filial piety served by losing life for the sake of the family, but also the forces of darkness rampant in nature were placated.

LAO TZŬ AND THE GROWTH OF TAOISM

Lao Tzŭ, the first great religious figure in China, was born, according to tradition, in 604 B.C. in Honan province. Legend tells of his white hair and eyebrows with which he came into the world, because he was carried 80 years by his mother. Conventional accounts of the "Old Philosopher's" life make him a Keeper of the Archives in Loyang, the capital. When an old man, seeing the empire of the Chous in collapse, he left his desk, and rode into the West, mounted on the back of an ox, never to be seen again. As he was leaving the imperial domain a minor official is supposed to have stopped him long enough to have him put in writing his ideas, now called the *Tao Tê Ching* or *Canon of Reason and Virtue.* This small book, viewed by many scholars as one of the most profound philosophical studies ever written, is comparable in its ideas to the work of Zeno, founder of the Stoic school. Both these thinkers advocated contemplation and retirement as the best means to reach spiritual stability. When this state of mind was achieved, the struggles and temptations of the body were overcome and *Tao* attained.

Lao Tzŭ held no brief for progress but saw, as Confucius after him, perfection in the past. He viewed the society of his own age as an abortion. He believed that civilization destroyed all good in mankind and corruption grew with the development of the arts and sciences. The "Old Philosopher" and his followers regarded the downfall of states as being caused by man's struggle to preserve propriety and execute precepts. "To govern the people is the affair of Heaven," Lao Tzŭ says in the *Canon of Reason and Virtue.* "When one desires to take in hand the empire and make it, I see him not succeed."

Lao Tzŭ believed that if man were capable of mastering himself all else would be easy—"he who subdues others is strong, but he who conquers self is mighty." This victory over self was gained neither by laws nor by government but only by seeking a harmonious way of living, with all attention directed to the soul and its relation to *Tao.*

Chinese philosophy is filled with notes of pacifism but there is no more direct attack against war than is found in the words of Lao Tzŭ. "He who with reason (*tao*) assists the master of mankind will not with armies strengthen the empire. Where armies are quartered briars and thorns grow."

The metamorphosis of the concepts of Lao Tzŭ into the religious institution of Taoism soon occurred. The Chinese interests in witchcraft and magic were added to the noble thoughts in the *Tao Tê Ching.* Ruler and ruled sought to find in this book, allied to alchemical practices, the joys

of meditation, breath control, special diets, and the seeking of longevity through eating pine, fir, and plum seeds.

CONFUCIUS AND CONFUCIANISM

K'ung Fu-tzŭ ("the teacher, Kung") or Confucius, was born in 551 B.C., in the state of Lu, a part of Shantung province. After holding minor provincial posts he was made governor of Chungtu in 501 B.C. and in 496 was appointed prime minister of the state of Lu. After resigning when the local duke refused to take his advice, Confucius wandered about the country until he entered the state of Wei where he was given a court position. He was not long in becoming influential, and he would have held a higher office if jealous rivals had not intrigued against him and forced him once more into a life of wandering. After ten years of voluntary exile Confucius returned, at the age of sixty-three, to Wei, where the grandson of his old friend offered him service. When he discovered that the young ruler was planning to govern in an arbitrary manner, he refused to remain in the court. After six years, Confucius was recalled to his native state of Lu. Here he was disappointed to find a government functioning upon principles antagonistic to his teachings. Determined not to associate with anyone guided by what he considered to be unworthy ideals, he left Lu to begin his labors as editor of the classical literature of China. Confucius died in 479 B.C., at the age of seventy-two, and was buried outside the northern gate of Ch'ü-fou where a simple tomb was erected, near which a band of his disciples maintained a vigil for three years.

Confucius did not originate a "system" nor was he the first to initiate the principles and describe the forms which bear his name. He said that he was "a transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients." *The Doctrine of the Mean* (*Chung Yung*), written according to tradition, by his grandson, contains the statement that the Master "handed down the doctrines of Yao and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wên and Wû, taking them as his model." The sage did not put into written form many of his own views regarding the past, although he discussed them with followers who recorded the thoughts.

As did Plato, Confucius pictured the requisites for the "Superior Man." His approach places the emphasis upon "human nature" and the "reasonable man" who has a distaste for all excesses. The *Analects* (*Lun Yü*) is the best source from which to gain a view of the Confucian ideals of moderation, virtue, propriety, and sincerity. Confucius regarded the world as a unit. In the *Classic of Changes* (*I Ching*), it is stated that "following the existence of heaven and earth, there is the existence of all things. Following the existence of all things, there is the distinction of sex. Following the distinction of sex, there is the relation between husband and wife. Following the relation between husband and wife, there is the relation between father and son. Following the relation between

father and son, there is the relation between the king and the people. Following the relation between the king and the people, there is the distinction of superiority and inferiority. Following the distinction of superiority and inferiority, there are social order and justice."

Confucianism is more than a system of ethics. It goes further than conduct of the individual, when it is emphasized that Confucius upheld the importance of the *li,* that is, "rites" or "religious worship." When rites are considered in the modern sense, there is a basis of truth in the statement that Confucianism is mainly ethical, but the ancient Chinese did not make fine distinctions between the religious and secular elements in man's life.

Confucius and his school were faced with the problem common to all thinkers who attempt to organize humanity; the problem of how much freedom could be allowed the individual without destroying social organization. His followers made the mistake of restricting life to such an extent that through the dogma of filial piety children suffered excessively and adults frequently remained immature in spirit for a lifetime. This is seen in some of the symbolic pictures which portray the 24 main types of filial piety. One depicts a child, stripped to the waist, being tormented by masses of flies in order to prevent the insects from disturbing his sleeping father. Another shows a son, seventy years of age, acting the clown, in order to entertain his parents.

The sentimentalist looks with admiration upon ancient China controlled by learned men. All too frequently, these Chinese scholars lived in the past and conjured up phantoms of this past, which they passed on to the next generation, who in turn took their places after passing examinations based upon the book knowledge of their teachers. As the years brought the West into irritating relations with officials steeped in the thoughts of Confucianism, no common meeting ground could be found between a white agent of a trade company, garbed in tailored attire, and the hands-in-sleeve scholar representing the imperial government of China. The decrees penned in the traditional manner used when addressing barbarian tribes on the borders were of no avail against the effectiveness of gunpowder.

China is beginning to forget those parts of yesterday's civilization which need to be forgotten and strives to adapt Western thoughts to Eastern forms. The condition in which China finds herself is explained partly by the persistence of the ancient Confucian methodology obstructing the channels of modern life. And yet, notwithstanding this criticism and in spite of the cult surrounding his name and the conservatism attached to his doctrines, the words of China's greatest humanist are remembered.

THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF CONFUCIUS

The relationship between Confucius and the political development of China is recognized as a dominant force. The reign of Han Wu Ti (141–87

B.C.) is one of the most significant because it marks the victory of the Confucianists. Han Wu Ti accepted the Confucian principle which insisted upon the use of qualified scholars in the high offices of the government. He began his rule by summoning to the court an advisory council composed of the leading savants of the realm.

During the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–907) changes were made in the Confucian forms which had not been modified radically in the preceding five centuries. The first emperor of the T'angs, Kao Tsu, in 619 decreed that temples be constructed for the Duke of Chou and Confucius. His successor, T'ai Tsung, being influenced by the Confucianists in his court, considered this act to be an insult to the Master and rescinded the imperial order. An official in 628 petitioned the emperor to relegate certain minor figures and give primary consideration to Confucius. At the same time, the ruler commanded that all counties (*hsien*) in his kingdom should have centers of worship dedicated to Confucius. The emperor in 647, placed the tablets of 22 out of 72 disciples of Confucius in his private shrine. This imperial policy made all Confucian temples halls of fame, and until the advent of the Republic, posthumous honors were given literary men by incorporating them in the observances centering in Confucius. This custom of venerating Confucius, his disciples, and scholars became a part of the civil service system and interjected a ritualistic element into public administration by making Confucius the patron saint of officials.

During the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960–1280) the government was dominated by Confucianists. An imperial order in 1007 declared that all district officials should offer sacrifices at the Confucian temples.

The Yüan or Mongol period (A.D. 1280–1368) made slight modifications in the general features of Chinese social and political life. It is not surprising, then, to find the northern conquerors accepting the cult of Confucius as they found it. Kublai Khan, in 1294, presented two estates to the family of Confucius, the K'ungs. The Great Khan in 1273 built a temple for Confucius in his new capital, near the site of Peking, and decreed that sacrifices be offered in the spring and autumn. With the decline of the Mongols, the successors of Kublai Khan attempted to placate hostile Chinese opinion by heaping more honors upon Confucius. In the fourteenth century the father of Confucius was made posthumously a duke and a title was conferred upon his mother. The father in 1330 was raised to the rank of prince, a title held by Confucius himself since A.D. 739.

During the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368–1644) some innovations were made in the observances honoring the "teacher of ten thousand generations." The first ruler of the Mings, Hung Wu, was a devotee of Confucius. He sent a special official to the tomb at Ch'ü-fou, and issued a decree that "the whole world" should sacrifice to Confucius. Hung Wu in 1370, abolished all honors given to the scores of deities grouped about the Master, leaving him alone in his glory. An imperial command, promulgated in 1521, ordered the reconstruction of the ancestral temple of the K'ung

family at Ch'ü-fou, and delegated a descendant of Confucius to offer sacrifices.

The Manchu dynasty (1644–1911) witnessed the struggle between Western and Eastern thought and practices. During the reign of the emperor Ch'ien Lung (1736–1796), an attempt was made by a group of scholars, alarmed by the advances of the West, to bring about a synthesis of Confucian and Buddhist doctrines. Nothing concrete was accomplished in this direction. In these years, however, the many titles given to Confucius which made him a god were abolished and he was known as the "Greatest Sage" or "Teacher." The only vestige of aristocracy left was the nomenclature of duke which has passed on through the years in the person of the eldest K'ung son in each generation of the direct line.

Despite this victory for those who were striving to destroy the mystical atmosphere surrounding Confucius which obscured his human qualities, there were many who persisted in making the sage a nature god. The struggle within the ranks of the Confucianists was being carried on when the revolutionary forces brought forth the overthrow of the Manchus. This collapse ended the imperial system of philosophy. For a time it appeared as if Confucius were forgotten, but it was not long before a reaction to Western thought appeared, and Confucius was revived by the Republic and incorporated into the politico-social framework of the "New Life" movement.

MENCIUS (371–289 B.C.)

Mencius, regarded by the Chinese as the only rival of Confucius, considered himself a follower of the "Teacher" but held a different view of life. Where Confucius was conservative, Mencius was radical. Where Confucius looked upon the past, Mencius had visions of a new society in which the people would be recognized as the foundation of the state and the rulers would serve as sympathetic mentors. Mencius insisted that the moral qualities of the leaders, "strong to do good," should be the chief concern of all in high office.

Mencius believed that man essentially was good. "The tendency of man's nature to good," he said, "is like the tendency of water to flow downwards. There are none but have this tendency to good, just as all water flows downward."

He attacked the institution of war and was outspoken against those who boasted that "I am skillful at marshaling troops. I am skillful at conducting a battle. They are great criminals." Mencius also was critical of reformers, aptly finding their weakness in liking "to be teachers of others."

Mencius for a time held an honorary office but refused to accept remuneration for his services because he would be restricted in movements and thoughts. This attitude was made clear when he said, "I have heard that he who is in charge of an office, when he is prevented from fulfilling

its duties, ought to take his departure, and that he on whom the responsibility of giving his opinion, when he finds his words unattended to, ought to do the same. But I am in charge of no office; on me devolves no duty of speaking out my opinion; may not I therefore act freely and without restraint, either in going forward or in retiring?"

In ancient China, the ruler was the main consumer of public revenues and, therefore, any increase in such revenue worked to the detriment of the people. Mencius, like Confucius before him, attacked the public financiers who served their rulers by saying, " 'We can for our rulers enlarge and develop the cultivated land, and fill their treasuries and arsenals.' Such persons are nowadays called 'good ministers,' but anciently they were called 'robbers of the people.' "

It is seen that Mencius was a constructive thinker, basing his reforms upon the moral and intellectual development of the people, assailing militarism, selfish domestic policies, greedy officials, and political trimmers. Like Confucius, he was listened to at times, questioned courteously, and forgotten, as the warring leaders took chariots and men over borders into domains not their own. When infirmity came to him, Mencius wondered if there were any who might transmit the ideas of Confucius after his death. Although no one was found to follow him and give practical demonstration of his concepts, Mencius himself was not forgotten and he occupies a niche in history as one of China's most original philosophers. His words well serve as a code for all aspiring to public office—"to dwell in the wide house of the world, to stand in the correct seat of the world, and to walk in the great path of the world; when he obtains his desire for office, to practise his principles for the good of the people; and when that desire is disappointed, to practise them alone."

A GALAXY OF PHILOSOPHERS

Mo Ti (Mo Tzu, Mo-tse, or Mocius), (450–320? B.C.) is an important figure because his philosophy represents the most logical expression of utilitarianism written in ancient China. This thinker believed that the first standard for judgment was authority, the second the opinion of common men, and the third the benefits the country derives from any given practice. Mo Ti held the third standard to be the basic consideration. He insisted that anything which could not be executed "is but a group of words." In line with this reasoning, the Confucian interest in music was opposed on the ground that it was only an immediate pleasure, having no future utility. Mo Ti maintained also that the costly traditions of the Confucianists relating to burial rites and the three-year period of mourning interfered with the creation of wealth and made idleness a virtue. The greatest benefit accruing to the people came from wealth and a growing population out of which good government evolved. Using this as a premise, Mo Ti enunciated the doctrine of universal love.

Mo Ti, in his declaration that only through universal love could the

salvation of the world be attained, held no illusions as to the innate tendency of man to love man. Humanity, lacking wisdom to carry out its own interest and happiness, must be bound by a religious sanction. The spirits who have influence over men and reward the good and bad, must be respected. In order to achieve universal peace, therefore, political foundations were essential. These could be secured by uniting society under the control of a sovereign. Mo Ti is in accord in this respect with the views of Thomas Hobbes as expressed in the *Leviathan.*

After the death of Lao Tzŭ his followers split into two "schools." This schism was brought about by different interpretations of the word *Tao.* One group was led by Chuang Tzŭ (c. 340 B.C.) and the other by Yang Chu (b. 350? B.C.), who carried on debates in a manner comparable to the Cynics and Cyrenaics who fought over the concepts of Socrates.

According to Yang Chu, life is short but not sweet, filled as it is with the unpleasant periods of infancy and old age, the hours of sleep, and the long days of pain, sorrow, and fear, leaving man only a decade of true pleasure. There is no guarantee of a life hereafter. Death is "the equality of rottenness and putrefaction," neither of which can be controlled. Life, therefore, should be enjoyed and death disregarded, with every joy grasped which satisfies desire and makes existence complete.

Yang Chu expressed preference for longings which could be gratified at once instead of those bringing satiety in the future. He exalted physical pleasures above all others, mainly because they could be obtained without undue efforts. Social regulations were looked upon as merely acts made respectable by law and fashion and therefore to be ignored because they were obstacles in the path of pleasure.

Chuang Tzŭ was the greatest disciple of Lao Tzŭ. This brilliant idealist who wove paradoxes to the consternation of his rivals, is closely akin to the Greek thinkers, Heracleitus and Parmenides. He had less respect for officialdom than Lao Tzŭ. Upon one occasion when offered a high position, he replied to the prince who requested his services: "You offer me great wealth and a proud position indeed; but have you never seen a sacrificial ox? When, after being fattened up for several years, it is decked with embroidered trappings and led to the altar, would it not then willingly exchange places with some uncared for pigling? Begone! Defile me not!"

Chuang Tzŭ is seen at his best in that part of his work entitled *The Identity of the Contraries,* which contains his methodology of logic and the famous butterfly dream: "How do I know that love of life is not a delusion after all? How do I know but that he who dreads to die is not as a child who has lost the way and cannot find his home? . . . Those who dream of the banquet wake to lamentation and sorrow. . . . Fools think they are awake now, and flatter themselves they know if they are really princes or peasants. Confucius and you are both dreams; and I who say you are dreams—I am but a dream myself. . . .

"Once upon a time I, Chuang Tzŭ, dreamt I was a butterfly, fluttering hither and thither, to all intents and purposes a butterfly. I was conscious

only of following my fancies as a butterfly and was unconscious of my individuality as a man. Suddenly I awakened, and there I lay, myself again. Now I do not know whether I was then a man dreaming I was a butterfly, or whether I am now a butterfly dreaming I am a man."

The value of Chuang Tzŭ's philosophy lies in the fact that his half-ironic, half-romantic approach to the problems of an individual living in a highly developed state of society acts as a restorative of man's position as a man instead of man as part of a rigid organization.

Lieh Tzŭ is considered by some scholars to be an invention of Chuang Tzŭ. Others believe he lived in the fourth century B.C. Lieh Tzŭ taught that wisdom is not to be obtained by relying upon the science and skill of human efforts but is dependent upon *Tao*.

Lieh Tzŭ refused to accept the idea that man was the supreme aim of creation. He maintained that any such thought was illogical. This viewpoint is illustrated by his story of a man giving a banquet to a thousand guests. When the fish and game were brought in, the host exclaimed that all these fine things were made especially for man's benefit. The company agreed to this opinion, with the exception of a 12-year-old boy who held that all creatures were in the same category as man. "Mosquitoes and gnats," said the boy, "suck man's blood, and tigers and wolves devour his flesh; but we do not, therefore, assert that God created man expressly for the benefit of mosquitoes and gnats and for food for tigers and wolves."

There is no record that any answer was given to this argument of the youth.

Lieh Tzŭ is worthy of study because of his social consciousness, marked particularly by a solicitude for the poor and old.

Hsün Tzŭ or Hsün K'uang (third century B.C.) was a contemporary of Mencius and a critic of that sage. He was hostile to war and believed that the state should be supreme in every activity. More radical than Confucius in denial of the existence of the various spirits who were honored in the rituals, he likewise attacked the prevalent interest in phrenology and various forms of divination. He viewed heaven as an infinite impersonal force and believed that man was unable to obtain knowledge through reason but must needs function through meditative and reflective practices.

Hsün Tzŭ elaborated a thesis that man is naturally evil. He maintained that virtue is only an "acquired goodness"; that man is interested only in profit; that "lust for gain" produces hostility, and strife destroys the harmony found in nature. With this evil within him, loyalties and faithfulness decrease as "sinful pleasures" grow and man becomes a savage. Therefore, in order to preserve society, teachers are needed to point the way toward better things and laws are necessary to rectify all found to be living in a misguided condition. From this position, Hsün Tzŭ developed his theory of the state which is based upon legal rights having their roots in justice. Man is impotent to conquer nature unless he co-operates for this purpose through the medium of the state.

A revelation of Hsün Tzŭ shows that he expressed many of the princi-

ples advocated by some western social scientists, such as the improvement of human nature through a beneficial environment, skepticism in regard to prophetic utterances, and cognizance of the pitfalls in the path of rational thought.

Chu Hsi, "investigator of things," one of the outstanding figures of the Sung dynasty, was an official during most of his life but was able to live in seclusion for many years on the grants of his royal master. This thirteenth century thinker formulated a cosmology and a cosmogony in which he saw the universe, motivated by two principles: the *li,* ethical or spiritual elements, and *ch'i,* ether or force, the material substance. Adhering to the Confucian idea, Chu Hsi regarded the *li* in man as the more important part.

Like many creative artists, Chu Hsi never was accepted by the more conservative scholars, partly because he was ahead of his time in casting doubt upon some of the classics and partly because he was regarded as an enemy of the Confucianists.

The Legalists *(Fa Chia)* who appeared in the fourth century B.C. came into prominence during a period of unrest. They saw defects in the principle of attempting to improve man through the moral precepts of the Confucianists. They believed that law only could bring about stability. In order to achieve this objective, the state should be made supreme, with its administration in the hands of a bureaucracy. Some of the Legalists advocated the encouragement of agriculture in order to make the kingdom self-supporting. Others recommended the fostering of commerce.

A part of the economic planning of the Legalists smacks of the measures promulgated by the exponents of totalitarianism. The state was to function as the chief trader and see to it that no one cornered the market and made excessive profits. Some wished to have the prices of agricultural products fixed so that the state might purchase goods in prosperous years and sell in periods of depression.

The Legalists were discredited in the third century B.C. and ceased to influence Chinese thought. On the other hand, the orthodox Confucian and Mencian philosophers gained control and elevated the scholar-official class and despised the merchant-soldier classes. If the Legalists had won it might have had the effect of creating a Western type of society in China.

THE COMING OF BUDDHISM TO CHINA

The Chinese, in some respects, were not susceptible to the teachings of Buddha. The Buddhist ideal was to escape from the world. Most Chinese thinkers took the view that life should be enjoyed. Buddhism advocated celibacy in contrast to the large family tradition of the Chinese. And yet, despite these ideological differences the ritual and color and warmth of Buddhism had a great effect upon the Chinese, in the same way that artistic rituals appeal to the peoples of the West. There was a message of

democracy in Buddhism. Buddha's salvation was for prince and pauper, scholar and slave. Buddhism adjusted itself to the religious customs and traditions of the Chinese and was aided by the fact that some of the ablest Indian scholars of the time were filled with missionary zeal to spread their faith into distant lands.

Early in the first century, A.D., monks and laymen from India began to enter China. A stream of missionary-scholars penetrated the empire during the Han years. A decree of the prince of Chao in 335 A.D. officially welcomed Buddhism and allowed the Chinese to enter the priesthood. This move marks the beginning of an indigenous Buddhist church, although Indians continued to reside in the courts of the Chinese rulers. One of the most famous of these Indians was Kumarajiva who in 383 was brought a captive to the city of Ch'ang-an, where he gave instruction to more than 3,000 students and translated 50 sacred books. The works of Kumarajiva were the basis for the "Pure Land" or "Lotus School" of Buddhism, the oldest sect in China.

In the early part of the fifth century several embassies from India came to China to congratulate the emperor on his acceptance of the Buddha's words as well as to make requests for commercial relations. As a result of these visits, Chinese pilgrims traveled to the home of Buddha to gather religious books and worship at the holy centers. Many upon returning to China wrote accounts of their travels. The oldest of these records is the *Account of Buddhist Kingdoms,* written by the monk Fa Hsien (414). The world owes many of its ideas concerning ancient India and adjacent lands to this source.

Bodhidharma, who came to China about A.D. 470, is held in esteem for being the founder of the Ch'an or Zen sect of Buddhism and also honored as the first Patriarch. An Indian prince turned monk, he remained in China for 50 years, traveling over the central regions, and finally shutting himself in a monastery, spending nine years in "wall gazing." He believed that "wall gazing" was the only answer to life and that the study of learned books and steps of the ritual were inane gestures of the stupid. Bodhidharma accepted one scripture only, that of the *Lankavatara Sutra,* because he believed this portion of the sacred texts taught that unity of all things could be attained through mind-essence. One disciple, Hui-kao (486–593), known as the Second Patriarch, was able to understand the master and he was given instructions in the method of communicating thoughts. Armed with this technique, a begging-bowl, a pilgrim's robe, and a copy of the *Lankavatara Sutra,* Hui-kao set out on his wanderings.

The Third Patriarch was Seng-ts'an (d. 606), whose life is obscure except for the fact that he was a leprous hermit and dwelled on a mountain peak. Tao-hsin (580–651), the Fourth Patriarch, was also a hermit and left some writings which are considered of great value by the Zen Buddhists. Hung-jen (605–675), the Fifth Patriarch, changed the method of living adopted by his predecessors, came out of seclusion, and headed a large organization of monks who gained the patronage of the imperial court. Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch, gave to Zen Buddhism the form character-

izing it in the twentieth century. He was an illiterate genius who worked out the general principles that: first, there should be a distrust of all scriptures as well as teachings of a dogmatic nature; second, there should be a sincere investigation of one's own nature; third, constant faith should be maintained in applying one's self in order to attain enlightenment, followed by *Nirvana* and finally Buddhahood; and fourth, self-realization should be carried on through a life of simplicity, industry, and sympathy for all living things.

Buddhism has imprinted distinct marks upon the civilization of China. One of the most apparent is the stamp of an art imported from the West through the medium of Buddhism. The famous Gandhara image of the Buddha was the model for the Chinese Sakyamuni. Love of nature was encouraged by the Buddhist monks who lived far from the haunts of men on mountain top and in the valley's shaded retreats. Here came many artists who worked upon cave and temple walls, fashioning scenes of Buddha's life or of the bliss of *Nirvana.* Buddhism also directly influenced Chinese architecture through the introduction of the pagoda and the stupa, the latter being a hemispherical or cylindrical mound or tower which usually shows the location of a Buddhist shrine.

The symbols of the Lion, the Lotus, and possibly the Swastika are of Buddhist origin. The elephant is a Buddhist decoration, used frequently on altars or as censer handles. Buddhism is responsible for the utilization of the eight "precious emblems," decorative designs placed upon marble, wood, silver, brass, or rugs. These are the "Wheel of the Law," the "Conch Shell," the "Umbrella," the "Pall," the "Lotus," the "Urn," the "Pair of Fishes," and the "Endless Knot."

Chinese literature has been enriched by its contacts with Buddhism. This is seen in the modification of the Chinese syllabic spelling. The Hindus engaged in translating books gave China a phonetic system which has monosyllabic sounds divided into parts.

The appeal of the Buddha encouraged some of the Chinese monks to "leave the world" and its temptations to enter spiritual realms and thus gain a feeling of world unity. The many pacific utterances have left an antimilitaristic strain in Buddhism. Democratic elements are prominent in the lack of racial prejudices, indifference to rank, and high regard for the individual. Charity is practised by the Buddhists, many of the monasteries having dispensaries for the distribution of medicine, in which it must be admitted, the virtue of mercy is stronger than the knowledge of science.

Through the years Buddhist monks have been hated by some for their easy life and freedom from domestic responsibilities, and venerated by others for their calmness and kindness and patience. Yet, despite the fact that Buddhism is criticized by many of the educated and mocked by the irreligious, the skeptic and the atheist frequently call for the ministrations of a monk when death approaches and they fear to enter the unknown without some words of encouragement.

The most valuable part of Buddhism is its ability to show the way

toward inner contentment. In times of strife and disappointed hopes, the doors stand open for all. Rich and poor pause gratefully for a moment of rest in the shade of a monastic tree or look beyond the day's sadness at the calm features of the eternal Buddha resting on his lotus leaf.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT CHINA

There is no definite information regarding early Chinese education until the Chou period (1122–256 B.C.) when the highest branches of learning consisted of rituals, music, archery, horsemanship, literature, and mathematics. In the days of Confucius and Mencius there were many private schools. Mencius speaks of technical education in which the master worker, "in teaching others, uses the compass and square, and his pupils do the same."

A provincial official, Wen Weng, about 140 B.C., is credited with being the founder of government schools. He encouraged education by selecting some of the best among the minor officials, supervising for a time their formal training, and then sending them to the capital to complete their education. Upon returning to the provinces they were given responsible positions.

At a conference of scholars in 136 B.C., one of the leaders, Tung Chung-shu, made an appeal to the emperor for the establishment of more schools. He declared that love of the people and respect of scholars was not enough, "for without education you cannot make the people upright. When education is well established, the ruler and his descendents will be prosperous." The emperor was impressed by these words and in 124 B.C. created an Imperial Academy (*T'ai-hsüeh*), where the classics were made the basis of the curriculum. This institution was administered by a Board of Scholars, under the supervision of the Minister of Rites. All students were exempt from taxation during the period they were supported by the state in the Academy.

Some constructive measures were undertaken about A.D. 600 by the T'ang emperor, T'ai Tsung. He divided the Imperial Academy into six colleges: the "College of the Sons of the State," consisting of sons and grandsons of high officials; the "Great College," for the children of less important officials; the "College of the Four Classes," composed of sons of minor functionaries and others admitted through competitive examinations; the "School of Laws"; the "School of Calligraphy"; and the "School of Mathematics," where problems relating to quadratic equations and extraction of cube roots were studied. The total enrollment in these colleges was fixed at 3,260 students, who came from all the provinces in the empire as well as Japan, Korea, and Tibet.

There were several standard books used as the basis for education. First came the *Three Character Classic* (*San Tzŭ Ching*), compiled in A.D. 1050, and containing 1,068 words. The text considers the nature of man, the importance of filial and fraternal obligations, an outline of the branches of learning, the six kinds of grain, the six domestic animals, the seven

passions, the eight materials of music, and the ten social duties. The second primer was the *Hundred Family Names* (*Pai Chia Hsing*). The third book was the *Thousand Character Essay* (*Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên*), containing one thousand different characters, dealing with the powers of man, conduct, social obligations, literary life, etc. The fourth book, a series of "Odes for Children," is written in rhymed pentameters and discusses the charms of a literary career, the beauties of nature, and the changes of the seasons. Another book for instruction was the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Hsiao Ching*), supposedly a conversation between Confucius and a disciple.[1]

The Chinese boy began his education at the age of seven. Before starting upon the arduous life of a student, the youth was taken to the teacher who knelt before a tablet dedicated to one of the sages and petitioned him to guide the novice.

The schoolroom consisted of a desk and stool for each pupil and an elevated seat for the master. One corner of the room was reserved for a tablet honoring Confucius, "teacher and pattern for all ages." The room was not infrequently a mat shed, an attic, in a shop, or back quarters of a temple. Only when extra funds permitted was a house specially built for this purpose. The hours of study were long. Classes began at sunrise and lasted until about ten o'clock, followed by breakfast. After an hour intermission studies were resumed until about five o'clock. In the summer months there were no lessons after dinner but winter evening sessions were common. A student theoretically did nothing but study. This meant the selection of one or two sons from each family who were given privileges at home in the way of better clothes and special foods. And so, in the most uncomfortable of surroundings, roasting in summer and freezing in winter, wrapped in heavy padded garments, the boy spent his years, striving for the honor attained by only a few—the rank of an official and "scholar."

Chinese education emphasized text memorization. Each student shouted out the assigned passage until it was fixed in his mind and then he would recite by "backing his book" and render the selection rapidly to the teacher. In the composition of essays, memory and imitation likewise were required. The successful writer was one who followed perfectly the metrical form of a poem or the balance of prose based upon some classical model. As a result of this slavish adherence to the literature of the past, originality on the part of the student often led to disqualification at the examinations.

The teacher was expected to see that the pupil under his care should speak truthfully, stand erect, listen respectfully, receive without questioning the master's words and keep his garments neat and clean. "Every morning he must learn something new, and rehearse the same every evening."

Examinations for the first degree, "flowering talent" (*tsiu-tsai*), com-

[1] Confucius in the *Analects* gives one of the classic remarks pertaining to knowledge. "Learning without thought is labor lost; thought without learning is perilous . . . shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it—this is knowledge."

parable to the Western bachelor of arts, were held by the district official under the supervision of the chief literary officer. The number of candidates depended upon the population. The successful students of this first examination were the claimants for the second which was held in the presence of the literary officer. There were two kinds of bachelors of arts —those who passed examinations and those who purchased the distinction. The latter seldom rose to any important positions in the administration. The recipients of the second degree, the master of arts (*Chü-jën*), were showered with honors. The number receiving this second degree averaged about 1,300 triennially in the nineteenth century, not including those awarded on special occasions, such as 10-year periods, the beginning of a new reign, an imperial marriage or a military victory.

The third degree, comparable to the doctorate of the West (*Chin-shih*), was granted every three years at Peking to all successful masters of arts who at the time were not office-holders. The examination was the same type as given for the second degree but the supervisors were scholars of high rank and the written topics were required to be of a superior quality. Between 100 and 400 passed this test and were presented to the emperor. The three highest ranking students received gifts from the emperor and were appointed to the first vacancies.

The summit of educational perfection was attained by admittance to the honored "Forest of Pens" or Academy of Letters (*Hanlin Yüan*). Membership in the Academy was by appointment and not by winning the highest degree by way of the competitive examinations. After three years, it was assumed that members of the *Hanlin Yüan* would receive important positions.

There were no formal educational institutions for women until Republican days. Emphasis was placed upon making girls into good wives and mothers, although there were many women who achieved fame as scholars. One of the chief books for the instruction of women is called the *Series of Women's Biographies,* of which the *Within Baton-Door Standards (Kuei Fan)*, a selected group of stories, was the most popular in the sixteenth century. This book recounts "the way of maidens" who should be filial, chaste, brave, and frugal.

A study of ancient Chinese education shows its defects for the propagation of knowledge. The weakness is seen especially in the written medium of expression. The Chinese written language is composed of ideographs in which the "characters" represent ideas as well as sounds. There are "characters" for about 25,000 ideas. Most of this number are used infrequently. The classics contain only about 5,000 "characters." The verbs have no tense, voice, or mood. Nouns have no gender, number, or case. Meaning and use are determined by position or voice inflections. A Chinese, consequently, consumes more time in thoroughly learning his language than students in the West.[2]

[2] There is an increasing disparity between the written classical Chinese and the colloquial. Since 1917 there has been an attempt to elevate the colloquial to the status of a national language.

The highest form of training consisted of memorizing the classics and their many commentaries. Knowledge of the contents was assumed, but stress was placed upon formal literary construction. The period of study had no definite limits and ended only when examinations were passed and an official position obtained. Health was neglected and needless suffering ensued because hygiene and physical education were unknown in ancient China. Memory instead of independent thought being valued, it followed naturally that unsuccessful candidates felt thwarted and existed in proud refusal to engage in manual labor. Some of the unsuccessful "scholars" turned school teachers.

Classical literature having been made the means and end of the intellectual life, scientific thought was disregarded and viewpoints were restricted. This one-sided training had deleterious effects. For example, the study of history too often meant the memorizing of dynastic successions. There was little conception of geography or contemporary events. The student was capable of writing an essay for an examination but incompetent to pen a practical letter. Form was everything and meaning often was obscure. Because of these traditions, there were no provisions generally for the education of farmers, artisans, and merchants. No schools of agriculture, mining, and commerce furnished the empire with trained technical minds. Practical education was gained by doing the work of the day without any connection between it and the educational system. As a result, China was not a "progressive" nation until the forces at play in the twentieth century awakened the world's oldest empire to a realization that change was necessary for survival.

4 The Arts of Ancient China

ARCHITECTURE AND GARDENS

The architecture of China is closely connected with nature. The buildings are so arranged that harmony is obtained between structures and environment. The growth of Buddhism has influenced architecture. Temples and pagodas were constructed in every part of the empire.

The pavilion is a prominent part of Chinese architecture. It is made of bamboo, basketwork, stone, or wood and is usually placed at a spot of historic interest or on a hill. The pavilion is a more typical example of Chinese architecture than larger structures. The gateway or arch (*p'ai lou*) containing three or more openings, is related to the pavilion in decorative designs. The *p'ai lou* is erected to honor a famous man or commemorate an event. It has some of the most characteristic elements of Chinese architecture, such as supporting posts, carved or painted friezes, and saddle-shaped roofs supported by brackets. The largest of these memorial arches are at the Ming tombs, near Nankow and the tombs of the Ch'ing emperors at Hsi Ling and Tung Ling.

The most notable architectural object in China is the Great Wall, constructed in the third century B.C. Walls, however, are the basis of every village and city. There are no Chinese cities without them, and their importance can be appreciated by the fact that the same word is used for a city and a wall (*Ch'eng*). Temples and houses are constructed within walls and closed compounds. Most of the early structures were wood. The Ming rulers (1368–1644) in the construction of their capital at Peking applied the best features of Chinese architecture. They put into stone the features peculiar to the Chinese; colored tiled roofs and curved ends containing figures, columns of red lacquer, dragon-curved marble balustrades, and approaches decorated with intricate bas-reliefs.

Chinese architecture is different from Western architecture. Western architecture has steeples, domes, turrets, spires, minarets, and skyscrapers. The Chinese kept themselves nearer to "mother earth" and harmonized buildings with trees, rocks, and mountains.

Gardens are one of the most distinctive features of Chinese life. The gardens of the rich imitate the beauties and the inequalities of nature. Straight, symmetrical paths give way to winding walks; trees are planted as if growing by chance; rock gardens give the impression that nature

had done the work, and grottos with meandering passages enchant the meditative stroller. Often there is a fishpond, a stream, and a summer-house.

Flowers are not displayed in Chinese gardens as they are in the West. No attempts are made to gain effects by masses of color and borders. Some flowers and plants, however, are especially popular, such as the pine, bamboo, almond, tamarisk, the gingko, the lotus, chrysanthemum, peony, plum blossom, and camellia. The chief charm of Chinese gardens lies in their constant freshness. Even in the cold of winter there are some green leaves or red berries showing through the white. It is no wonder that China is called the "Mother of Gardens."

SCULPTURE, BRONZES, AND POTTERY

Sculpture does not hold the high position in China it occupies in the West. The nude human figure, the main element of the Greek and later Italian masterpieces, usually is not found in Chinese creations. Forms are made to give the impression of repose. The most important and best sculptured pieces are animals or figures of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, which have been influenced by the Greeks.

Among the earliest artistic works extant in China are bronze vases, bells, and mirrors. These bronzes show a remarkable technique in manufacture as well as in design. The making and casting of bronze was not invented in China but probably entered the country by way of the northern route of the steppes through the province of Kansu. The crude bronze forms were taken by the Chinese craftsmen and perfected. It is agreed that a few of the most skillful artisans of today are able to cast bronze pieces comparable to those of Shang times but none are able to surpass these ancient workers.

Bronzes are valuable because many of the inscriptions give a clue to the events of the time. This is especially true of the Chou period when Chinese institutions were in the process of formation. Much of the information available on these centuries is based upon such inscriptions.

The Late Neolithic man of China made vessels from clay that were poor in quality and an unattractive gray in color. The designs, however, of many were artistic. Some beautifully painted pottery has been unearthed that is rated as the finest Neolithic art in the world.

In the first or second century of the Christian era superior glazed pottery was created which is believed by some authorities to have been introduced from the West. During the rule of the T'angs the glazes became more colorful, with greens, yellows, and manganese purple predominating. The Sung emperors were interested in porcelain ware and placed its manufacture under governmental supervision.

Porcelain, as it is now known, reached its highest developments during the Ming dynasty. The word "Ming" in connection with this ware is synonymous with unblemished productions. Ming porcelains are of value to collectors because they were the first to reach the West.

LACQUER, JADE, ENAMELS, AND TEXTILES

Although wood is the base most commonly used, lacquer work is found upon porcelain, brass, and white metal alloys. Lacquer is applied to many different objects, such as boxes, fans, screens, trays, vases, chairs, pillars, and thrones. The Chinese classified lacquerwork under six heads: as rhinoceros horn reproductions, carved red lacquer, painted red lacquer, lacquer bearing gold reliefs, pierced lacquer, and mother-of-pearl incrustations.

Enamels are called the "master artcraft of the world." Chinese enamels are divided into three kinds: painted enamels, champleve or pit enamels, and cloisonné enamels. Painted enamels, "foreign porcelain," or Canton enamels, similar to the French Limoges enamel, are those in which the enamel color is applied with a brush to give an effect like ordinary painting. The first dated enamel of this type was made by imperial command between 1723 and 1735, and notable pieces were created until about 1795. After this time the art declined because the Chinese regarded the technique of painted enamels merely as an insignificant importation. The two other types are popular. In the champleve or "imbedded" enamels the pattern is cut and the depressions filled with the enamel. Cloisonné "encrusted" or "cell" enamels are made by soldering to the metal foundation a band of copper, silver, or gold, which divides the surface into compartments.

The oldest extant silk was found by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan in 1914. It is believed to have been made in the first century B.C. Numerous textiles were made during the T'ang dynasty. These pieces show a distinct Persian influence as a result of contact between the two countries. An unusual kind of weaving in silks and gold thread, called *k'o-ssu,* was first practiced in T'ang days. The creations of these centuries can be viewed in the imperial treasure house of Nara, Japan.

The Chinese are skilled in embroidery work, and in the pre-Republican years there was a great demand for ornamental robes for officials and their wives and for decorations upon purses, caps, shoes, fans, shawls, and table coverings. Textile material was not only silk but also the fibers of several kinds of plants, cotton goods or nankeens, wool, and camel's hair. Brocades, interwoven with gold threads, as well as velvets and satins also were common.

As early as the thirteenth century Chinese silk and gold textiles found their way into the West. After 1517, when the Portuguese came to Canton, Chinese articles were popular in Europe. Demands of the export trade cheapened the colors and designs, although wealthy Chinese have continued to display exquisite pieces.

There are about 150 names used in ancient and modern times for jade. The English word "jade" comes from the Spanish *piedra de hijade* ("stone of the loin") because the stone was supposed to eliminate pain from this part of the body. The Chinese term for jade, *yü,* is applied to any kind

of hard fine-grained stone, which can be highly polished like nephrite or jadeite. In ancient times China supplied this article, and at the beginning of the Christian era, Turkestan was the chief source of exports.

Jade articles were an important part of the imperial equipment of all the dynasties. During the Chou dynasty carved jade pieces were used by the emperor when conferring honors upon officials. Two special jade tablets were included in the rulers' formal dress. One was three feet long, with a hammer-shaped head, worn in the girdle. The other was the "tablet of power," about one foot in length, held in the hands. Another symbolic article was the "tablet with grains" given by the emperor to his wife. Polished slabs of jade signifying abundance and good fortune were employed by the ruler as a notebook during good seasons. An ordinary bamboo tablet was used in a bad year. In the Manchu dynasty important matters of state were placed upon jade slabs. The poetical creations of the emperors also were put upon jade and bound into the "jade book" or *yü shu*. The autograph of many a famous calligrapher was engraved upon jade. Presents of jade objects were popular gifts for the imperial family. Whenever a ruler received his chief vassals, he would carry with him a jade cap or cup which would be fitted over their jade insignia of rank. This act would prove whether the feudal lords possessed genuine marks of power as conferred by imperial authority. Many personal ornaments of jade were common in monarchial days, such as girdle-pendants, decorations for the headgear and hair, clasps, buckles, and sword hilts. Jade astronomical instruments were not uncommon, and jade gongs and bells were part of the musical equipment. In ancient China jade was used as money, and there were times when it was converted into coins.

The Chinese are fond of quoting the description of jade attributed to Confucius. "It is soft, smooth, and shining, like intelligence; its edges seem sharp but do not cut, like justice; it hangs down to the ground, like humility; when struck it gives a clear, ringing sound, like music; the stains in it, which are not hidden and which add to its beauty, are like truthfulness; its brightness is like Heaven; while its firm substance, born of the mountains and the waters, is like the Earth."

PAINTING, CALLIGRAPHY, AND PRINTING

Chinese painting is based upon calligraphy, and being created on paper every stroke has to be made with speed as well as certainty. The poet Tu Fu of the eighth century said that "it takes ten days to paint a rock," meaning that long hours of looking and mental preparations are necessary before the artist puts into form the swift movements of hand and wrist. The main difference between Chinese and Western art lies in the former's emphasis upon flowers, birds, and mountains instead of scenes depicting humanity in action. The Chinese only suggest shadows, relief, and solid objects. When Western techniques were introduced in the eighteenth century, the Chinese were amazed to see shadows and wondered if the

subjects painted actually had one side of the face darker than the other.

The principles of calligraphy were formulated during the Later Han dynasty (A.D. 25–214) and embodied in eight rules. At that time the various strokes were described. In the period of the Sungs each stroke was analyzed in detail and a description given of the technique necessary to follow for the execution of these strokes.

In the last days of the Manchu dynasty there were six main styles of writing. One is commonly called the "seal character" because it is used on seals and ornamental inscriptions. This type of calligraphy is considered to be one of the earliest forms of writing. A second variety is usually termed "official attendants," used in ancient times in documents and recently in formal writings. A third is the "running hand," the average writer's means of expression and the conventional model for the schools. A fourth, is the "grass writing," with its many abbreviations and high artistic value. A fifth is the "pattern style," of the literary artists; and a sixth is a type similar to the third style, except that the strokes are more angular and square, appearing mainly in printed works. The "pattern style" and the "running hand" are the only ones learned by the average person. The articles used in writing are called the "four precious things of the library," consisting of pencil, ink, paper, and inkstone.

Paper, first used in A.D. 105, was made of rice straw, bamboo, or rags. In A.D. 751, paper was known in Samarkand at the time some Chinese were captured by the Arabians. From this city, paper was introduced into other parts of Western Asia and eventually found its way into Occidental countries. In the thirteenth century, Marco Polo was amazed to see in the Mongol kingdom paper money made from the bark of mulberry trees—steeped, pounded in a mortar, made into pulp, and then rolled into a black sheet.

Ink came into use about the same time as paper. It was made from soot obtained from burning pine, fir, or oil, combined with a gluey material, worked fine, and then pressed into molds. Some of the more expensive inks were perfumed and sold in the form of cakes or cylinders, with gold characters written upon them.

The earliest examples of printing appear in the T'ang dynasty. The first books made from wooden blocks carry the date 868. Printing reached a high point during the Sungs when the government published large and detailed dynastic histories. The technique employed by the artists of these years is regarded as a model, and modern editions frequently appear in the Sung style. The ease with which books could be made increased the literary output and made possible many libraries and study centers. Even though movable type was invented about 1041 and metal type was used in Korea in the fourteenth century (1390), the Chinese have preferred the less expensive wooden blocks. Cheap blocks were made also from clay or wax upon which the text was cut. The discovery of economical methods of printing resulted in China probably having more printed books, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, than all the rest of the world combined.

MUSIC AND THE THEATER

Ancient Chinese music was ritualistic. It was related to magic, numerology, and prophecy. Musical pipes were employed to determine calendrical changes. The experiment was conducted in a room containing three walls, one outside the other in order to keep out all disturbances. Twelve wooden tables were placed inside, upon which were arranged the 12 musical pipes. Each of these pipes, filled with ashes of a weed and covered with gauze, represented a note of the scale. According to an ancient description, the ashes in a pipe would drop out whenever the calendrical period corresponding to the note of the particular pipe fell due.

All music in ancient China was not formalistic. Wild dances and music were heard in the temples and archery contests were accompanied by the unrestrained melody of the "Wild Cat's Head." Most music, however, was rigidly controlled, as seen during the time of the Mongols, who included musical composition in the state examinations. The Board of Rites created by the Manchus had a subdivision of the Board of Music, somewhat like the Roman college of flute players, containing officials whose duties consisted of studying the principles of harmony and melody, the composition of musical pieces, and the formation of instruments.

Chinese musical instruments are many and varied. They are classified under the eight symbols of stone-chime (stone); bell-chime (metal); lute (silk); flute (bamboo); tigerbox (wood); drum (skin); reed-organ (gourd); and porcelain-cone (earth). There are 23 of the first; 74 of the second; 97 of the third; 25 of the fourth; 10 of the fifth; 89 of the sixth; 20 of the seventh; and 86 of the eighth, showing a greater diversity than in Occidental lands. Music in ancient times was required to be played on at least one instrument made from earth, the mother of all things.

The most highly developed music of ancient China is that of the *ku-ch'in* and the *sê*. The *ku-ch'in* is a seven-stringed lute, with five of the strings symbolizing the five virtues, the heavenly bodies, and the points of the compass. The *sê* contains from 25 to 50 strings, and movable bridges are manipulated in such a manner that melody as well as accompaniment are produced from a single keyboard. The technique of these instruments is known to but a few musicians.

Chinese music is more formal than Western music. Western compositions emphasize mass effects and richness through changes in harmony as well as the use of many instruments for a repetition of the same theme. The Chinese consciously seek as much variety as possible without repetition. Western music is aggressive and emotional in contrast to the classical music of China with its calmness, passivity, and restraint.

The Chinese theater and drama, as in other countries, has its origin in religious rituals, combined with the art of storytellers, acrobats, and jesters. Dancing and songs were looked upon with favor by the gods, and these actions frequently accompanied sacrifices at the ancestral tombs. Upon these occasions it was common to present a pantomime battle or

famous historical scene. Dancing, singing, and storytelling were woven into a single act about A.D. 500. During T'ang days dramatic expression evolved into two parts, one tragedy and the other comedy. The first genuine elements of drama appeared during the Sung dynasty, when playwrights adapted for the stage as puppet shows and shadow plays the plots of historical and romantic novels.

The orthodox Chinese drama contains four acts, several scenes, and, frequently, a prologue. There are some plays divided into 24 sections and a few into more than 40. The unity of action and time is more logical than in Western dramas. The drama itself is unimportant and the dialogue is often insignificant. Singing is the chief attraction.

Until Republican days, women were not permitted on the stage and their roles were played by men. An actor began at an early age to impersonate women. He learned how to reach soft white hands out of full sleeves and lift the index finger daintily. Mei Lan-fang was one of the greatest of female impersonators of the twentieth century. He usually came upon the stage clad in a simple white gown, in the midst of bright colors and ornamental costumes of the other actors. The entrance itself was an art of posture, being made by an elaborate series of movements with the toes pointing inward. The acting of Chinese artists is conventional to a high degree and Mei Lan-fang, more than any other exponent of the Chinese theater, expressed its development to perfection.

There is a resemblance between the Chinese and the Elizabethan theaters. At one end of the building is a raised platform for the stage. In front are benches or backless chairs grouped around small tables. On three sides are galleries, containing seats. During a performance, attendants move about among the audience supplying them with food and tea and hot towels. Talk is incessant, except when a popular actor appears or a well-known scene is presented. The stage often contains, besides the actors, a group of apprentices who stand about to learn how to conduct themselves on the boards. It is not uncommon for a spectator to wander upon the stage to speak to an actor. In contrast to the simplicity of the stage, the costumes are gorgeous. The orchestra sits upon the stage, behind the actors. Many performances take hours and some are acted out over a period of several days.

The Chinese never have attempted to create the illusion of reality on the stage. A mountain is made by having the attendant pile some tables and chairs over which the actor climbs. A boat may be represented by a flag with a fish painted upon it to signify water. There is no curtain, and the audience sees every move as the stagehands arrange chairs and tables for a banquet or create mountains from the same materials. A "dead" man arises after the "murder" and walks away. The practical Chinese, knowing that the stage is all make-believe, see no need to conceal the machinery of production behind drapes, wings, backdrops, or soft lights.

The place of the drama in the life of the average Chinese cannot be overemphasized. This form of art has influenced the people more than classical literature. It has taught them a love of music, a knowledge of

history, and a consciousness of the great heritage of China. The theater also has furnished the people with concepts of good and evil through the standardized characters of loyal officials, devoted sons, chaste wives, and cunning servants.

PROSE

The so-called Confucian classics are nine in number, divided into the five *Ching* and the four *Shu*. The *Ching* consist of: the *Shu Ching,* the "Classic of History"; the *Shih Ching,* the "Classic of Poetry"; the *I Ching,* the "Classic of Changes"; the *Li Chi,* the "Record of Rites"; and the *Ch'un Ch'iu,* the "Spring and Autumn" ("Annals"). The *Shu* are the *Lun Yü,* the "Analects"; the *Ta Hsüeh,* the "Great Learning"; the *Chung Yung,* the "Doctrine of the Mean"; and the four books of Mencius.

The *Shu Ching* is one of the oldest documents of China. Tradition makes Confucius the editor of this work although many parts are believed to be forgeries of a later period. The *Shu Ching* shows how neglect of the Confucian principles brings ruin and disaster, but acceptance results in social stability and strength.

The *Li Chi* is a guide for the "superior man" and the official book of the Board of Ceremonies. It describes religious and social ceremonies and conventions.

The *I Ching* is an elaboration of 64 hexagrams and appendices. Fortunetellers use these verses. Many an old scholar believes the lines are the expression of all human truth and wisdom. The *I Ching* is the best literary example of the *Yin* and *Yang* principles. Confucius ranked the *I Ching* above all other classical writings and stated in the *Analects* that "if some years were added to my life, I would give 50 to the study of the *Yi,* (*I*), and then I might come to be without great faults."

The *Ch'un Ch'iu* is important because it is one of the oldest annals containing dates and events. Confucius may have contributed to the *Commentaries of the Ch'un Ch'iu.* He expressed the desire to leave to posterity some record of his work, saying, "the superior man is distressed lest his name should not be honorably mentioned after death. My principles do not make way in the world; how should I make myself known to future ages?" Accordingly, Confucius proceeded to enunciate certain moral rules with the comment that "it is by the *Ch'un Ch'iu* that after-ages will know me, and also by it that they will condemn me."

The title *Ch'un Ch'iu,* or "Spring and Autumn" ("Annals"), is described by a Han scholar as being suitable "because their commendations are life-giving like spring, and their censures life-withering like autumn." It also "by praise and blame separates the good and bad." Upon reading this classic nothing to bear out its value is found. There is no artistic weaving of events. Facts alone are given in bare sentences. Later writers elaborated upon the original to convert events stated in prosaic manner into a book of literary value.

Records of a historical nature in China are old and numerous owing to the existence in early times of a high official in each state who combined the duties of soothsayer and historian. There are 26 dynastic histories, in about 4,000 books and many private accounts and memoirs. The first writer of reliable history and biography is Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien (b. ca. 145 B.C.), who wrote the *Historical Records* (*Shih Chi*). The "Herodotus of China" gives a chronological record of rulers and the main events of their reigns as well as detailed descriptions of religious ceremonies, public works, music, astronomy, etc. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien was the model for later historians. Ssŭ-ma Kuang (eleventh century) is another writer whose *General Mirror to Aiding in Governing* (*Tzŭ Chih T'ung Chien*) is an exposition of events between A.D. 313 and 960. This work, enlarged later, is the basis for the most popular history of ancient China. A technical work by Ma Tuan-lin (thirteenth century), *Complete Antiquarian Researches,* has been used as source material for ancient Chinese political history.

Most of the early Chinese novels were crudely written by uneducated professional storytellers. The popular ones were refined by masters of the written language, and as a result mythological and historical tales became in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries standard fiction. Chief among these are *The Heroes of Liang Shen* (*Shui Hu*), *The Westward Pilgrimage* (*Hsi You Chi*), and *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*San Kuo Chih Yen I*). During the Manchu dynasty a revision was made of *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Hung Lou Mêng*), an eighteenth century work, considered the most nearly perfect of all Chinese novels. These novels have been translated into English.

Chinese writers discuss the details of private life in a manner somewhat akin to that of James Joyce, in *Ulysses,* without the latter's chaotic form. Plots are not varied. A favorite theme is that of a young scholar and the obstacles encountered in his progress or the beautiful and intelligent girl in search of a suitable husband. The longer creations have a purity of tone lacking in the shorter stories. Chinese novels have been compared to those of the English writer, Samuel Richardson, because of their emphasis upon characters and comments upon nature and morals. They are similar also to the works of D. H. Lawrence with their disconnected plot and to the Russian novels in length. The student can find in Chinese novels a wealth of material dealing with the traditions and manners of the people.

The Chinese have written several world-famous general works. The *Wen Hsüan* is the first anthology of Chinese literature, prepared about A.D. 530. It contains examples of 36 literary types. The *Wen Hsüan,* the most important single collection of literature in China, was held as a model until the Literary Renaissance, following the revolution of 1911. The Ming Emperor Yung-lo, in 1403, decreed the institution of an encyclopaedia. For four years 2,169 scholars and clerks labored to complete the *Yung-lo Ta Tien,* a collection of the best examples of Chinese literature. The Emperor K'ang Hsi of the Manchus, in 1679 put the scholars to work on a history of the Mings, a dictionary, an anthology of T'ang poetry, the classics, and

the literary compendium, the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng,* three times larger than the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

The eighteenth century was one of great literary activity. During the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung (1736–1796) a new edition of the classics appeared and anthologies of T'ang and Sung prose were prepared. Medical works, a court history, and accounts of the dynastic wars also were published. In order to eradicate all uncomplimentary references to the Manchus, the emperor ordered that every Chinese book should be brought to the court. Out of this came the *Four Treasuries* (*Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu*), a complete "revised" collection of history, philosophy, essays, poetry, and stories of old China. This tremendous work contains transcriptions of 3,462 books in 79,582 chapters with an additional listing of 6,734 in the catalogue.

POETRY

Novels and dramatic works were not regarded by the ancient Chinese as being worthy of superior minds, but poetry, with its presentation of the "truth," was highly honored. Poetry to the Chinese was a means to escape the mundane affairs of life and its petty burdens when occupying official posts. It was not uncommon for a woman to marry a man capable of little but poetical expression. Many a captive gained his freedom upon turning out a good verse. Some poems were put upon the city and town walls. Here they were read, discussed, and if of a high quality were copied and handed down through the years.

The two most prominent features of Chinese poetry are suggestion and concentration. There are no poems of an epic nature, comparable to the Homeric works. The popular form is the "stop short" of four lines which is intended to have the thought and impressions carry on after the visual part is ended. As one critic says, the value is found not in the taste of the tea but in the aroma. Words and music are united in Chinese poetry.

Poetry and painting are allied in Chinese art. The close relationship between the two is seen in the painter completing his work by writing a poem at the top, or in the title of the creation being lines from a verse. The Chinese poet offers vivid word pictures of girls walking; the emperor surrounded by his retinue; the philosopher talking to his disciples; the warrior riding to battle; the hermit in his retreat; the wife gazing sadly at the moon; the solitary fisherman on the lake's shore; and the hunter on his swift horse. All these scenes are filled in with a background of bamboo, peach trees, cherry blossoms, and pine.

Religious notes and love of nature are prominent parts of Chinese poetry. Chinese poets show their deepest feelings when describing nature. Pantheism is expressed to perfection when trees are bored, nude lotus flowers display their beauty, or the moon swings in the dance of Li Po's poem, "Drinking Alone Under the Moon."

The oldest anthology of extant verse is the *Shih Ching,* the "Classic of

Poetry." This work is a collection of 305 poems, five of which are considered to belong to the Shang period and the rest dating from Chou days. Confucius placed such value upon the *Shih Ching* that he said, "if you do not learn the Odes, you will not be fit to converse with." In the *Analects,* Confucius also emphasizes their importance. "My children, why do you not study the Book of Poetry? The Odes serve to stimulate the mind. They may be used for purposes of self-contemplation. They trace the art of social ability. They show how to regulate feelings of resentment." Through the "Classic of Poetry," Confucius taught his countrymen love for traditions. He hoped it would serve also as a guide in days of trouble and show life's swift passing with its robes and horses and wine and food and brilliant courts, to the time when man died and others took his place. The Chinese have so viewed these poems, giving them allegorical interpretations, comparable to the comments on the Song of Solomon.

Some of China's best minds have used poetical forms. The poet, Ch'ü Yüan [1] (332–295 B.C.), is the author of several famous poems. One especially, *Battle,* is a realistic account of war. T'ao Ch'ien of the Ch'in dynasty (256–207 B.C.) struck a modern note in *Distaste for Official Life* and his plea for simple living. Hsieh Tiao (fifth century) wrote the *Song of the Man of Chin-Ling,* inspiring with its love for the "glorious and beautiful land." Tao Yun, about A.D. 400 wrote *Woman,* containing the comment: "How sad it is to be a woman! Nothing on earth is held so cheap."

The Golden Age of Chinese poetry occurs in the T'ang dynasty. In spite of wars, the complete collection of T'ang poetry, first published in 1708, contains 48,900 poems, in 900 books and 30 large volumes. Three of the great T'ang poets are Po Chü-I (772–846), Tu Fu (712–770), and Li Po (701–762).

Po Chü-I is nearer to Occidental conceptions of a poet than any other Chinese. There is a strong romantic character in his works which prompted L. Crammer-Byng to call him the "poet of human love and sorrow, and beyond all the consoler." This talented personage also wrote part of a history of the T'angs, was a Grand Examiner, and for a few years held the post of a provincial Governor. His *Autumn* is a universal poem, and *The Lute Girl,* with its feeling for life in change, and *The Temple,* containing graphic pictures of a Buddhist holy place, are timeless in their appeal. Po Chü-I possessed a social consciousness rare in his day. This is seen in his *Old Man with the Broken Arm,* a satire on militarism, and *The Big Rug,* in which he is unable to bring warmth to the poor with a "rug ten thousand feet long, which at one time could cover up every inch of the city."

Tu Fu is called the "god of verse." This poet of distinguished appearance, when 27 years of age, came to the capital, where he met Li Po. He was made a court official but had little interest outside the writing of poetry. The day of his installation he took off his robes and insignia, laid them upon the table, bowed, and retired, to the amazement of the assem-

[1] Ch'u Yuan, finding he was unable to influence the conduct of his prince, drowned himself. The modern Dragon Boat Festival is supposed to be derived from his tragic life.

bled notables. Like Li Po, Tu Fu was a wanderer until he was discovered by one of the provincial military governors, who gave him the one post he enjoyed, that of Restorer of Ancient Monuments. He held this office for six years and then resumed his vagabond existence. He died in his home province from the results of a banquet given by an official who had found him half dead and starving upon the seashore. Tu Fu ranks supreme in technique. His craftsmanship is partly explained by the fact he was a painter as well as a poet. An undertone of sadness pervades his creations. This is noticed in *The Recruiting Sergeant,* "of the kind that seize their prey by night" and leave "none but an old and broken man behind." The Chinese say of Tu Fu that "the history of the state can be read in his poems."

The most famous literary figure in China is Li Po. A child prodigy, he read when six years of age and at ten knew the classics and wrote creditable verse. In his 'teens, Li Po retired to the mountains with a hermit and here, midst the trees and tame birds, he filled himself with nature's beauty. He left this retreat in 721 and married the granddaughter of a high ex-official. Being a poet, he loved freedom more than domesticity and after three years, started to travel, finally moving to north Shantung, where his wife and children deserted him. They were exasperated by his lack of ambition and refused to view with enthusiasm his rhyming "while in front of my house carts and horses go by."

In his early thirties Li Po was one of the "Six Idlers of the Bamboo Valley" and regaled himself in the city of Loyang, where a discerning friend constructed for him a winehouse in which songs and poems could be written and liquids consumed. Later Li Po was invited to visit Ping-chow, a village near Taiyuan-fu, Shansi province, where eating and drinking, singing, and poetry-making were carried out under the stars. The poet returned in 738 to Shantung and met Tu Fu. These two became firm friends, "drunk, we sleep," writes Tu Fu, "both under one cover at night; and in the daytime we go together hand in hand." Li Po journeyed to Ch'angan the capital, about 742 and was made court poet. During these years he dined with courtiers but his boon cronies were the celebrated "Eight Immortals of the Wine-cup" who have gone down in history with the Elizabethan blades of the "Mermaid Tavern." Tu Fu has left a record of one who "must have three jugfuls ere he goes up to court," of another inhaling "like a great whale" and Li Po, "give him a jugful, he will write one hundred poems." Here, nodding in the wineshop, the poet is summoned to the presence of the emperor. "Please your Majesty," says he, "I am a god of wine." Upon another occasion *On Being Asked Who He Is* he termed himself the "green Lotus Man" who lived in taverns for 30 years and comes forth "a reincarnation of the Buddha of golden grain." As court poet, he was ordered to celebrate the charms of the lovely concubine, Yang Kuei-fei. In his cups, he completed a perfect poem in three parts, sung by the most prominent singer of the day and accompanied by the emperor on a jade flute. "The glory of trailing clouds is in her garments, and the radiance of a flower on her face."

Li Po, after three years, wearied of court life and court jealousy and began once more a life of wandering, finally reaching the mountains near Kiu-kiang, Kiangsi province. His energetic soul was not long in repose, however, and he was persuaded to enter the household of the local prince. He was imprisoned in 757 for being connected with the "wrong side" and his life was spared only by the alternative punishment of perpetual banishment from the state. Two years later the poet reached Wushan, Szechuan province, where he learned that an amnesty had been decreed. So he retraced his steps, reaching Taiping, Anhwei province, in 762. Here, at the home of a relative he died the same year. Legend has it that Li Po was drowned while attempting to grasp the reflection of the moon in the water during a drunken revel.

Li Po was essentially a romanticist, spending most of his life close to nature, on the highways, under the trees and stars, listening to the birds, the wind, and waterfalls. He was influenced by the Taoists and their philosophy of inactivity as well as by their world of gods and goblins and strange herbs and stranger cures. When Li Po was not the nomadic he was the sitter in taverns drinking with all who entered and singing the praises of the local beauties who would listen to his madly enchanting words. Like François Villon, he "ate like a hungry tiger" and "his big voice could be heard in heaven." He was also no mean swordsman and several encounters are recorded in which he did not fare second. To the day of his death, Li Po was interested in the affairs of state and frequently expressed himself as unhappy in being a drunken poet instead of an imperial adviser. Li Po, "towering above ten thousand mountains and hills," was a Renaissance character and would have delighted the men of England who fought and jested and caroused and wrote undying verse in the days of Queen Bess.

The history of Chinese poetry is not lacking in women who contributed their share of excellent verse. There is Hsüeh T'ao, courtesan-poet of the eighth century who started her career as a minstrel and was the official mistress of the court at Ch'ang-tu, holding this post during the administration of 11 governors.[2] There is China's greatest poetess, Li Ch'ing-chao (1081–c. 1141), known for her sentimental verses. During the Manchu dynasty there were more than one thousand women who wrote poetry of a high quality.

Chinese poetry has certain elements belonging to itself alone. Epics and tragedies are rare. The most distinguishing trait is innocent love of nature, pleasures of the home, and companionship of friends. All these have a deeper meaning than in the West, with its impersonal life, shorn of ancestor worship to give it spiritual vigor. The subject of love is not a main preoccupation, owing to the subordinate position of women in the social system. Even in translation, Chinese poetry is revealing and impressive without the intellectual tone of Western verse. The commonplace is sublime in the eyes of the Chinese poet, who finds himself out of step

[2] The correspondence paper used by the Chinese with its patterns of trees, flowers and scenes is named for this famous woman.

in a busy, materially minded world with its worship of success and high office. The most prominent difference between Chinese and Western poetry is the former's lack of struggle. "It sings," says Witter Bynner, "not the rebelliousness of youth, but the wisdom of age; not the excitement of artificial life, except for the elevation brought by wine, but the quiet of nature."

5 The Political Development of Old Japan

The first invaders of the islands of Japan may have come across the Sea of Japan through Korea from North China and entered the country to conquer the aborigines, the Ainu. Later, others perhaps appeared from what is now Mongolia, Korea, Manchuria, China Proper, and the South Sea Islands.

In these early years, Japan was divided into petty states, until Jimmu, a clan leader in southern Kyūshū, according to legendary accounts not accepted by the new schoolbook writers, founded the capital in Yamato near Ōsaka, in 660 B.C., and carved out an empire in central and southwest Japan.[1]

The society of Japan, from its beginnings, was aristocratic. Positions were gained through family power, and important state offices were hereditary for those related to the royal family. Constant strife marked the rule of every emperor, whose authority was contested by the aggressive nobles.

In the sixth century the hold of the emperors was weakened and ambitious clans ruled the country. The Soga clan was the first to achieve power when Soga Iname in A.D. 536 was given the title of *Ō-omi,* or Chief of Chieftains (i.e., Chancellor). Through intrigues and murders of emperors, the Sogas maintained supremacy. During their regime court ranks were instituted, a constitution was enacted, and an embassy was sent to China. The Sogas, however, were unable to resist the strength of rivals, especially that of the famous Kamatari, who defeated the Sogas in 645 and made Kōtuku emperor. The first act of Kamatari was to appoint governors to administer the eastern provinces and to see that weapons were seized and stored in governmental armories.

Kamatari in 645 promulgated the historic Great Reform which included measures for the abolition of serfdom, the confiscation of property held by court officials and village chiefs, and the payment of regular salaries of rice and cloth instead of real estate. The land and its people, formerly owned by the great lords, free of imperial taxation, now came under the sovereignty of the central government. A system of roads, ferries, and postal stations developed. Each district was managed by a governor selected from the local gentry. A census was taken and the land and harvests registered in order to determine the tax rates. The people were classified as freemen and slaves. Children of freemen were to belong to

[1] See page 87.

the father; those of male freemen and female slaves were given the status of the mother; and the offspring of free females by male slaves were considered slaves.

These innovations in land ownership, local government, and taxation aimed at transferring sovereignty from the local centers to the imperial court. Efforts were made to establish the institutions functioning at the time in China. Such measures, however, could not be applied easily to Japan, where different conditions existed. The Chinese system had some democratic features, foreign to the Japanese, who had an aristocratic basis of government. The Japanese, furthermore, did not have the knowledge of administrative services known to the Chinese. The Japanese, consequently, departed from their Chinese models. Fearing the hostility of the great families who had been deprived of land, the government offered compensations in the form of high official positions and court ranks or returned their property to be held henceforth as a grant from the emperor. A compromise also was achieved in the case of the chiefs who had been supplanted by provincial governors. They were retained as soldiers and received authority from the central government.

The second effort to reorganize the central government was undertaken in 702 in the Code of Taihō or the Great Treasure. In this code the highest instrument of government was the Great Council of State (*Dajō-kwan*). Of comparable rank was the Department of Religion (*Jingi-kwan*), which regulated festivals, ceremonies, shrine personnel, etc. The Council of State had as chairman a Chancellor, assisted by two ministers of State, who controlled eight ministries. These organs were the Ministry of the Central Office (*Nakatsukasa*); Ministry of Ceremonies (*Shikibushō*); Ministry of Civil Affairs (*Jibushō*); Ministry of Popular Affairs (*Minbushō*); Ministry of War (*Hyōbushō*); Ministry of Justice (*Gyōbushō*); Ministry of the National Treasury (*Ōkurashō*); and Ministry of the Imperial Household (*Kunaishō*).

One essential of permanence in government is a definite, tangible center. Until the eighth century, Japan had no such fixed headquarters, the palace being rebuilt in a different locality whenever a new ruler came to the front. The reform edict of 645 had stipulated that a capital should be constructed. It was not until 710, however, that a royal residence was erected at Nara to remain the imperial city until 794, when it was transferred to Kyōto, imperial capital until the Restoration of 1868.

The regime so brightly started by Kamatari in 645 did not long endure. Emperors came and departed in rapid succession. A new clan, the Fujiwaras contested the field against all rivals, and in 858 Fujiwara Yoshifusa gained the regency. The Fujiwara displayed astuteness in setting one family against another but failed to see the danger in ousting numerous emperors who were left free to accumulate land and gain power. Two of the imperial offshoots, the Taira and the Minamoto, were able to obtain control of several provinces, raise armies, and eventually bring ruin to the Fujiwara. The eleventh century, however, saw the zenith of power and splendor for the house of Fujiwara. Luxury marked official

society, with chaos and violence and poverty outside the court. The powerful temples defied the government and continued to acquire tax-free lands. Abbots formed private armies to add to the confusion by wars among themselves and forays upon the capital.

The emperor Sanjō II who came to the throne in 1068 attempted to brake the growing anarchy and put forth edicts ordering the seizure by the government of manors (*shōen*) created since 1045 and all older ones not holding proof of ownership. By this step the ruler hoped to curb the arrogance of the great families. The clans, however, flouted the imperial precepts. The rivalry reached a climax in 1156–1160 when the Taira and Minamoto engaged in costly battles, ending in victory for the house of Taira. The Fujiwara also were powerless to oppose the conquerors and a new era was instituted.

The young regime, the Taira, moved its capital to Fukiwara, part of modern Kobe, motivated by contempt for the old court life, eagerness to eliminate the priestly influence, and determination to reap profits from the China trade. The emperor, after the birth of a male heir, was forced to abdicate and name as regent a Taira. Other important offices were taken over by them. The Taira soon encountered the opposition of a revived Minamoto family which drove them from the capital and destroyed their power in a naval battle (1185). The Minamoto now were in the saddle. The head of the clan, Yoritomo, was made in 1192, not by the emperor, but by local powerful families, Shōgun (*Sei-i-tai-Shōgun*) or "barbarian-defeating-great general," a title first given to military leaders campaigning against the aborigines, the Ainu. This step marks the beginning of a new centralized government superimposed on the old feudal system. The history of these years is the narrative of the rise and decline of five military families, known as the Kamakura Shōgunate (1185–1333); the Ashikaga Shōgunate (1336–1568); the Oda Period (1574–1582); the Toyatomi Period (1585–1600); and the Tokugawa Shōgunate (1600–1868).

THE KAMAKURA SHŌGUNATE (1185–1333)

During the Kamakura Shōgunate, so named because the administrative center was established at Kamakura, the government was reorganized with provincial military governors (*Shugō*), or constables. Next to them in importance were the Land Stewards (*Jitō*), who served as collectors of the rice tax, the main source of revenue for the Shōgun. Both of these positions were hereditary, one rating as great and the other as small gentry. The land stewards had authority to deprive manor officials of their power to appoint and dismiss subordinates and also were able to confiscate the land of criminals and add it to their private domains.

The quality of leadership exercised by the Shōgun Yoritomo, who died in 1199, was not passed on to his son, Yorüye. The new Shōgun started out hopefully to restrict the holdings of the powerful families, only to end in being imprisoned by them. One of the clans, the Hōjo, rose to

supremacy and was able to control the administration as regents ruling for incapable Shōguns.

In the thirteenth century a Mongol invasion was resisted successfully, although it weakened the Hōjos.[2] It encouraged, in 1333, the revolt of two generals, Yoshisada Nitte and Takauji Ashikaga, who brought about the end of the Kamakura Shōgunate. These war lords fought each other in a rivalry ending in victory for Ashikaga who founded a new shōgunate. The 235 years of this period comprise a tale of warfare and insecurity. The instability of these years was to end under the leadership of three strong men, Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1552–1616).

THE ASHIKAGE SHŌGUNATE (1336–1568)

Nobunaga, was the son of a petty chieftain. Hideyoshi, who had risen from obscurity, was his most capable general. Ieyasu, a petty landowner, whose son had married Nobunaga's daughter, was his closest friend. This triumvirate by 1573, having gained mastery of a band of great lords, subdued the recalcitrant Buddhist monks. Nobunaga then turned against some of his formidable enemies in the western and central part of Japan. In the midst of these campaigns, he was assassinated (1582) by a jealous warrior. Authority now fell upon Hideyoshi who was made regent in 1585. Hideyoshi from his headquarters at Ōsaka, strongest fortress in the land, eradicated all hostility to his rule by astute political moves and brilliant military maneuvering. He rewarded Ieyasu by giving him control over five provinces, administered from Yedo.

Neither Nobunaga nor Hideyoshi had the title of Shōgun, but ruled as officers of the imperial court, making the throne the symbol of authority. The unlettered Hideyoshi gathered about him men of learning and placed them as advisers in the various governmental agencies. He made the mineral resources state monopolies and coined money, an innovation in Japan, Chinese coppers being up to this time the usual medium of exchange. He instituted standard land measurements and laid down a uniform tax system.

Hideyoshi planned to build an Asiatic empire to include China, Korea, India, Persia, and the islands of the South Seas. The first step in this grandiose scheme was to extend sway over China and Korea. Korea was invaded in 1592. The Japanese fleet was destroyed by the Korean admiral, Yi Sun-sin, who used iron-plated vessels to withstand the enemy. In the midst of war Hideyoshi died (1598). Realizing that no one was capable of carrying on the expedition, he ordered, on his deathbed, the evacuation of the entire army. Thus ended, without either territorial gain or military prestige, the "Seven Years' War," or "The Dragon-head and Snake-tail Campaign" (*Ryo-to-Ja-bi*), a cruel and bloody conflict, which left Korea ravaged and broken.

[2] This was an amphibious operation that was lost on the beaches. The naval phase was effected by a typhoon, the original *Kamikaze*.

Hideyoshi had one son whom he had encouraged to extend the empire's domains, but Ieyasu felt that he was entitled to head the military government and, in 1600, rallied his men to defeat the adherents of the youth. Three years later, Ieyasu was made shōgun by the emperor and became by this appointment founder of the fifth military regime, known as the Third Shōgunate or Tokugawa Shōgunate.

THE TOKUGAWA SHŌGUNATE (1600–1868)

Ieyasu held control until his death in 1616, leaving to his successors, Hidetada (1616–1622) and Iyemitsu (1622–1651), a strong government. The lands of all opposing factions had been seized by Ieyasu, making the shōgunate the richest landlord in Japan. The great feudal nobles (*daimyō*) were classified as hereditary vassals (*fudai*) and "outside lords" (*tozama*), that is, those who were his allies after the defeat of Hideyoshi's son. The *fudai* were allocated land in the region of Kyōto and Yedo or given posts as city governors. The *tozama* held land near the *fudai,* so that they could exercise watch over one another and report acts of insubordination to the shōgun. Banner knights (*hatamoto*) were garrisoned at Yedo as the bodyguard of the Shōgun.

The government was further centralized in order to insure safety for the rulers. The Council of Five (*Gorojui*), the main instrument for executive functions, was open only to wealthy *fudai.* Under this organization was the Council of Junior Elders (*Wakadoshiyori*), which supervised the bannermen. The laws of the Military Houses (*Buke-Hatto*) were promulgated in 1615 containing maxims with many quotations from the Chinese and Japanese classics forbidding the *tozama* to construct fortresses, undertake secret marriages, or keep strangers within their walls. It encouraged the military to lead pure lives and conserve their energy for literary pursuits and martial exercises, forbade combinations of the *daimyō,* and regulated the dress and staffs of each class. Later, these rules were modified to require each *daimyō* to reside several months annually at Yedo, leaving his family in the capital, as hostages, when he returned to his estate. Out of the *Buke-Hatto* developed the *Bushidō* or code of the warrior.

Control by the Tokugawa Shōgunate also was strengthened by granting the emperors a modest income and permitting them to have official relations only through the governor of the city of Kyōto, an appointee of the shōgun. All important commercial centers were supervised by the shōgunate officials in order to crush any movements challenging authority. Social distinctions were solidified by reviving the law of Hideyoshi, whereby commoners were required to hand over their weapons to the military governors, and granting the use of two-handed swords to the *samurai,* the military retainers of the *daimyō* who constituted the gentry or lesser nobility.

Iyemitsu came to power at a time when Westerners were seeking entrance into the empire. Alarmed by the invaders, he severed all contacts with them, prohibited his subjects from leaving the country under pain of death, and proscribed those living abroad. He stipulated also that no vessel could be more than 75 feet in length, thus discouraging sailings too far from land.

The decline and fall of the Tokugawa Shōgunate mainly was owing to the fact that taxes were not imposed upon the feudal lords and there was a shift from a rice economy to a money economy. The total income was enormous but expenditures also were large, including the support of about 50,000 bannermen, the expenses of the Imperial Household, and hereditary nobles, maintenance of the large temples and shrines, and disbursements connected with the administration of private lands. The shōgunate, believing the supply of money was limitless, and fearing to antagonize the lords, found itself divested of the resources accumulating since the establishment of the regime. In desperation, a new method for the collection of taxes was instituted in the cities. Funds were obtained from wealthy subjects in the form of "Thanks Money" (*Myogakin*), but the amount collected was insufficient to counterbalance deficits.

The foundation of the shōgunate was crumbling. The growth of industry and commerce benefited the merchants, leaving the farmer and the feudal lord in a sorry plight. Paid salaries in rice, and also needing money, the bannermen and *samurai* borrowed from the merchants and sank into debt. The fate of the *daimyō* was in no way different. They fell into the clutches of brokers who handled their rice taxes. *Daimyō* adopted wealthy commoners and secured economic ease, in exchange for noble prerogatives. Some *samurai* felt it was better to eat than proudly starve and so relinquished their feudal rights to become merchants. In this way there was an assimilation of the classes.

Disintegrating elements other than these and the coming of the Westerners also were at work to pave the way for the restoration of imperial authority in 1868. A Confucian revival of a patriotic character, led by Yamazaki Anzai (1618–1682), imposing loyalty and devotion in human relationships, turned into political channels whereby the Shōgunate was considered a temporary anachronism and the emperor the permanent institution. Shintō beliefs also were revalued, strengthened by discussions which directed interest to the spurious position of the shōgunate.[3]

The Shōgun Yoshimune (1716–1745), attempting to maintain power by reviving past glories, moved to stabilize the various classes. He encouraged the cultivation of military exercises by the *samurai*. Some proscribed foreign books were imported. It was not long until a small group of enlightened scholars and patriots urged that Japan be opened to the world. Chief among these leaders who had visions of a new day was Yoshida Shōin (1830–1859), who worked for the destruction of the shōgunate and the furtherance of an aggressive foreign policy aiming at control of

[3] See page 87 for Shintō.

Korea, Formosa, Manchuria, Kamchatka, and the Kuriles. This outspoken nationalist was put to death by the Yedo government, which failed to understand the significance of Admiral Perry's visit in 1853.

Japan now was confronted with the alternative of either shutting all doors to alien intrusion and thereby perishing in a war with the white man or eradicating some of the most reactionary elements and preparing for an era of political centralization. The challenge was met, not without violence and suffering and humiliations, in the years known as the Restoration.

6. The Arts of Old Japan

ARCHITECTURE AND GARDENS

In considering the arts in Japan it can be seen that their development has followed mainly the forms and principles created in China, although Southern, possibly Polynesian or Malayan, influence has persisted in architecture despite wholesale Chinese importations. Royal palaces and private homes have tiled roofs supported by columns and beams and outer wooden walls. The rooms are small, low, and rectangular in shape, containing no recesses except the *tokonoma* (alcove) for flower vases or pictures in the best room. Movable partitions, constructed of light wood covered with paper, divide all rooms. Many of the exterior divisions are merely sliding screens. No paint, oils, or varnish mar the natural state of the wood upon which the bark often remains. Mats are placed upon the floors and there is little furniture and no cellar or outbuildings.

Castles are common in Japan. This type of architecture is largely Portuguese and Spanish in inspiration. The structures in the old cities and towns were the homes of the feudal lords and seats of government. Castles are invariably surrounded by walls and moats forming courts which are many in number and intricate in shape. The moats are usually 65 feet wide and 20 feet deep. A few are 300 feet in width. Palisades are located on top of the walls. Behind them are rows of pine trees that at one time not only shielded the inner quarters from arrows but also beautified the fortress garden. Within the outer walls rising ground was covered with green foliage to conceal troop movements. The heart of a castle is the highest of the tower structures (*tenshu-kaku*), not unlike the donjon or keep of a European stronghold. These tower keeps are from three to seven stories in height and contain underground compartments within the stone foundations.

Revolutions, rebellions, bombs, and the attacks of time have destroyed many of the large buildings of old Japan. Among those edifices surviving, shrines and temples are the most valuable. The Shintō shrine at Ise is almost entirely devoid of Chinese influence. The shrine at Nikkō, on the other hand, is nearly pure Chinese.

The landscape gardening of Japan was introduced from China. The first gardeners were Buddhist monks who employed moral abstractions, such as faith, contentment, and connubial bliss in garden designs. The

rules governing the practice of the Japanese landscape architect are different from those of the West. The former takes for his criterion a personal standard, incomprehensible to most of his Occidental colleagues, immersed in plans and blueprints. The Japanese strives to imitate the irregularity and imperfection and disorder of nature. The love for artistic disorder is seen in the use of stones. So-called flower gardens often contain only rocks, pebbles, and sand.

Trees in Japanese gardens are allowed to grow in many shapes. Care is taken to plant trees around ponds and lakes so that shadows fall upon the water. Garden fronts often are planted with firs to make bright wintry views. The garden of the Silver Pavilion (*Ginkaku*) in Kyōto is considered by many to be the most beautiful in Japan. The miniature or "dish" garden is rated as an art in the front rank with poetry and painting. These tiny gems frequently are constructed as replicas of landscapes, villages, or mountains.

FLOWER ARRANGEMENT AND THE TEA CEREMONY

The Japanese artists believe that nature has three perfect beauties: flowers, snow, and the moon (*kwa, setsu, getsu*). In this group flowers take first place. Flower arrangement developed when Buddhists gathered storm-uprooted flowers and kept them alive in water.

The three chief principles of the flower art are based upon the use of the triangle, the silhouette, and fidelity to nature. The most important of these is the triangle. The main or "heaven" line is made one and a half times the height of a tall vase or the same height as the width of a small container. The secondary or "man" line is one half the height of the "heaven" line. The tertiary or "earth" line is one half the height of the "man" line. *Ikebana* ("keeping plant material fresh in water") is the expression used for all kinds of flower arrangement. A naturalistic touch popular in the West is the *nageire* ("tossed in a container") in which the stems, foliage, and blossoms rest upon the sides of the vessel.

The technique of arrangement is one of the most important parts of flower art. The number of flowers or branches to be placed in a vase varies from two to nine, depending on the size of the container and the kind of flowers displayed. Most important, is the *mizugiwa* ("water's edge"), where the flowers come into contact with the water in the vase. This point often escapes the eye if the vase is too low when making the arrangement and may appear awkward, thus detracting from the general effect. Leaves or branches often are torn off in order to achieve beauty at the expense of balance. The Japanese, however, appreciate symmetry or regularity, naming it *shin* (elaborate). Irregularity is called *so* (abbreviated). A form between *shin* and *so* is *gyo* (intermediary).

The Occidental waste of flowers is appalling to the Japanese. They have a conceit explaining the disappearance of wild flowers as being caused by man desecrating them and sending them to heaven where they await

a return to earth after civilization has been attained. Flowers are favorite themes for song and story. A popular *Nō* drama (*Hachinoki*) is based upon the tale of a poor *samurai* who on a wintry eve, having no fuel, cut his treasured plants to warm a wandering monk.[1] The holy man, a powerful magician in disguise, bestowed riches upon his host for this sacrifice. There is also the decree of the warrior, Yoshitsune, who placed a warning upon a plum tree—"Whoever cuts a single branch of this tree shall forfeit a finger therefor."

The birth of the flower art in Japan is attributable to the special regard the Japanese have for nature. Therefore, they rate artists who arrange flowers as highly as those who paint pictures. In Tokyo, before World War II, there were 30,000 instructors of this technique and more than 500 schools for the teaching of flower arrangement in the empire. The comment of Okakura Kakuzo in his gracious *Book of Tea*, that man first "entered the realm of art when he perceived the subtle use of the useless," applies to flower arrangement more than any other aesthetic interest.

Cha-no-yu ("Hot Water of Tea") or *Chado* ("Way of Tea"), known as the Tea Ceremony, is the most widely practised ritual of Japan. It was taken over from the Chinese who in the eighth century developed it to a fine art, expressed in the phrase "at the fifth cup I am purified." The tearoom (*Sukiya*), the "Abode of Fancy," "Abode of Vacancy," "Abode of the Unsymmetrical," is the central part of the ceremony. No matter how poor the householder, everything in this room must be spotless. It is bare of furniture except for the alcove containing a scroll. Guests, clad in sober garb, approach silently, and creep into the room through a door about three feet high, signifying humility. As soon as all are seated, the host brings in a basket of charcoal to replenish the fire in the brazier and a can of incense to perfume the room. The host seats himself in front of the iron kettle, and makes a bow before preparing the tea. Picking up a bamboo dipper, which he holds before him as he would a mirror, he removes the lid of the kettle. He then pours hot water into the tea bowl to rinse it with the aid of a whisk. Having placed some pulverized tea in the bowl, the host takes up the dipper to get hot water from the kettle to pour over the tea which is then whipped with the whisk. Each one of these stages has prescribed movements.

After eating a sweet, the guests receive a bowl of tea, place it on the mat upon which they sit, and bow to the host. They then bring the bowl to their foreheads in token of respect before drinking, holding it firmly in both hands, a perfect balance being essential for the maintenance of mental equilibrium. The tea must be consumed in three sips and a half, the last being accompanied by an appreciative sound of drawing in the last drop. After wiping the edge where his lips touched, the drinker looks into the bowl at the design which possibly may offer a suggestion for an aesthetic or philosophic thought.

The most valuable element in the Tea Ceremony is psychological. As in the calm of forest's depth or cathedral's sanctity, the tea devotee finds

[1] See page 68.

refuge from the troubles of the world. In the seventeenth century especially, when the aggressive West was disturbing the settled channels of life, many found rest in the calm ceremony.

METALS, PORCELAINS, AND LACQUER

The art of sword forging was introduced from China about A.D. 600. Warriors carried one sword for fighting purposes and one for ceremonial use. Both exhibit the high craftsmanship of the workers, who obtained varied textures and colors through knowledge of alloys, casting, and damascening. The blades were made of several layers, carefully forged and tempered. The iron hilt was covered with sharkskin wrapped in twisted silk. The ferule and washers were inlaid and chased in gold and silver. The rivets were covered by elaborate-golden designs. The sword was the badge of the soldier and the gentleman, and many a *samurai* preferred hunger to a loss of his trappings of rank, which in many instances had been passed on from generation to generation. The influence of the military brought forth the development of the sword cult, representing honor. When a conventional sword was made, the smiths purified themselves and dressed in white garments.

A poem on the sword, written in 1939, received wide attention:

> "The Sword, true and bright,
> Apt emblem of *samurai* pride!
> Not for wanton slaughter forged,
> But first to hold true the soul,
> Next to fend the body whole,
> Last to keep bright the country's name."

Until the first century B.C., according to some accounts, the aristocracy of Japan buried servants alive in the graves of the departed nobility. Humanitarians, however, were determined to eradicate this barbarous practice, and when an empress died in 3 B.C., a courtier contrived to have clay images substituted for living victims. This is the traditional beginning of ceramic art in Japan. There is some basis for belief in the existence of pottery in early days. Articles made by the aborigines, the Ainu, have been found, consisting of pottery vessels with angular brims and handles modeled into animal heads.

Pottery making, in later development founded upon techniques gained from Korean artisans, remained a crude art until the flowering of the Tea Ceremony in the fourteenth century. Originally, porcelain bowls and other utensils for this ceremony had been imported from China, but their hard surface affected the flavor of the tea and cooled the beverage too quickly. Under the encouragement of the nobility, pottery making developed into a great art. The Japanese created objects that for line and material were superior to their prototypes. One of the first kilns was con-

structed at Seto. The modern word for porcelain (*Seto-mono*) is derived from the name of this city. The most familiar Seto articles are the blue and white wares, distinguished by a bright transparency, produced by a cobalt underglaze technique.

The Mino district is another ceramic center which has contributed exquisite ware for the delight of man since the sixteenth century. Articles from this region attracted attention, especially the delicate eggshell porcelain, decorated with dainty, masterly executed designs in underglaze blue. Usually fashioned in the form of small teacups and bowls, these pieces have a plain white glaze on the outside and cleverly drawn designs on the inside, such as a branch of plum blossom, a flock of cranes or an outline of Mount Fuji.

The first examples of fine Japanese pottery to reach the markets of the West were those by Kakiyemon, originator of the technique of decorating porcelain with bright enamel colors and fired gilding and distinguished by its flowers, trees, and figures on soft white porcelain. The Netherlands traders at Nagasaki sent large quantities of this ware to Europe. Imitators in the West made pottery which was almost indistinguishable from the Japanese models.

Japanese enamels were made about 1600 and took the form of sword decorations. In the nineteenth century a cloisonné factory was opened at Nagoya and its products were popular with Westerners. Japanese artists have used cloisonné and made colorful articles, although the decorations are not as attractive as the Chinese designs. It has been unfortunate for the reputation of Japanese craftsmen that they have been obliged to manufacture cheap imitations of the early Chinese pieces.

The process of making lacquer was acquired from the Chinese but was developed to a higher degree in Japan. "Gold-lacquer," in which gold and silver dusts are employed, occupies a secure position in art circles. A dry lacquer technique also was perfected in which a thin surface of lacquer is spread upon wooden structures.

PRINTING AND PAINTING

The first printed material made in Japan is four Buddhist charms or *dharani,* published by imperial command in A.D. 768. Buddhist works also were printed in 1080. The first book known to have been printed in Japan with movable type of cast metal appeared in 1596, after the conquest of Korea. Several Chinese classics and medical treatises were printed about the same time. In 1604 movable wooden type, containing the Japanese syllabary and Chinese characters was made, metal type being too expensive. The wooden blocks were used until about 1850 when the Western method of printing was introduced.

There are some general features of Japanese painting which link up with Chinese painting but differ from Occidental standards. Shadows are ignored and no attempts are made to gain sculptured effects. Sug-

gestion is preferred to actual representation. The Japanese painters usually employ an empirical system of perspective. They do not aim at the complete reproduction of a scene, but selecting some of the prominent elements, utilize blank space in the design. In portrayals of nature a classical Japanese artist trains his memory in order to be able to record the mental image with great vividness, even to the delicate veins of each leaf. The basis for painting is Chinese ink, ranging from deep lustrous black to silvery gray, or water colors, to which is added rice paste or a diluted fish glue. Some pictures are made in ink and others are tinted or completely colored, on silk or absorbent paper.

The oldest extant painting by a Japanese artist is a portrait of the Crown Prince Shōtoku with his son, made in the early seventh century. The prince encouraged Buddhism and the finest masterpieces of the Japanese Buddhist art are the frescos in the Hōryūji temple of Nara.

In the Fujiwara period (866–1160), Chinese culture was combined with native genius. The colored picture-scroll (*e-makimono*), appeared in the tenth century in the form of illustrations for diaries and stories. One of the rarest paintings of this type in the United States is *The Burning of the Sanjo Palace* on exhibition in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The painting of screens, panels, and fans also was common. An artist-priest, Kakuyū (1053–1114) or Toba Sōjō, created drawings in which he satirized many of the personages of his day, representing them as frogs, monkeys, and other animals. In contrast with Toba Sōjō is Takayoshi, whose works reflect the court life at the end of the Fujiwara era, with its voluptuousness and leisure. It was Takayoshi who made the first illustrations for the famous novel, *Genji Monogatari* ("The Tale of Genji"), by Lady Murasaki.

The Japanese of the Ashikaga era (1336–1568) were interested in the technique of the Chinese Sung painters (960–1280). In order to meet the demands of the feudal lords gorgeous screens were painted. Some of the great lords had as many as one hundred sets in their castles. The master of these years is Motonobu (1476–1559), one of the greatest of Japanese painters. One of the most famous collections outside Japan is displayed in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

In the Yedo or Tokugawa period (1600–1868), ink paintings, usually with light tints added, were the favorite media of artists who had turned away from the inspiration offered by Buddhism to travel along more naturalistic paths. This innovation is seen in the *Ukiyo* prints or "floating world" of daily life, the type of Japanese pictorial art popular in the West. Among the best known creators of this popular art are Katsushika Hokusai and Toshusai Sharaku. Hokusai (b. 1760) was the most prolific of all print-makers. The story is told that reports of his fame reached the ears of the Shōgun who summoned him to his castle. The artist arrived, with a rooster under one arm, to encounter the favorite court painter. Hokusai, taking a large piece of paper, sketched a blue river, dipped the rooster's feet in red paint and had the fowl walk over the paper which resulted in a stream flecked with autumn leaves. The genius of Hokusai was recognized by the courtiers, to the discomfort of his rival.

MUSIC AND THE THEATER

Ancient musical forms came from China. In legends, however, the story is told of the goddess Uzumi, patron of the dance, who blew upon a bamboo tube with holes between the joints, accompanied by other deities who struck two flat pieces of wood together. Another musical goddess took six bows, strung them with moss, and made the first harp.

The oldest Japanese music is the *Gagaku,* or dance with orchestral composition, based upon Chinese principles, where it was performed only at the court. The orchestral instruments include a small eight-hole flute (*higashi-riki*), a mouth organ with bamboo pipes (*sho*), a flat guitar with four strings (*biwa*), a horizontal harp (*koto*), and three kinds of drums. In ancient days this type of music was played within the imperial palace but in recent times it has been performed in public on special occasions.

In the fourteenth century there was a development of the music of the *Nō* play, composed of simple, rhythmic recitation, accompanied by one flute and three drums. This music (*utai* or *yōkyoku*) is one of the most popular types heard in Japanese homes.

The favorite instrument of poets and philosophers has been the lute. The music of this aristocrat of sound was a secret transmitted from masters to a few pupils. Explicit rules were written which stated to whom the lute might be entrusted. It was never to be played in the presence of "barbarians, vulgar persons, and merchants." One prince warned that if lute playing were taught to unworthy individuals the "holy inheritance of the ancients would be desecrated."

Koto music also was popular, especially in the homes of the middle class and among women. It was promoted about 1500 by blind singers. The *koto,* or harp, comparable to a dulcimer, is an oblong, hollow instrument of wood with 13 silken strings, played with the right hand and plectra. It forms a musical accompaniment for rhythmic singing. This music is metrically regular and played without dependence upon the type of song being rendered.

The *koto* was joined to the *samisen* about 1650. The *samisen* is a three-stringed, rectangular banjo. To the harmonized music of the *koto* and *samisen* was joined the *kokyu,* the three-stringed violin, to form a trio. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the *kokyu* has been replaced by the *shakuhachi,* a bamboo wind instrument.

In spite of the fact that Japanese music does not possess harmony of simultaneous sounds or a fixed keynote, the value of this branch of Japanese art must not be minimized. The playing of the flute, for example, described as "frail sounds moving like clouds of perfume in an atmosphere of calm," can be appreciated by Westerners.

Ancient drama was religious in character and branched out from the *Kagura,* a dance in pantomime, performed at Shintō shrines. The *Nō* ("to be able") play is the addition of dialogue to the music and dance of the *Kagura.* The origin of acting is found in a ninth century legend which tells of a violent earthquake and many deaths. The priests believed

that a dance performed outside a temple would placate the gods of destruction. In Japan, as in India, an actor dressed in priestly garments often appears before the play begins and dances as the chorus implores the mercy of the gods.

There is little of the drama in the *Nō* plays. The stage consists of a square wooden room open on three sides and a roof similar to those of Buddhist temples. A stage hand carries the properties about, without the illusion of a curtain. A prominent part of stage equipment is a bridge or platform (*hashigakari*), sloping down to the left of the audience and connecting with the dressing room. The stage contains three small pine trees or branches dividing the bridge into four parts. Trees of the same variety are painted upon the back wall of the stage. The orchestra, consisting of a flutist, a drummer, and two tambourine players, sit at the back of the stage. A chorus occupies a place to the right of the audience. The first *Nō* plays began at dawn and ended at dusk. With the introduction of electricity, performances were given at night.

In order to lighten the heaviness of tragedy, the Japanese developed a secular farce, the *Kyōgen*, or "crazy speech," which serves as an interlude to every *Nō* performance. The *Kyōgen* usually has a warrior, accompanied by a comic servant who attempts to outwit his master but is discovered and beaten. One of the most popular of these playlets deals with a lord who sends his servant to procure a magic charm. The servant encounters a confidence man who persuades him to purchase a wishing ring. Returning in glee, he is asked by his master to produce a horse. Esoteric words are uttered and the oaf informs the lord his horse is ready. The lord, thinking the servant is the horse, mounts him, in spite of vigorous protests of the victim.

There is a connection between popular drama and the Shintō ritual which used vestal virgins in the services. In the sixteenth century one of these maidens fled with her bandit-lover, organized a theatrical troupe, and gave secular performances in a dried-up river bed. Thus the nomenclature of disapproval for actors originated—"river-bed beggars" (*kawara kojiki*).

Development of the popular theater (*Kabuki*) was retarded by official decrees until the seventeenth century when it was finally tolerated. The *Kabuki* borrowed from the puppet stage not only scenes, settings, and costumes but also the movements of the puppets. The pieces first produced were compositions of ignorant actors. It was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the writing of plays became a respectable profession. Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1724), the "Japanese Shakespeare," and Takeda Izumo (1691–1756) were the first of these to win renown by presenting "blood and thunder" dramas, which do not spare the horrible details of suicide and bloody encounters.

The chief characteristic of Japanese theatrical art is the portrayal of humanity through extreme exaggeration. This attitude is found in the answer given by a famous actor who was questioned regarding his violent voice and gestures, unlike the conduct of a great lord. "Quite true," he

said, "but if we behaved on the stage as people do in ordinary life, who could see that we were heroes?"

THE LITERARY HERITAGE OF JAPAN

The Chinese influence has been one of the most persistent forces in the development of Japanese literature. The first mention of Chinese studies in Japan is in A.D. 405, when a Korean was made tutor to one of the princes. For almost a century after the establishment of the capital at Heian (Kyōto) in 800, Chinese was the rage in court circles. It was not until the end of the ninth century that interest was taken in indigenous literature. At that time, *Kana,* a phonetic script, was invented. Prior to this innovation, Japanese writings were in Chinese ideographs, which was an incumbrance mainly because each syllable needed a character and a Japanese syllable could be rendered by any one of several Chinese characters.

In the Yedo era, ending in 1868, feudal lords employed Chinese scholars (*Kangakusha*) who counteracted the obscene tendencies of the day and gave a moral tone to current literature but enslaved the Japanese medium of expression to such an extent that there are more Chinese than Japanese words in the language. A bitter struggle was carried on between the *Kangakusha* and the scholars of native traditions, the *Wagakusha,* only to result in the defeat of the latter who had to satisfy themselves with victory in the lighter forms of literature.

The banner of independence was first raised by a priest Keichiu (1640–1701) who handed it on to the great literary patriot, Norinaga Motoori (1730–1801), a doctor by training. The most important work of Motoori is the *Kojikiden,* a commentary on the *Kojiki* ("Record of Ancient Things"), in 44 large volumes which emphasizes Japanese customs, language, and religious practices. This work freed writers from Chinese influences and aided in paving the way for the Restoration of 1868.

Even a brief discussion of Japanese literature must not overlook the many legends and folk tales. One of the oldest works is the *Kojiki* (A.D. 712), containing the myths and stories which are the basis for Shintō beliefs. The *Norito,* a collection of prayers, was put into writing in the ninth century. These possess little value as literature but are valuable as a source for the early thought of the Japanese.

The Japanese did not create pseudohistorical writings comparable to those of the Greeks and Romans. The *Nihon-shoki,* a dull narrative, completed in A.D. 720, includes legends, poetry, and history to 697. The *Yeigwa Monogatari* ("Tale of Glory"), appearing in 1088, is the story of an official and his sons. The *Mizu Kagami* ("Water-Mirror"), is a twelfth century account from legendary days to 850, crudely constructed, with neither correlation of events nor distinction between fact and fiction, yet significant as a record of the growth of the Japanese language. About the same time the story of two noble families (*Gempei Seisuiki*) was

printed, containing history interspersed with long speeches, military plans, prayers, miracles, adventures, description of costumes, and poetry. The *Heike Monogatari*, a military romance, based upon the *Gempei Seisuiki*, is more popular than its superior model.

It was not until the seventeenth century that historical writing matured. Arai Hakuseki (b. 1657) wrote an autobiography, rare in early Japanese literature; a history of the feudal lords (*Hankampu*), in 30 volumes; and a survey of Japanese civilization (*Tokushi Yoron*). Hakuseki also wrote the first book on Europe by a Japanese, *Seiyō Kibun* ("*Notes of the Western Ocean*"), gathered from conversations with an Italian missionary.

The most humorous of all works written in Japanese, the *Hizakurige*, was composed by Jippensha Ikku (d. 1831). Comparable to *Pickwick Papers*, this colorful book narrates the amusing adventures of two friends.

In the tenth century, under the leadership of Tsurayuki, interest was centered in prose composed in the Japanese language. He wrote in 922 a famous preface to an anthology and the *Tosa Diary* ("Tosa Niki"), a description of a traveler in the manner of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*. About the same time appeared the *Taketori Monogatari* ("Narrative of the Bamboo-collector"), a charming fairy story, surpassed, however, by the *Ise Monogatari* ("Tales for the Marines"), one of the most popular works in Japanese literature.

In the eleventh century are found two of the standard creations of old Japan. The *Genji Monogatari* ("The Tale of Genji"), was written about 1020 by a court lady, Murasaki No Shikibu, who composed a novel of aristocratic life, notable for its exposition of the morals and manners of the time. The *Makura Zoshi* ("Pillow Sketches") was written by a noblewoman, Sei Shōnagon, who presents her thoughts as they flitted through her mind, stories sad and gay, lists of flowers and mountains, reflections upon the beauties of nature, and an analysis of the cultivated and cynical author herself. Dreary things are enumerated, such as the nursery of a dead child, a fireless brazier, too many female children in the home of a scholar, a letter from parents containing no news. Detestable things are mentioned, a long story when one is in a hurry, a snoring man, a rude awakening by an unwelcome visitor, the curse of fleas. Cheerful things are listed, evenly blackened teeth, a boat going downstream, a drink of water in the night, entertaining guests when one is bored.

A Buddhist monk, Kenkō, wrote a collection of essays *Grasses of Idleness* (*Tsure-dzure-gusa*), which is considered one of the best sources available for a study of fourteenth century Japanese literature. A characteristic section deals with "Things Which Are in Bad Taste," such as furniture cluttered in a living room, too many pens in a stand, too many rocks and trees in a garden, too many words when men meet, but "too many books in a bookcase there can never be, nor too much litter in a dust heap."

The most prolific of all Japanese novelists was Kiokutei Bakin (1767–1848), who wrote about 300 books. His masterpiece is a romance, the *Yumibaritsuki* ("The Bow-bend or New Moon"). His best-known work, however, is *Hakkenden* ("Story of the Eight Dogs"), a modern version of

which appears in four volumes. Bakin utilized the literary instead of the vernacular style and gave a moral tone to his productions not found in his contemporaries.

The popular tales (*Kohdan*) of the Japanese are numerous. In them are Robin Hoods who pillaged and looted yet were held together by the bonds of brotherhood, and many modifications of the ever-fascinating tale of the 47 loyal *rōnins* or knight errants. Storytellers unfolded accounts of devotion to the emperor, stirring legends of brave warriors, success historiettes of men like Hideyoshi, and experiences in the art of invisibility.

The poetry of Japan, in contrast to that of the West, is limited. There are no epical, didactic, political, philosophical, or satirical creations. The themes are confined mainly to lyrical, epigrammatic or emotional longings for the home and family, praise of wine and women, comments upon life and death and love of nature. Even though the Japanese are a martial people, war poetry is not emphasized and abstractions are not personified, although poets present a single impression in a vivid and succinct style which is akin to the Western Imagist. The verses are simple and do not have rhyme as do the Chinese. Every syllable ends in a vowel of the same length. Japanese poetry bears a resemblance to blank verse, with five and seven syllables alternating. The most popular meter is the *Tanka* or "short poem," of 31 syllables in all of the five lines. Another common type is the *Naga-uta* (long poem), like the *Tanka* except for its unlimited length.

The first anthology of Japanese poetry, the *Manyōshū*, appeared about A.D. 760. This collection contains more than 4,000 *Tanka*. The Department of Poetry in 905 published 1100 of the best expressions of the previous 150 years, *Kokinshū* ("Poems, Ancient and Modern").

In the sixteenth century a new kind of poetry evolved, the *haiku*, composed of 17 syllables of Chinese words, in Japanese vernacular. This type was made famous by Matsuro Bashō (1644–1694), an aristocratic monk. Tradition gives Bashō more than 3,000 disciples to whom he imparted the secrets of his art. His most celebrated nature poem reads:

> "A lonely pond in age-old stillness sleeps, . . .
> Apart, unstirred by sound or motion, . . . 'til
> Suddenly into it a lithe frog leaps."

The eighteenth century was not a productive one for poetry, being imitative and preoccupied with Chinese thought. The lyrical poetess, Chiyo (1703–1775), however, deserves mention. Chiyo is best known for the exquisite lines on the death of her son:

> "I wonder in what fields today
> He chases dragon-flies in play
> My little boy who ran away."

The *haiku* declined in the early nineteenth century, to be followed by many lifeless expressions. Poets, critics, and scholarly patriots attempted

to restore the beauties of old poetical forms. Chief among the pioneers in the quest for ancient greatness was Norinaga Motoori, previously mentioned. His most exalted sentiment is in "The Genius of Japan":

> "To what may we most worthily compare
> The spirit of our land of Yamato?—
> The breath of cherry-flowers in morning air
> Suffused with sun-rise-glow."

The influence of Motoori and his followers instilled vigor into national poetry. By the end of the nineteenth century modern subjects and ideas were introduced.

7 The Economic and Social Aspects of Old Japan

GENERAL FEATURES OF FARM AND CITY

The agricultural development of Japan can be divided into seven periods. In the first (A.D. 645–956) most of the land was owned by the state. During these years, distinctions between soldiers and farmers were not clear-cut, the latter returning to the fields when their services were no longer needed as fighters. The farmers finally remained on the land and the professional soldier evolved. In the second period (c. 957–1185) powerful officials, favorite women of the court, princes, priests, and monks, connected with the great temples and shrines, struggled to gain land. This movement led to the establishment of tax-free estates or manors (*shō*), the end of state ownership, and the beginning of feudalism.

The third period (c. 1192–1338) is characterized by relative stability during which the power of the feudal lords, based upon land, increased. The fourth period (c. 1350–1550) saw the birth of extensive domestic and some foreign trade, augmentation of the authority of the lords, and the impotency of the central government. The fifth period (1567–1598) is significant for the growth of a national economy through the use of money, the re-distribution of estates by Hideyoshi to his retainers, and the beginnings of land registration in order to determine tax rates. The sixth period (1599–1867) is marked by social demarcations between the military and the agricultural classes. In these years also rich merchants rose who defied the power of the lords, economic power passed from manorial owners to merchants, and the authority of the shōgunate was abolished. The old order dependent upon land values made way for the new economy, based upon money values. The seventh period, the Meiji era (1868–1912), produced the economic features of modern Japan.

The cities of Japan grew out of castle towns, the seat of government, markets, harbors, or large temple and shrine centers. Among the leading cities were Nara, the capital; Yedo, residence of the *samurai;* Nagasaki, the mart; Kyōto, home of court nobles and gentry; and Osaka, luxurious abode of wealthy merchants.

Most of the cities appeared as a limitless sea of roofs with an occasional temple towering above them. The houses were crowded together and separated by narrow streets and crisscrossing lanes. The burning of charcoal eliminated the smoke of dirty chimneys. The Japanese accounts

of cities were frequently descriptions of temples, shrines, manners, and customs of the inhabitants. They often conclude with a picture of the "famous natural beauties" of the locality: the red plum trees in the temple grounds, the full moon shining over the trees, the white sails of junks, the temple bells at evening, the tree-surrounded teahouses, and the glistening snow upon mountain top.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Dyeing, weaving, engraving, casting, and metallurgy came into Japan with Buddhism which had encouraged these enterprises. Red lacquer was discovered about 687; gold lacquer and crêpe were produced in 701; clothes from the hair of rabbits were made in 704 and brocades were woven and paper was made in 714.

Japanese industries made progress after the invasion of Korea in the latter part of the sixteenth century when the conquerors brought back skilled workers who developed pottery and gave an impetus to the demand for tea-ceremony utensils and cloisonné ware. Ores also were exploited. The first iron wares were made from iron-sand, but a dearth of material and the difficulty of manufacture retarded the industry until the sixteenth century when the importation of pig iron from the West stimulated production. There was a rapid development of silk manufacturing in the seventeenth century. Until this time, large quantities of raw white silk had been imported from China by the Portuguese, but now domestic concerns were created.

Foreign trade in the Ashikaga period (1336–1568) was carried on through the co-operation of the Shōgun, the Buddhist monks, the great lords, and the merchants. All these groups were active in the China trade, transporting regular "tribute," as the officials of the Middle Kingdom termed foreign commerce. "Tribute" in 1453 consisted of sulphur, copper, dye, swords, lances, fans, and picture scrolls.

The trade and commerce of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century was especially extensive. There was a sort of Hanseatic League, composed of free ports and free cities and guilds of traders governed by constitutions. The empire was divided into five business districts, with a fixed amount of foreign goods distributed to smaller units. Trade in imported commodities was limited to merchants belonging to what might be called a Chamber of Commerce. There were 6,646 members in 1650. The nature of seventeenth century commerce can be judged by the number of trade associations. These were composed of wholesale dealers in lacquer ware, silk and other cloths, fancy goods, toys, dry goods, kitchen and iron ware, drugs, nails, iron, copperware, cotton and matting, rice and oil, paper and candles, and sake and other alcoholic liquors.

By the seventeenth century Japanese in quest of gold were sailing the South Seas to Indo-China, the Philippines, Formosa, Malaya, and as far as Mexican waters, in vessels no more than 120 feet long and 42 feet wide. There were profitable markets for Japanese silk, swords, and silver

until the ordinance of 1633 forbade sailings from Japanese ports and prohibited Japanese living abroad from returning to the homeland, under penalty of death. And thus a flourishing overseas expansion was strangled.

In the eighth century, trade in many of the provinces was carried on under a barter system in which cloth was used as the medium of exchange. There must have been money, however, in circulation at this time because in 709 the exchange of privately coined pieces was prohibited, and in 766 all found guilty of violating this decree were reduced to the status of slaves. Copper coins were first minted in 770 and throughout the Kamakura period (1185–1333) were used along with Chinese coins as well as gold and silver pieces. These varied in price and a complicated discount system retarded trade.

The Ashikaga rulers were indifferent to monetary problems, in spite of their determination to centralize the government. They left minting to the great lords. At the end of this period (1568) when importations of coins from China ceased, gold dust became the means of commercial transactions. Copper-mint monopolies were granted to nine cities in 1637, and in 1670 copper money was standardized. In 1700, gold was made legal tender at the capital, although Kyōto and Ōsaka continued on a silver basis. Wide speculation resulted and, finally, the people were allowed to pay their taxes in either gold or silver. In these deals the money lenders and exchange houses waxed rich, taking advantage of the many different coins in circulation. Out of these two services the modern system of banking developed.

In early years laborers had special work as weavers, tool-makers, and shrine attendants. These occupations were hereditary, under the control of families. By the seventh century, many of the workers were independent of family jurisdiction owing to the growing demand for their type of skill. They formed organizations including the guilds of the rice-field workers, fishermen, weavers, potters, scribes, interpreters, and storytellers. These guilds (*za*) were monopolistic bodies by the thirteenth century.

In these years the *za* trader combined with others to form associations (*tonyas*), later changed into *Tokumi tonyas,* comparable to the regulated companies of the West. There were nine main *Tokumi tonyas* in 1694, consisting of: the lacquered-ware dealers; the guild of the *Ochinese* (silk cloth, cotton goods, ginned cotton, dolls, and candles); *Omotemese* guild (covers, green mattings); *Torimachi* guild (fancy goods, cotton goods, coarse goods, lacquered ware, and cutlery); cotton-dealers' guild; *Ichiben* paper-dealers' guild; nail-dealers' guild; *Kashi* guilds (liquid oil); and sake-dealers' guild (vinegar, wine, and soy *tonyas*). In the eighteenth century the *tonyas* split into 96 groups, among them being workers connected with the manufacturing and processing of lumber, dried sardines, waterfowl, imported gold, hairdressing, calendars, books, pens, rice, paper, and noodles.

Workers' guilds were strong in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, like modern unions, were classified according to the work

undertaken. For example the most powerful guild in Nagoya was that of the cabinetmakers who constructed 29 different kinds of wooden articles including miniature Shintō and Buddhist shrines, candlesticks, lacquered boxes, frames for folding screens, cupboards, tables, money boxes, and palanquins.

Before the Restoration (1868), small-scale industry was carried on mainly in the home. These concerns needed assistants and the demand for them developed into the apprentice system. Apprentices lived with the master, receiving board, lodging, and clothes, and were allowed to visit their homes twice yearly. Except for the brief vacation periods, the boys were under the complete control of the master for shop work as well as domestic service. The length of apprenticeship usually was from seven to ten years, depending upon guild regulations. When leaving, the young artisan had to be recommended by his master before setting up a business for himself.

The government looked with suspicion upon the guilds. The Shōgunate in 1622 decreed that all commercial activities should be free and price manipulations were forbidden. Two guilds only, connected with the cinnabar trade and copper production, were recognized in 1648. The Shōgunate in 1726 stipulated that 15 articles were staples and required that all accounts be submitted to the government in order to maintain a balance between supply and demand. These commodities were liquid oil, fish oil, ginned cotton, floss silk, sake, charcoal, firewood, cotton goods, soy, salt, rice, miso, wax, candles, and paper. By these restrictions the Shōgunate aimed to preserve economic stability, curb the production of useless articles, and check the power of the merchants. Until the Restoration the government forced the trade organizations to follow its dictates, but with the introduction of modern political and economic philosophies, business became aggressive and did not encounter consistent regulatory measures until the twentieth century.

LAW AND SCIENCE

The first laws were promulgated in A.D. 604. These are known as the Seventeen Maxims (*Jushichi Kempo*) of the Prince regent Shōtoku. They are similar to the Ten Commandments in that they are not purely legal regulations but a code of ethics. The influence of Confucius is prominent in these maxims and many of the passages are taken bodily from his works. The first legal code, in the Western meaning of the term, is the Great Reform of 645. Another enactment is the Taihō Code of 701. A political code was issued in 1232. This regulation clarified the duties of the officials. One of the sections contains the oath taken by the 13 members of the Supreme Council—"there shall be neither regard for ties of relationship" nor "giving in to likes or dislikes."

Law in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was marked by several features. Generally, laws circulated among the officials in manuscript

form, following the Confucian principle that responsibility for dispensing justice fell upon the rulers not the ruled. The code of 1615, for example, concludes with the Confucian doctrine. "the way to govern the country is to secure the proper men; if there be capable men in office, the country is sure to flourish; if there be not capable men in office, it will go to ruin."

The administration of justice was concentrated in the hands of a professional group, composed of a large number of clerks located at the Supreme Court and at the offices of the local magistrates. This class had permanent tenure and were advanced according to a regular system. They were expected to know how to keep accounts, be skilled in civil and criminal law, and be familiar with the customs of their own as well as neighboring provinces. The magistrates were guided by several instruction books or manuals. In ancient Japan there were no professional lawyers. Each party carried on his own case, although it was not uncommon for an individual acquainted with the law to present himself at the court and secretly collect a fee.

Conciliation was a prominent characteristic of Japanese law. Under this Confucian principle, towns and villages were divided into companies (*kumi*) of five neighbors in each unit. Each one was responsible for the others' conduct. Whenever members of this group had difficulty, the five company heads met to seek a settlement. When no decision could be reached, the case was turned over to the chief or head of companies. If this official were unsuccessful, the problem was carried to the elder or headman of the village. The elder would be disgraced if he could not bring about peace, and in important issues he would call in a near-by elder for assistance. Failure in this stage of negotiations brought the case into the office of the local magistrate who frequently sent it back with the order to settle it by arbitration. If he were obliged to intervene, the case instituted a lawsuit. The magistrate attempted to achieve equity by regarding the general relations of the parties involved. Even when a case came to the Supreme Court at Yedo, the principle of conciliation was applied.

The organization of the judiciary was different from any Western system. The country was divided into three jurisdictions under the control of the metropolitan, the rural, and the ecclesiastical magistrates. The metropolitan judge listened to all suits involving a townsman as plaintiff. The rural judge heard all suits in which the plaintiff was a member of an agricultural community. The ecclesiastical judge sat for cases relating to complaints from monasteries and temples. These magistrates as a body constituted the Supreme Court. Every other month each official served on the Supreme Court and the rest of the time presided in his own jurisdiction, where he acted as an appellate judge. The Supreme Court had original jurisdiction only when the suit concerned parties from different jurisdictions.

The opinion that Japan was in a dark age of science before the Restoration of 1868 is not supported by facts. In the eighteenth century mathe-

maticians were engaged in researches on differential and integral calculus; sun spots were examined by astronomers with telescopes of their own making; botanical investigations were carried on; at least one scientist was famous for experiments relating to electricity; and a geographer gained world recognition. It is in medical science, however, that the Japanese made the most noteworthy progress.

In the fourteenth century a large medical work, the *Nanan-hō,* was printed, made up chiefly of Chinese sources but also containing some independent comments and criticisms of the Chinese authorities. Between 1350 and 1550 many Japanese priests journeyed to China to study Confucianism and medicine. In these years, wounded soldiers and others unfit for active military service engaged in medical studies (*Kinsō-i* or wound surgeons).

During the latter part of the sixteenth century the presence of Christianity resulted in the spread of medical science. Some of the missionaries were familiar with medical practices and persuaded a feudal lord to establish a hospital at Funai. A large Christian church was constructed in 1568 at Kyōto, and two physicians were placed in charge, at the command of the Shōgun.

Medical progress now was rapid, aided as it was by foreign encouragement and native energy. By about 1660 circulation of the blood was known and in the following century internal pathology, pharmacology, and the pneuma-blood-water theory were studied. A work on obstetrics was also published.

The importation of European books was forbidden in 1630, but the Japanese interpreters in the Netherlands trading station were allowed to have contacts with the foreign physicians in order to gain scientific knowledge. The doctor detailed at the factory accompanied the Netherlands ambassador on his annual visit to the Shōgun where meetings occurred with the Japanese court physician. In this way, at Nagasaki and Yedo, Western medical data entered Japan, despite decrees against other branches of Occidental knowledge.

WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

The women of ancient Japan lived under miserable conditions. There was no mingling of the sexes in upper society. There were no happy parties of youths and maidens, except in village and farm communities where girls enjoyed a freedom denied those in higher circles.

The Confucian and Taoistic views of women as sinful beings influenced the Japanese. The husband was in complete control. He possessed one legal wife and as many concubines as he was able to support. Divorce was based upon the seven Confucian grounds of disobedience to parents-in-law, sterility, licentious conduct, jealousy, contagious diseases, pilfering, and garrulity.

It was natural that the male idealized some member of the sex he

considered inferior. Adoration was directed toward the romantic singing and dancing girls (*geisha*). From these individuals came the beauties of old Japan depicted in the color prints (*ukiyo-e*), with their jetblack hair, small mouth, crescent-shaped slender eyebrows, prudish and coy and timid expression, smooth white skin, and gay *kimonos*. Expressions such as these explain the Japanese siren: "she has a face of floral beauty"; "she has crescent-shaped slender and graceful eyebrows"; "her wrist is as frail as willow"; "her hair is as black as a crow's wet feathers"; "her skin is as delicate and as white as snow"; "she walks like a lily."

The Japanese family is larger than Western groups, being composed not only of parents and their progeny but also of the wives of the sons and their children and grandchildren. In early times polygamy was common and marriages of half brothers and half sisters was not unusual. Great responsibilities rested upon the head of a family. Often he was obliged to support his own offspring as well as the parents and children of relatives. The family fortune in early days belonged to the entire group.

Marriage customs in Japan are different from those of the Occident. In Japan, marriage is an affair of the house, not of the individuals concerned. It aims to perpetuate ancestor-worship and maintain family continuity. Owing to the sentiment of family honor and prestige, marriages seldom were the result of reckless love.

EDUCATION

Chinese learning entered Japan by way of Korea about A.D. 300. The first governmental institution for education was created in the seventh century and placed under the supervision of a Korean. The first educational statute was issued in 701 for the regulation of universities, including the capital university (*Daigaku*) and the provincial universities (*Kokugaku*). The *Daigaku* was for the children of the nobility and the high officials. Local officials sent their families to the *Kokugaku*. Theoretically, commoners, upon examination, could be admitted to the universities, but this never occurred until after the Restoration. The faculties, trained in China, offered instruction in the Chinese classics, laws, mathematics, music, and calligraphy. Medicine was taught at a special government school where midwives also received training. Private universities were instituted by some of the lords and monks. These soon outstripped the government schools.

In the fourteenth century Japan was influenced by the Ming civilization of China. Japanese Buddhists visited the Middle Kingdom and returned with the learning of the older empire. The five great temples at Kyōto were the center for Chinese studies. A library was opened at the court. At least one general, Imagawa Ryoshun, was a man of learning. The general's correspondence with his son, comparable to the letters of Lord Chesterfield, was used as a model for more than three centuries.

There were some village schools (*Kyogaku*) founded by *daimyōs* or local officials where the classics of China and Japan and calligraphy were taught. These institutions were not popular, and the tone of educational policies remained aristocratic.

Educational advantages for girls and women were restricted until 1868, although women of the upper classes knew the art of calligraphy, verse-making, and the use of swords and the *naginata,* a weapon for women, akin to the halberd. Obedience being the virtue to be instilled in womanhood, it was natural that formal training aimed at securing unswerving submission to the parents when young, to the husband when married, and to the eldest son when widowed.

Kaibara Yekken (1630–1714), a great scholar, devoted part of his treatise on education (*Dōjikun*) to rules for girls. They should be amiable and obedient, modest, clean, and good seamstresses and cooks. They should shun the theater. Thirteen rules were suggested for daughters to know before marriage: respect and obedience for parents-in-law; reverence for the husband; friendly relations with relatives of the husband; avoidance of jealousy; a silent, early riser; not too much tea or wine; the avoidance of Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples by all women under 40 years of age owing to the fact that they tended to emphasize pleasure; no traffic with fortune tellers; no written correspondence with young men; no male servants in the apartments; no conspicuous colors in the dress; no attention to gossip; and service to husband's parents before one's own.

The coming of the West turned many of the Shōguns toward educational reform. Russian movements in 1797 in the north prompted the government to direct energies into the neglected regions in order to counteract foreignism. An office was opened at Hakodate in 1802 and a decree promulgated that education was to be fostered and the people civilized "in order to imbue them with the manners and customs of our country." The officials were instructed to "cultivate patriotism, so that they may not rebel in case of invasion by foreign powers."

It is evident that the government was not totally blind to the advent of Westerners and attempted to utilize education in order to train leaders for the modern age.

WARRIOR AND COMMON MAN

Ancient Japanese society was divided into four classes: *samurai,* "free people" (*ryōmin*), peasants (*nōmin*), and "base people" (*semnin*). The fierce struggles among rival families in the early years resulted in the appearance of *samurai,* or "one who serves," who formerly had been the hereditary bodyguard of the emperors. It was not long before many of the great lords (*daimyō*) controlled more than 10,000 of these fighting men, who in days of peace served their superiors as administrative officials. The *samurai* were paid in land grants, cash, or rice by the *daimyōs.* The income received was made definite through registration of the

amount and the position of each was thus determined in the social scale. Rigid rules were laid down for the conduct of these warriors. Attendance at theatrical performances was forbidden. The handling of money was considered disgraceful. The training of all was strict and vigorous. Up before dawn, they studied calligraphy and then breakfasted. This was followed by perusal of the Chinese classics and, later, swimming, jumping, wrestling, and military exercises to fit them for the role of intelligent and hardy soldiers.

The most striking element in the *samurai* institution is the code of the warrior, recently termed *Bushidō* and in early days called the "way of the horse and the bow." The principles underlying this code are found in Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shintō. Buddhism furnished the indifference to life; Confucianism gave the feeling of class consciousness and the attitude of the "superior man"; and Shintō supplied the love of country and loyalty to leaders.

Suicide (*seppuku* or *kappuku*), popularly known as *hara-kiri* ("belly cut"), was an established means to achieve honorable death during feudal days and in the twentieth century is regarded with esteem. Disembowelment is not only a suicidal process but also a legal and ceremonial institution to which the *samurai* resorted in order to expiate their crimes, exonerate themselves from blame, and prove their sincerity and honor. "Honor" alone was considered sufficient justification for an untimely ending of life.

In the middle of the seventeenth century changes began to appear in the status and character of the *samurai*. At this time the merchants exploited the military class. Paid in rice for the most part, and, living in towns, the once independent warriors found themselves obliged to borrow money at high interest rates. Many of the great lords were no longer able to employ *samurai* and used instead servants from the lower social groups. It was not long before the problem of the *ronins* or "wave men," unattached *samurai*, became serious. Some of the 100,000 discontented *samurai* found security as teachers of military tactics and the classics, but most of them roamed the countryside and city streets to strike down with long swords some luckless farmer or unguarded merchant. Faced with the full penalties of the law, the desperate *samurai* gradually relinquished the heavy sword of death for the light weapon of decoration and so lost their martial spirit, leaving them indolent and more interested in broad sleeves and purple brocades, embroidered with gold and silver threads, than in a life of action.

Farm life, prints and plays and novels to the contrary, was far from idyllic. Theoretically, the farmer ranked next to the warriors, and agricultural pursuits were given praise in lip-service but actually the government ignored and despised the peasantry.

As early as the eighth century, many a farmer avoided hard service by either deserting the land granted by the government and fleeing to distant provinces where he was lost to the census rolls, or seeking the protection offered by abbots or powerful lords. When unable to escape

the vigilance of officials, he was forced to labor for the court at least one-quarter of the year, receiving as payment a daily supply of rice. Merchants often resisted the aggressions and exactions of greedy landlords and grasping government agents, but the peasantry had no recourse but revolt. Many agrarian disturbances followed famines or long periods of exploitation. The first widespread revolt occurred in 1428 and was followed by others through the years. All these revolts were suppressed by local constables or by the military, who beat down the rebellious peasantry.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries taxation burdens were so oppressive that an absence from labor of only a few days meant hard times for the struggling family. The home of every village headman had a water-prison and other instruments of torture to induce forgetful peasantry to remember tax payment days. In some regions the lord seized wives and children, holding them until taxes were paid.

Some of the Shōguns were aware of distress among the people and aimed to promote their welfare. One, in 1680, proclaimed that "the farmers should be regarded as the principal factor in the national structure of the Empire." Officials were requested to "pay special attention to the protection of their interests, so that they may not suffer from want of means." And yet in spite of intentions, the farmers were virtual serfs, having the duty of cultivation without the honor of possession.

Without the power of wealth in their hands, the merchants would have found themselves in the same abject position as the peasantry. In the thirteenth century, however, during some decades of prosperity, the business groups gained influence. By 1251, the regent, disliking the contacts between lowly merchant and pretentious warrior, to the detriment of discipline in the latter, created two sections in his capital, one for the money counters and the other for the sword bearers.

Later, the Shōguns attempted to maintain the power of the *samurai* by confiscating the property of rich merchants. Discreet men of wealth, therefore, lived simple lives in order to lull the suspicion of the government and instead of indulging in extravagant display spent their money on small houses, tobacco boxes, metal pipes, short swords, and an expensive but coarse looking silk, *Yuki*. Hostility between merchant and soldier soon developed into a veritable battle. Attempts to seek a compromise were rebuked. One of the large business men, Mitsui Takafusa, warned his family that "merchants are mistaken if they try to deal with *samurai* in the same way as they would with their fellow merchants. If they do, they will surely fail in their business warfare," and, as for the great lords, they "are very much like anglers decoying fish with seductive bait, and that is why I warn my fellow merchants not to be desirous to become purveyors for feudal lords, receiving from them a yearly allowance of rice or the temporary rank of *samurai*." Following these admonitions, many merchants refused to have any transactions with lords and their retainers. A few were intimidated into loans, some of which had not even interest paid for more than a century.

In the seventeenth century it was not uncommon to exile merchants who displayed excessive luxury, provided they had failed to gain with presents and other bribes, the friendship of an influential warrior. Merchants were not allowed to wear swords or permitted to reside in mansions similar to those of the lords. The wealthiest of traders were obliged to kotow to the poorest of *samurai*. Political meetings and societies were prohibited. The only centers where the merchants could give play to their profits were the theaters and the Yoshiwara, the nightlife quarters. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, a "boom" era, the military were defeated by the financial onslaughts of the men of money. Scores of impoverished warriors rented their spacious homes to traders. This practice was so common that the Shōgunate in 1729 forbade its continuance.

As late as 1800 merchants had no political responsibilities. The government addressed them as landowners, but in informal relations they were termed the "lower class." Upon them were placed heavy public burdens which had to be accepted without protest. And yet, merchants played an important social role beyond the mere accumulation of money. These despised ones were responsible for the development of the fine arts as purchasers of articles of luxury.

In ancient Japan life was wild and tumultuous. Lusty sport was found in feasting, drinking, and hunting. In court circles, games of skill and chance, football, archery, horsemanship, cockfighting, polo, and falconry were popular. The military engaged in the more vigorous sports of hunting bear, deer, and boars, although hunting for pleasure was never as extensive as in Europe. A favorite type of amusement in court was writing, reading, and storytelling. A court attendant, usually a woman, would compose tales of her own, comparable to the *Thousand and One Nights*.

Purely Japanese athletics have been converted into art. They are not merely physical exercises or contests but a combination of the martial technique with aesthetics and ethics, in the same manner that the ancient Greeks made discus throwing an artistic exercise. In the twentieth century, for example, the law of archery insists upon an elegant and punctilious manner of shooting (*reisha*). The creed of archery is found in an old classic, the *Raiki*: "In archery all bodily movements stepping forward and backward, turning and re-turning must be in accordance with *rei* (i.e. spiritual code of chivalry). Only when the man's mind is pure and his body erect will his pose be just and steady with the bow and arrow. And, however straight the arrow may hit the mark, if the shot was attempted without this correct pose, the arrow has not truly hit the mark. The correctness of his pose is the expression of the strength of his virtue."

The Japanese are more interested in the undignified games of children than the Chinese. No other country contains so many toy shops and fairs and festivals. The street seller of candy, sweetened beans, and cakes makes a sport of his business by selling chances. Battledore and shuttlecock are popular with girls. Boys fly kites, using them in aerial warfare, with glue and glass placed on the strings to cut down a rival's kite. Stilt-races, and, in the winter time, snow battles, and coasting are as common as in the

West. Card games are many and varied as are also ring-puzzles, checkers (*go*), chess, and backgammon.

Festival days are scattered throughout the year. Among the most celebrated are the "Feast of Dolls" for girls and "Feast of Flags" for boys. The "Feast of Lanterns" is the Buddhist celebration when the Japanese visit ancestral tombs and invite the spirits to their homes.

The sports and amusements of the Japanese people are marked by an inexpensiveness found nowhere else in the world. As Lafcadio Hearn says, "but for poverty, the race could not have discovered, ages ago, the secret of making pleasures the commonest instead of the costliest of experiences—the divine art of creating the beautiful out of nothing!"

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A Chinese monk brought Buddhism to Japan. In A.D. 522, he built a temple in Yamato and placed within it an image of Buddha. The emperor of Japan in 552 received from Korea some Buddhist scriptures and a letter commending the new religion as "the most excellent of all teachings, hard to understand and very hard to master" but bringing "infinite and immeasurable fruits to the believer, even to final enlightenment." The emperor and his prime minister, eager to embrace Buddhism and hoping to see others follow their example, urged its adoption but to no avail.

It was fortunate for the existence of Buddhism that one of Japan's greatest statesman, Shōtoku Taishi (543–622), was Prince Regent and gained official recognition for the creed which he saw as an instrument for securing imperial supremacy. Prince Shōtoku's interest in Buddhism is seen in his "Code of Seventeen Articles," which contains ideas from this religion. "Let all practice the Buddhist virtue of patience." The regent encouraged solicitude for the old and sick. He built a college at Hōryuji where Buddhistic laws were expounded.

Buddhism having gained prestige by being sponsored by a leader, native monks put their individual imprints upon it. Kikai or Kobo Daishi (774–835), founder of the sect of Shingon ("true word" or "mystic formula") Buddhism was one of the first to turn the new thought into local channels. He was interested in the "T'ien-t'ai" doctrines of the Chinese Buddhists which emphasized the point that all schools were symbolic ways of expressing the same fundamental truth and that the nature of Buddha was found in all mankind. In the last years of his life this pious monk journeyed into the hills of Yamato province to build at Koyasan, temples and religious houses for the glory of his master, the Buddha.

The appeal of Shingon Buddhism lay in the impressive and aesthetic ritual rather than in the cosmological elements. The nobility were attracted by its art and the masses found comfort in talismans and charms. The Shingon temples and monasteries of the twentieth century are more

like museums than centers of worship, although the common man still finds solace in this old sect.

Another branch of Buddhism is that founded by the hermit, Shinran (1173–1262), who taught that salvation could be reached by a complete surrender to Amida, "Lord of Boundless Light," born into the world to save all crying out his name and believing in his power. A rival of Shinran, Nichiren (1222–1282), a crusading soul of uncompromising spirit, was convinced that he was commanded by Buddha to spread the truth. His sect, known as Hokke (Lotus) Buddhism, considered all others as heretical and, consequently, fights occurred. The Nichirenite establishments at Miyako were burned in 1536 by the men of Shinran, leading to intense hostility until recent years.

The most important of the Buddhist organizations is the Zen group. Dôgen brought Zen Buddhism to Japan in the thirteenth century and erected a monastery at Miyako. The materialism of this city, however, forced him to leave for Eiheiji, "Place of Eternal Peace." Feudal lords and their retainers were attracted by Zen principles and strengthened the movement through gifts of land.

The basic concepts of Zen Buddhism are easy to describe but difficult to follow. Zen is regarded as the entire mind, with no god, no sacred books, no dogmatic precepts. It does not teach and merely serves as the signpost for thoughts, emphasizing man's spirit and accepting man's original purity and virtue. "The immaculate Yogins do not enter Nirvana and the precept-violating monks do not go to hell." The personal feelings of the recipient are important in Zen Buddhism. Common sense too is necessary but logic alone is insufficient to gain food for the spirit. Words, moreover, are not wasted in endless explanation, Zen aiming not for intellectual but intuitive understanding, found in discipline and meditation.

The training of the Zen monk shows how this feeling is attained. In the early years, there was no prescribed method. A slap in the face, a hit with a stick, a laugh or a kick would aid the seekers after truth. Later, these procedures were maintained, but the novice received training at the "Seat of Perfect Wisdom," followed by initiation ceremonies into the order and the beginning of a period of begging which served to teach humility and self-denial. An important rule reads—"a day of no work is a day of no eating."

All this preparatory ordeal leads to the offering of prayers of gratitude to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ages and long periods of meditation, the chief feature of Zen, in which the body seeks to make itself subordinate to the spirit. When not engaged in these activities, the youthful aspirant studies the ancient masters of Zen, learns the Tea Ceremony, and engages in conversation with his fellow students. And then, the novice is prepared to enter the world a full-fledged monk, ready to do what he can and keeping himself beyond the evils of the day by reciting the "Four Great Vows" after every service, vows which even in the cold of print thrill one with their exaltation.

"However innumerable beings are, I vow to save them;
However inexhaustible the passions are, I vow to extinguish them;
However immeasurable the *Dharmas* are, I vow to master them;
However incomparable the Buddha-truth, I vow to attain it."

The Japanese have accepted foreign ideologies without regard for conflicting thoughts. This ease of synthesis is prominently displayed in Buddhism. Most of the Buddhist sects are indifferent to denominational boundaries. The reformer Nichiren compromised with Shintō and Confucianism in his promulgation of Buddhism. The tolerant attitude is best seen in Prince Shōtoku who compared Shintō to the roots of a tree, Confucianism to the stem and branches, and Buddhism to the flower and fruits. Kwannon, the Kuan-yin of the Chinese, deity of mercy, is worshipped by Buddhists in Japan as the protector of mothers and children, the patron of sailors and generally as the benefactor of all humanity. The figure of Buddha or a disciple is found side by side with Shintō symbols in many Buddhist temples. Early foreign travelers commented upon Buddhist priests and their congregations entering the Roman Catholic cathedral at Ōsaka to bow in reverence before the altar.

Some Japanese maintain that Buddhism brought cultural benefits to their country but changed the national spirit. Before coming into contact with this foreign faith the people were cheerful. Then, the upper classes especially, to whom Buddhism strongly appealed, became pessimistic, impressed as they were by the negative features of the faith. On the other hand, many a Japanese Buddhist considers his theology to be one of meditation, of self-creation, of self-refinement, an adjunct of peace and knowledge. To these Buddhism brings humility. All glory heaped upon them appears like flashes from a flint stone, followed by darkness. To these, regardless of conditions, comes inward strength.

Of all the elements of Chinese culture accepted by the Japanese that of Confucianism is one of the most prominent. The moral basis for human relations as taught by Confucius was incorporated into the concept of heavenly rule or "the heavenly way" (*Wang-tao* in China and *Ō-dō* in Japan), and was later taken as one of the constitutional fundamentals of the empire. It was sublimated also in the *samurai* ideals of the *Bushidō* or "Way of the Warrior." Until the storms out of the West buffeted the ship of state, many a Japanese Confucianist was so imbued with the Chinese philosophy that he demeaned his own land as the "Eastern Barbarians" and exalted China as the "Flowering Middle Kingdom." To the Japanese patriot the worst of these intellectual traitors was Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), who advised Ieyasu to create a state comparable to that of China and destroy the imperial institution by proclaiming himself emperor.

Taoism is another Chinese importation which has left an imprint upon the Japanese. This thought came into the country with poetry and painting and linked up to Zen Buddhism. The *tokonoma* nook and the Tea Ceremony also have Taoistic roots. There are three distinct elements in

Taoism. One is the *Tao* or "way" of nature, free from the mundane affairs, seen in the untrammeled hermit of legend and art, the *sen* or *sennin,* the "man of the mountain." Another is Taoism as related to the theories and practices of longevity and communion with the supernatural, found in both China and Japan. The third is linked with Shintō and appears in nature-worship.

Shintō or *Kami-no-Michi* ("Way of the Gods") was the ancient native religion of Japan before the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism. It had no marks as a distinctive dogma, however, until modified by these two Chinese forms, especially Buddhism. After Buddhism penetrated into Japan in the sixth century, the creeds remained separate entities, until about 800, when they were blended into a system called *Ryōbu-Shintō* or dual Shintō. In this new doctrine the Shintō deities were regarded as manifestations of Buddhist divinities. Thus Shintō was absorbed into Buddhism, an inevitable process since primitive Shintō held no theory regarding future existence and possessed no explicit moral code. Although Shintō was assimilated, its beliefs, shrines, festivals, and rites survived.

Shintō mythology begins with cosmogony and cosmology. According to ancient legends, the work of creation was accomplished by the male god, Izanagi and the female goddess, Izanami. Amaterasu-Omikami, "Heaven-shining-Great-Deity," the ancestral Sun Goddess of the Imperial family, was born of these divine parents. The first ruler of Japan, the emperor Jimmu, sprang from this line of gods, and, ever since, his descendants have ruled the land in unbroken succession. The Sun Goddess, above all others, is honored and her shrine at Ise is one of the chief national temples.

Shintō of the twentieth century is a mixture of ancestor-worship and nature-worship. It regards man as being naturally virtuous; it assumes that conscience is the best guide; it believes in life after death. The belief is accepted that those who die become disembodied spirits, living in the world of darkness and possessing the power to bring happiness or sorrow into the lives of their survivors. On this account they are worshipped and propitiated.

Simplicity being the essential characteristic of Shintō, shrines are without decorative features. No images are used although there is an emblem of the Sun Goddess, which usually consists of the sword, a mirror, or a jewel, the articles handed down by the deity to her grandson, the first ruler. This regalia is enveloped in silk and brocade and enclosed in a box at the back of the shrine, removed from public view.

Since Shintō was blended with Buddhism to establish the *Ryōbu-Shintō,* there seemed little difference between the two until the middle of the seventeenth century when a strong revival of "Pure Shintō" was effected by the labors of some prominent scholars and politicians. The basis for their work had been laid earlier by Kitabatake' Chikafusa (1293–1354), an ardent monarchist, who in his *History of the True Succession of the Divine Monarchs* (*Jinnōshōtōki*), stated that "great Yamato is a divine country," the only place in the world having such divinity, and, there-

fore, "it is the duty of every man born on the Imperial soil to yield devoted loyalty to his Sovereign, even to the sacrifice of his own life." This concentration upon the Japanese "soul" burned like a great white light and when combined with the ideal of imperial divinity contributed to the Restoration of 1868.

In 1946, the Emperor Hirohito relinquished his divinity. This act presumably will have profound effects upon Shintō, "the Way of the Gods."

8. Merchant and Missionary in China

EARLY TRADE RELATIONS

According to the Chinese, in the year A.D. 166, a commercial mission from the emperor Marcus Aurelius came to the court of Huang Ti, bearing "tribute," consisting of ivory, tortoise shells, and rhinoceros horns. Chinese sources also describe a Roman named Leo who visited Nanking about 226. A Roman delegation reached China in 284 with 30,000 rolls of aghal-wood. Western historians of the time, however, fail to mention these trade missions, and describe instead the Chinese as a strange folk engaged in silk weaving and living in cities with walls of brass.

In spite of ignorance of each other, the West and East continued to maintain trade relations. Silk constituted the chief export from China. There was also some traffic in skins, iron, cinnamon, wines, incense, and rhubarb. The Romans sent eastward glass, textiles, coral, pearls, amber, asbestos cloth, drugs, and perfumes.

In the sixth century the land route to China was traveled by two monks who brought back silkworms to the Emperor Justinian and thus laid the basis for sericulture in the West. Chinese records mention embassies from Fu-lin, as the Roman Empire was called, in 667, 711, and 719. A mission in 742 was composed of merchants in the guise of priests who were able to gain admittance to the Middle Kingdom by the presentation of "tribute." In 1081 and 1091, some Seljuks visited China. In the comments of these merchants praise is found for the wonders of the regions traversed, but the most enthusiastic encomium was reserved for the size and beauty of the Chinese cities.

About the year 628 Mohammed sent an ambassador to China, who was received cordially by the Emperor T'ai Tsung and given permission to build a mosque in Canton. Mohammedanism from this time grew rapidly and was strengthened by the arrival of merchants and the conversion of many natives. Four thousand Muslim soldiers came to China and were allowed to settle in the empire after having helped the government stamp out a rebellion.

Some time during Han days (206 B.C.–A.D. 214), 70 Jewish families entered China, traveling by way of India and bearing tribute in the form of cotton cloth. Descendants of these folk are found in the twelfth century

at K'ai-feng, where the emperor granted them a plot of ground for construction of a synagogue.

The most famous of all Europeans who journeyed to China before the sixteenth century was Marco Polo of Venice. The father of Marco, Nicolo, and the uncle of Marco, Maffeo, are the first Westerners on record to have visited the court of Kublai Khan. The travel book of Marco Polo gave the Occident an active desire to test the validity of his amazing and detailed descriptions.

THE PORTUGUESE, SPANISH, AND NETHERLANDERS ENTER CHINA

In the sixteenth century all the world was the hunting domain of the white man who sailed to distant regions, taking with him weapons which Lao Tzŭ describes as ornamental but not "a source of happiness." This expansion was motivated by the vitality of commercial enterprises and the persuasive power of cannon. The Portuguese,[1] through these forces, were able to combat the Arabs successfully and control the Indian Ocean and, for a time, the waters beyond. Thus began the supremacy of Westerners who by military conquests and the seizure of loot, followed by unequal trade and slave labor, made possible the rapid growth of European capitalism.

The first encounters between Occidentals and Chinese were marked by cordiality. Commerce was encouraged and the Christian religion was not regarded with disfavor. The emperor confirmed upon at least one European, Marco Polo, official rank. In these early years, the newcomers who entered the Middle Kingdom acknowledged Chinese sovereignty and obeyed the laws of the empire. These harmonious relations, unfortunately, were not long to endure.

In 1516, five years after taking over Malacca, Rafael Perestrello reached China, to become the first Westerner to carry a European banner to this country. The Portuguese voyager was well received. The following year an expedition of eight vessels was sent from Malacca, under the command of Fernando Perez de Andrade, who anchored at St. John's Island (Shang-ch'uan). Andrade's friendliness induced the local authorities to grant him commercial rights. Simon, the brother of Fernando, in 1518, forced his way to St. John's and in spite of Chinese protests erected a fort. This aggressive sailor was driven from Chinese soil only to turn pirate.

The first Portuguese official agent to visit China was Thome' Pires who accompanied Fernando de Andrade in 1517. The emperor was planning to receive him when news of the incursions of Simon de Andrade were made known and the Pires mission was taken to Canton, to be held until Malacca was handed back to its rightful owners. The Portuguese refused to comply with this demand and Pires and his companions were put to death in 1523.

The fear of death was no check upon Portuguese avarice. A factory was established at Ningpo where they defied the laws of the land and insulted

officials and merchants. On one occasion, in revenge for a Portuguese being cheated by a Chinese, a band entered a village and carried off several women. Chinese patience ended in 1545 when they massacred 800 of the "barbarians" and burned 35 of their vessels. Four years later, the Portuguese at Chinchow were attacked. The Portuguese were able to reinstate themselves after the payment of an indemnity. In 1557 they were rewarded for aid against the coastal pirates with an agreement allowing them to rent land at Macao.

Two Spanish Augustinian monks in 1575 were sent from the Philippines to open up negotiations with the Chinese. They were given a hearty reception by the people of Canton, but the officials were not anxious to have dealings with these new "barbarians," after their experiences with the Portuguese. King Philip II in 1580 sent an embassy to China which was detained at Canton. This is the only mission dispatched by the government of Spain until 1847.

The presence of the Spanish in the Philippine Islands had serious consequences. The Chinese carried on trade with the Spanish at Manila. There were about 20,000 Chinese in the Islands by 1603. The Spanish, fearing that these newcomers would rival their power, massacred thousands. And yet, more Chinese came and by 1639 about 33,000 had settled in the regions held by the Spanish. Of this number, about two-thirds were put to the sword. This treatment forced the Chinese authorities in the homeland to limit all contacts with the Spanish by creating the *Co-hong* in 1720. This body was a guild of Cantonese merchants, supported by the government, which regulated prices in order to benefit themselves. The restrictive regulations of the *Co-hong,* which annoyed Western merchants, were born of the oppression of the Chinese in the Philippines and China arising out of white greed.

After gaining independence from Spain, Holland was resolved to wrest Oriental trade from Portugal. Efforts to gain commercial privileges in 1604 and 1607, however, were blocked by the Portuguese who informed the Chinese that these men from Europe were pirates masking in the guise of traders. The Netherlanders attacked Macao in 1622 and were repulsed with heavy losses. Not to be thwarted, they occupied the Pescadores and constructed forts. Forays of ships flying the British colors were made from this area upon the coast of China. The Chinese were determined not to tolerate these depredations by buccaneers and forced them to seek a haven at Formosa.

The Netherlanders in 1653, attempting once more to secure a foothold at Canton, were repelled by their persistent Portuguese rivals. Despite the rebuffs, they sent an embassy in 1655 to Peking under Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyser. They reached the capital the following year. After some delay, they were able to reach an agreement whereby a delegation and four vessels were to be received once every eight years. A second mission was sent in 1664 and a third in 1795. Both hoped to obtain more favorable commercial concessions. All members of these delegations submitted to court etiquette but fared no better than the first deputation.

In 1662, the Netherlanders were ousted from Formosa by the famous

chieftain, Koxinga, who descended upon them with 25,000 troops. The following year the Netherlanders helped the Manchus subdue Fukien province by the capture of Amoy, seat of Koxinga's power. They entered Foochow in 1664 to carry on irregular coastal trade for a century, and from their factory at Canton shared the trade on the same basis as other nations.

BRITISH MERCHANTS IN CHINA

The English were trying their wings in the days of Queen Elizabeth under the leadership of Hawkins and Drake and Raleigh and Gilbert. These adventurers were impressed by the exciting information regarding Eastern commerce obtained through the seizure in 1592 of a Portuguese vessel which had aboard a detailed account of commercial profits to be gained in Asia. Sir Robert Dudley in 1596 equipped three ships for trade with the Indies and China. Queen Elizabeth sent to the emperor of China a letter recommending Richard Allen and Thomas Bromfield, merchants of London. The mission passed two Portuguese vessels in the Indian Ocean in 1598. This was the last news of Sir Robert and his passengers.

The East India Company in 1614 attempted to open direct relations with China. The English and Dutch East India Companies being powerful rivals, the two bodies in 1619 agreed to force the Chinese to trade with them to the exclusion of all others. The English company in 1635 also reached an understanding with the Portuguese at Goa regarding China trade. The Portuguese Governor at Macao was indignant that his superior in India had given foreigners permission to exploit what he considered his preserves, and he persuaded the Chinese to curtail all British efforts.

The English hoped to overcome all opposition from the Portuguese and Chinese. Captain John Weddell in 1637, appeared off Macao with five vessels. Disregarding Portuguese protests, he sailed to Canton and requested that he be allowed to trade. The Chinese authorities would have granted this request if the Portuguese had not frightened them by characterizing the newcomers as "rogues, thieves, and beggars," the vanguard of a great invasion of the Middle Kingdom. Weddell's fleet was attacked. He returned the fire, captured the shore batteries, and looted the near-by villages. In a conference with the local officials at Canton, the captain agreed to restore the guns and junks captured in return for disposal of his cargo and a reloading with sugar and ginger for the home voyage.

For 27 years no efforts were made to maintain the China trade, England being preoccupied with the Stuart problem. The British re-entered the empire in 1670 and engaged in profitable commerce at Amoy and Formosa. All ports were declared open by imperial decree in 1685. Four years later, a vessel sent out from England met difficulties over payment of measurage duties. Blows were struck in the altercation and there were casualties on both sides. The Chinese demands for a large indemnity were refused by the English who sailed away without coming to an agreement.

A brighter day came in 1715 when the officials at Canton agreed that the activities of the East India Company were to be unrestricted; the Chinese staffs to be hired and released at will; freedom to be given for the purchase of provisions; no duties to be levied upon unsold goods; no examination of vessels or crew when they sailed in front of the Customs houses; and, the Chinese Superintendent of Customs at Canton (*Hoppo*), representing the Imperial Board of Revenue, to protect them from "all insults and impositions of the common people and mandarins, who were annually laying new duties and exactions which they were forbidden to allow." This happy arrangement was shattered in 1720 when import duties were increased. The English threatened to move to Amoy before the *Hoppo* promised not to levy imposts higher than the official tariff.

The year 1736 brought to the throne the emperor Ch'ien Lung who sought friendly relations with the West by remission of the 10 per cent tax upon all exports. The imperial message announcing this change was to be read at Canton where the officials requested the merchants to hear it upon bended knees, according to custom. The English, however, refused to bring themselves "down to the same servile level" as the Chinese. The Chinese naturally now looked upon the English as contemptuous of supreme authority.

In order to induce the Chinese to change their policies, the British *Centurion,* under Commodore Anson, arrived at Macao in 1741. Anson forced the local officials to furnish him with provisions and then sailed away, to return the following year with a captured Spanish galleon. The Chinese objected to the use of their waters for battles between European rivals. The commodore's determination to remain until refitted was granted only after members of his crew aided in extinguishing a fire ravaging the city.

An edict of 1757 confined all trade to Canton where profits were made by Chinese and Westerners alike, although personal relations were not smooth. Assaults, frequently resulting in death, were common. Settlement in every case was clouded by the Chinese insistence that foreigners were to be tolerated provided they recognized imperial laws and procedures.

Lord Macartney was ordered in 1793 to free the trade at Canton of the many restrictions. He was instructed to request the same treatment for the English as given the Portuguese, the elimination from personal responsibility of the East India Company's agents for the conduct of their staffs, and an increase of imports from England into China. The embassy set out with $78,000 worth of presents and a military escort of 95 men. Lord Macartney was honored by an audience with the emperor, yet made no progress in his efforts to discuss trade agreements. After many talks, he handed the Chinese a note embodying the main points he hoped to see accepted, all reasonable but not gained until forced from the Chinese by a war in 1842.[1] The emperor sent to King George III, through Lord

[1] These included the privilege to reside at Chusan, Ningpo, and Tientsin; the construction of a warehouse in Peking; the location of warehouses on a small island near Chusan for unsold goods; reduction in duties on commodities in transit between Canton and Macao; and definite tariff rates

Macartney, a letter in which he informed the English sovereign that few articles from the West were needed by the Chinese. The letter ended with the admonition "to act conformably to my intentions, O king, that we may preserve peace and amity on each side, and thereby contribute to our reciprocal happiness."

Trade regulations grew more burdensome through the years. The foreign merchants requested the Chinese to increase the number of Hong members with whom they could deal, reduce the heavy port charges, permit foreigners to own warehouses, and curtail the greed of customs officials. They petitioned also that this communication be delivered to Peking. The Viceroy refused to take the matter before the emperor but was willing to increase the number of Hongs as well as eliminate some of the most irritating restrictions. He hesitated, however, to rent out storehouses or institute any far-reaching commercial changes without imperial confirmation. The merchants sent a belligerent reply to the Viceroy on November 16, 1829, concluding with the threat that "we are the subjects of a King as powerful as the Emperor of China, of a King who has vast fleets and armies at his disposal, of a King who loves peace, and wishes to be, as heretofore, in amity with the august Emperor of China, but who nevertheless, would not see his subjects wronged without seeking to gain redress."

This letter from an ultra-acquisitive group residing in the empire only by sufferance, made the Chinese the more unyielding. The Viceroy declared, "to sum all up as to commerce, let the said nation do as it pleases. As to regulations, those that the Celestial Empire fix must be observed; there is no use in vain multiplication of discussion and disputation."

The merchants then addressed the English government in India and asked that it send an agent to discuss the matter, and some men-of-war to induce the Chinese to carry on regular trade. The Governor-General of Bengal refused to interfere without orders from the home government. The Viceroy made the next move by stating that an additional Hong had been attached to the guild, to be followed by others, and the emperor was considering the reduction of the excessive port charges.

The Directors of the East India Company were not in accord with the actions of the merchants. They held that in view of the Viceroy's conciliatory attitude, the suspension of trade was unjustified. The London officials also believed that the tone of the correspondence with the Chinese was not conducive to harmonious relations.

A new committee of merchants refused to heed the sensible instructions of their superiors. Consequently, the Chinese decreed that all foreign women should be restricted to residence at Macao. In defiance of this order, the wife of the chief supercargo was brought to the factory, protected by a bodyguard of sailors. This incident illustrates the belligerent spirit of the British.

Foreign arrogance was met by more stringent measures. New rules in 1831 specified that alien merchants living in Canton during the trading season should spend the rest of the time at Macao; no European woman could be taken into the city; chair bearers who carried foreigners were to

be punished; all weapons were forbidden; vessels were to undergo more careful searchings; and Hong merchants were not to be in debt to any Westerner.

The merchants, in protesting against these enactments, declared themselves the "representatives of the British nation in China" and threatened to stop all trade if the "abuses" were not removed. They adopted also a resolution criticizing the laws of China, and called upon the Bengal Government to send warships in order to convince the Chinese that the matter was to be prosecuted to the end because there was a "resolute and systematic determination" to reduce foreigners "to the lowest and most restricted possible condition." The communication ended by stating that in the entire period of intercourse between Chinese and English, persons living in obedience to Chinese laws "were suffering from severe and unmerited oppression." Thus did traders analyze conditions at Canton. It is miraculous that with such opinions strife between Chinese and aliens was not more violent.

The Directors of the East India Company did not agree with these views of their servants. They called attention to the fact that they were not the "representatives of the British nation," that nothing was to be gained by disobedience, and "whatever may be the position which Great Britain holds in the scale of European nations, or however extensive her empire in the East, we have no pretensions beyond the subjects of other nations to dictate to the Chinese government the principles upon which alone they are to carry on her trade with foreigners."

This liberal opinion was enunciated too late. Had it been insisted upon earlier the history of Eastern Asia might have spelled peace and understanding instead of war and hatred.

FRENCH, RUSSIANS, SWEDES, AND AMERICANS ENTER CHINA

Early contacts between France and China, in contrast to those of the tumultuous years of the nineteenth century, were peaceful. King Louis IX in 1253 sent a Franciscan to convert the Mongols, but commercial enterprises were not initiated until 1660 when a company was formed to trade with India and China. Overseas business was irregular, and few vessels reached Canton. King Louis XIV saw the advantages of economic development in China and planned to dispatch into that empire an advance guard of Jesuits, at the suggestion of Colbert, who considered maritime trade one of the cornerstones of a greater France. The death of the great minister in 1683 delayed the execution of this scheme until two years later. Louis in 1698 ordered his agent, de la Roque, to determine the commercial value of China and also "to inquire into what he ought to do in landing in the different ports, following the customs and usages of these places, so that the vessels that go there in the future will not fall into any error nor into any trouble with the governors."

The supremacy of England was a barrier to French economic growth.

It was not until 1728 that the French were able to open a factory at Canton and in 1745 gain permission to bring goods to the docks at Whampoa. The rivalry between Napoleon and England led in 1802 to repercussions in China when a British force hauled down the French flag at Canton. The French insignia did not fly in this region for 30 years.

The first Russian commercial mission to China was undertaken in 1567, although hunters and traders had crossed the border for more than three hundred years. This effort to negotiate an agreement, as well as others in 1619 and 1653, were unavailing. In spite of official rebuffs, however, trade was not entirely inactive during the seventeenth century. There are records of three caravans passing from Russia into China in these years. Regular and profitable intercourse was blocked by struggles to gain control of the Albazin area on the Amur River. This dispute was settled by the first treaty entered into by China with a power not regarded as a vassal state, the agreement of Nerchinsk (August 27, 1689), by which Russia relinquished Albazin and Manchuria, the boundaries between China and Russia were delimited, and arrangements were made for free trade at the frontier.

Tzar Peter I in 1693 sent a mission to China. After eighteen months of travel the envoys reached Peking and were received cordially. Peter, in 1719, again hoped to attain more advantageous terms for trade by sending a commissioner to the capital. The agents of the Empress Catherine in 1727 were able to negotiate the treaty of Kiakhta or "Treaty of the Frontier" (October 21, 1727) whereby the border was redefined, trade was regulated, and a permanent mission was instituted at Peking to study the Chinese and Manchu languages. The Chinese in 1733 returned the visit by sending an ambassador and gifts to the Russian court.

About 1750 caravan trade was administered through two centers, one at Kiakhta under Russian and one at Maimaichen, under Chinese control, where tea, silk, and cotton goods of the south were exchanged for the furs, skins, and broadcloth of the north. The Russians attempted in 1806 to penetrate into China and obtain commercial privileges by way of the ocean route, but the Peking government decreed that in so far as agreements regulated overland activities only, they were not to be allowed to enter maritime trade, which was reserved for those nations having understandings with the officials at Canton.

The entrance of Russian merchants into China resulted in no complications in these early years when the Europeans were battering down the walls of seclusion.

The Swedes opened a factory at Canton and merchants from this northern country sailed in foreign vessels. In 1627 a Swedish East India Company was created. One Swedish boat came to China in 1731, but no more than two ships yearly anchored in Eastern waters for the rest of the eighteenth century. The Danes also had a center at Canton and between 1732 and 1744 sent 32 vessels eastward. The Danes, however, like some of the Swedes and French, found it more profitable to smuggle tea into England than carry on direct trade with China.

Out of the low ebb of trade and industry following the War of Independence, the American merchant marine was born. The leaders interested in oceanic ventures regarded the Orient as one of the first regions to be stormed, spurred on as they were by the closing of the old sea lanes to their vessels and British determination to keep all Yankees from reaping profits from Western commerce. Canton was the objective where tea might be found free of London taxes.

Robert Morris was one of the guiding spirits in the fitting out of the *Empress of China,* which sailed to Canton in 1784 with a cargo of forty tons of ginseng. The crew was given a warm reception by the foreign community at Canton, especially the English, who evinced no resentment for the recent defeat. After four months, the *Empress of China* returned to New York with black and green tea, nankeens, chinaware, silk, and cassia. This voyage netted the owners a 25 per cent profit and stimulated others to follow. Within a year, five vessels flying the American flag set out for Canton. Soon New York, Philadelphia, Salem, and Boston grew into marts for Oriental commodities, consisting of teas, satins, lute strings, taffetas, silks, cotton, nankeens, pearl buttons, lambskins, ivory and lacquered wares, teacaddies, lacquered teatrays, bottle stands, silk handkerchiefs, hair ribbons, cinnamon, and black pepper.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, Cantonese commerce constituted about one-seventh of the total imports into the eastern ports of the United States. British competition did not affect this maritime prosperity, the fortunes of many were made from it, and the finest ships and the most capable captains were engaged in the China trade. Coupled to daring initiative, American success was made possible owing to Chinese regard for the citizens of the young republic. The lack of a caste system in both countries and the absence of any feelings of racial superiority on the part of the new arrivals, in contrast to the British attitude, strongly appealed to merchants and mandarins alike.

The only incident which might have led to unpleasant relations occurred in 1821 when a Chinese woman was killed by an Italian sailor on board the vessel, *Emily.* The culprit was found guilty, but the captain refused to hand him over to the local authorities for trial. Thereupon the Chinese cut off all trade until the guilty one was given to the police. At the court proceedings, the Americans declared that "we are bound to submit to your laws while we are in your waters, be they ever so unjust. We will not resist them."

The first merchants who entered the empire left no cultural imprints. Traders, according to the social scale, occupied the lowest level, and Chinese officials saw no reason to have any associations with them. They regarded these white men as either ruthless materialists or the bearers of tribute from inferior lands. Educated Chinese were unable to understand why crude money gatherers should be ungracious when they were receiving rhubarb, needed to keep them alive, and the blessings derived from tea. The common man, if he considered them at all, was convinced they were pirates.

In defense of the merchant, it must be remembered that even if some of the more intellectual desired to learn the language of the country, imperial laws not only forbade the sale of Chinese books to foreigners but also prohibited Chinese from teaching the language to the white men. Thus foreigners were despised for not using a speech they were unable to learn from the Chinese themselves.

The Chinese, furthermore, were not inclined to show any tolerance for the notorious violence and debauchery of Western sailors. They lumped the merchants with these sailors as drunkards and disturbers of order, conveniently forgetting that there were always some Chinese of low minds and lower morals who were eager to engage in card games and drinking bouts with these men from overseas and aid them in seeking out the pleasures of the flesh. The mutual scorn which resulted was natural and unfortunate, accumulating through the years, and not to be wiped out easily by the labors of men of good will.

THE EARLY MISSIONARIES IN CHINA

By the end of the fifth century, the Nestorians, no longer having ties with the Byzantine Church and having been excommunicated by the Roman Catholics, found security in the East through the good offices of the Persians and the Mesopotamians. About the year 550 they entered India and in 636 were in Central Asia and China. The Chinese launched an attack against all foreign monks and nuns in 845 and during the pogroms the Nestorians were dispersed. Some may have remained in the empire to be converted to Mohammedanism. Others left the country to link their fortunes to the Assyrian Church in Turkestan.

In 1240 the Franciscan movement was powerful enough to look toward the East for spiritual conquests. China was a part of the world to be brought under the Christian banner. Pope Gregory IX had commanded the monastic orders to preach a crusade against these people St. Francis himself had dubbed "infidels," but this intolerance soon changed into a policy of proselyting in order to ally Christian and Mongol against Mohammedan.

Pope Innocent IV, in 1245, ordered the Italian Franciscan, John de Plano Carpini, to Asia. King Louis IX of France sent into the East in 1253 his Flemish friend, William of Rubruquis. These monks visited the Great Khan at Karakorum, and their descriptions are the first to be known in the West concerning the empire of the Mongols.

Among the most important missionaries who came to China in these years were John of Monte Corvino (1289–1328) and Odoric of Pordenone (1304–1330). Kublai Khan treated Father John with respect. He was given permission to preach under the protection of the Mongol ruler who believed that all could find salvation in their respective faiths. Before his death, Father John was given the honor of being made the first archbishop of Peking and the founder of several bishoprics and monas-

teries throughout China. Father Odoric wrote a fascinating account of the Mongols to whom he preached, garbed in native costume.

This unhampered religious activity ended in the last years of the fourteenth century. The decline of the Mongols, the advent of the Ottoman Turks, and the Black Death, made precarious regular contact between Europe and the Eastern stations. Yet, these efforts were not futile. Europeans learned from missionaries concerning new and strange regions. Travel tales were published which stimulated interest in the Orient. Despite the presence of Christians in the Mongol empire, the West was unable to make any moves toward them. Wars and theological disputes left the Church absorbed in keeping intact the machinery of government. Slight notice could be given to dusty missionary tract and merchant diary. Then, in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese and Spanish explorations proved the reliability of some of the exotic stories and eyes were turned once again toward the East.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN CHINA

Of all missionary efforts in China none is more dramatic or fruitful than the labors of the Jesuits. This work was begun by Francis Xavier, who carried the message of Christ to Japan only to die in 1552 at the entrance to China, on the island of Shang-ch'uan (St. John's Island). The death of one of the founders of the Society before he was able to gain a foothold in China was a challenge for the later work of his colleagues. The empire had been entered by the zealous Jesuits in the sixteenth century, but their outstanding achievements were made in the following two centuries, under the leadership of an illustrious triumvirate composed of Fathers Matteo Ricci, John Adam Schall, and Ferdinand Verbiest.

The Society of Jesus, under the guidance of these learned men, was able to employ astronomy, geography, and mathematics to open the doors of court officials and scholars of the realm. The Chinese, jealous of their time-honored religious beliefs, had not received the Christian ideals with enthusiasm. Now, science came to the aid of religion. Father Ricci traveled about the cities, dressed as a native scholar. His assistants displayed a museum of clocks and astronomical instruments. Many came to wonder over these contrivances of the West and to listen to the Jesuits talk about the stars, the countries over the seas, the works of God, and the Lord of Heaven. Some were impressed by the peculiar machines. Some were moved by the new religious doctrines. Some asked to be baptised.

A provincial governor heard about the maps made by these "mandarins from the West" and ordered copies for his friends. It was not long before the Emperor Wan Li summoned the missionaries to his court. Father Ricci told the emperor about Western geography and impressed upon the ruler the comforting fact that the European nations were too far away to effect an invasion of the empire. The Jesuit was rewarded with a high office in Peking where he wrote catechisms and other religious books in

Chinese and preached indefatigably. Father Ricci died in 1610 and was buried in a plot set aside by the government, after an impressive state funeral with full honors befitting a mandarin of the first rank.

Nine years after the death of Father Ricci, Father John Adam Schall, astronomer, reformer of the calendar, metallurgist, and high mandarin, came to Peking to spend 47 years in the service of the emperor. By imperial decree, the calendar innovations were placed in his hands after the Chinese astronomers had failed to determine the time of the solar eclipse of 1610, missing by one hour. Father Schall died in 1666, leaving his authority in the hands of the Belgian, Father Ferdinand Verbiest, builder of the astronomical observatory, located on the wall of the city of Peking.

The labors of the missionaries in these years were beset with dangers. Persecutions menaced them all. The Jesuits were denounced in 1616 as being back of a plot to overthrow the government. Mohammedan astronomers in 1664, ousted by the Jesuits, instigated an attack against them. Twenty-five were carried to Canton and imprisoned and although none was executed, Christianity was officially proscribed. By 1671, however, the Westerners were reinstated in their churches and at court.

The eighteenth century also was one of suffering for the missionaries. They were accused of being the forerunners of conquerors coming from the Philippines to overpower the Chinese. And yet, material progress of the faith was not retarded completely. There were 131 churches in fifteen provinces in 1722. One estimate places the number of Christians at 300,000 in 1724. In 1738, a year of intense persecution, there were 22 Jesuits in Peking.

Physical dangers were not the only barriers in the path of Christian progress. Ideological handicaps also were present. Some of the rivals of the Jesuits informed Rome that they were compromising with pagan customs. The dispute had arisen during the life of Father Ricci, who had decided that ceremonies performed in honor of ancestors were not idolatrous but merely gestures of love for the departed. The use of certain terms to express the concept of God also entered into the "Rites Controversy." For almost a century the debate was carried on, to be settled by the decrees of Popes Clement XII and Benedict XIV, which forbade the continuance of the ceremonies tolerated by the Jesuits. Long before the decision had been handed down by Rome, the Jesuits had anticipated the verdict, but the arguments embittered the higher classes among the Chinese and served to block conversions.

The fruits of early missionary cultivation, however, were not entirely bitter. It is true that the baptism of large numbers made little impression upon Chinese society but this is offset by the fact that some of the scholars became acquainted with Western science and missionaries themselves were affected by the Chinese among whom they worked. Through contact with educated Chinese, the missionaries were able to gain knowledge of the Chinese empire. Reports and letters praised the civilization of

China. The eighteenth century liberal found perfections in China worthy of being emulated in imperfect Europe.

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN CHINA

Some Russian traders in 1685 entered Peking, bringing with them a priest, ikons, and church vessels. The Chinese gave the newcomers houses and a Buddhist temple, which they converted into an Orthodox church. The priest, Father Maxim Leontyev, who accompanied the party, was not long in taking on the dress and manners of a Manchu. The Russians in 1695 sent a priest and deacon to the Chinese capital to assist Father Maxim.

Tzar Peter the Great possessed no great love for his church but supported it as a strong adjunct of the state. In June, 1700, he issued an ukase ordering the establishment of an Orthodox mission in Peking in the hope of converting the Chinese emperor and his subjects. The first permanent mission, consisting of an abbot or archimandrite, a priest, a deacon, and seven clerics, reached Peking in 1715. The abbot, Father Hilarion Lazhaisky, was a diplomatic person and his relations with the Chinese were of the best. The emperor inquired regularly concerning his health, made him an official of the fifth degree, and bestowed minor ranks upon his colleagues. The mission was given free quarters in the northeastern section of Peking, and Chinese women were offered as wives.

Father Hilarion died in 1717, and two years later Peter sent an embassy to Peking including Father Anthony Platkovsky, successor to Father Hilarion. Father Anthony, however, was a belligerent individual who antagonized the Chinese. He left the capital in 1721, unable to gain the attention of the court. Peter was left with one minor triumph. The emperor K'ang Hsi had granted the Russians permission to erect a second church in Peking. This building, the Church of the Purification, was completed in 1734.

The tzar, strengthened in Europe, decided to further Slavonic interests in China. He planned in 1722 to create an Orthodox See in Peking. The Chinese refused to consider this suggestion. The emperor Yung Chêng was willing to concede the Russians some trivial privileges merely to annoy the Jesuits, who had been banned in 1724, along with all other Roman Catholic missionaries, but a bishopric was asking too much. Peter died in 1725 and his successor, Catherine I, sent an envoy to China, who was instructed to renew the demands for a bishopric. The Chinese again refused to listen and ordered the mission to leave the empire. The Russians were astute enough to realize that continued efforts were unavailing and complied with the order, to be rewarded for obedience by the treaty of Kiakhta of 1727. Article five of this agreement regulated the status of the Orthodox mission in Peking. It confirmed the right of the Rus-

sians to send the mission and renewed the obligation of the Chinese government to defray part of the expenses. A school for the study of the Chinese and Manchu languages was to be instituted for Russians. Ten persons were to be allowed in the mission, consisting of four priests, two assistants, and four youths. This school aimed to counterbalance the Jesuit influence by the training of interpreters from another part of Europe. The treaty of Kiakhta remained in force until 1858. During these years missionary activities remained essentially unchanged.

The character of the Orthodox Church was different from that of the other Western organizations. The Russians who settled in China were called the Albazinians, and they assimilated quickly. Most of them married Chinese women. None of these evinced religious fervor. At one time they refused to open the door of a church when the priests desired entrance. The handful accepting the faith used the Chinese word for temple (*miao*), called God by the Buddhistic appellation of *Fo,* and termed their priests lamas, to the latter's disgust. They were accused by the Orthodox of pagan marriage rites, practicing polygamy, selling women, keeping Buddhist images side by side with ikons and going to church only during the Easter season in order to eat and steal.

The priests, on the other hand, were hardly more respectable than their charges. Some were fighters, drunkards, liars, and cheaters. Some were suspected of being insane. One of the best, Father Hilarion, drank heavily. An archdeacon in 1730 stormed into the imperial palace, maddened with alcohol. A secular priest in 1731, in his cups, chased students up and down the mission grounds and struck his superior. The archimandrite Anthony claimed the Chinese were not supporting him and demanded chasubles, mitres, and a diamond ring without which he could not celebrate the Mass. When the ring was not forthcoming, he encountered a Chinese official with such ferocity that he was beaten. An investigation from St. Petersburg led to the suspension of several of the worst offenders, but conditions did not improve.

Rivalry between Catholic and Orthodox missionaries in these years was intense. The Jesuits particularly were attacked because they were held responsible for Russian failures. Some writers have maintained that the Chinese on more than one occasion were determined to rid themselves of the Jesuits and offer Russians the posts of astronomers, musicians, physicians, and mathematicians. Even when the Jesuits befriended a Russian diplomat, the Orthodox missionaries saw in the act a plot to injure them.

The Russian priests were active in the economic and diplomatic fields. The Russian government in 1750 claimed the right to navigate the Amur River and in the negotiations on this question a group of clergy, headed by a bishop, participated. The Russian government utilized priests in the extension of trade. The mission of 1782 was instructed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to "gain information useful to the fatherland." A layman was put in charge of the station in 1814 and orders were given for the clergy to spy and bribe in order to obtain valuable trade data. In the

middle of the nineteenth century, Russia embarked upon an ambitious scheme to win the Maritime Provinces of Manchuria. These regions were to be the price paid by China for Russian friendship. Priests were to be the agents in the accomplishment of this plan. The Foreign Office in 1857 instructed the archimandrite in Peking to "tell the tribunal of foreign relations that in this time of China's troubles the Western powers take advantage of her difficulties and come not only with threats but also with war. . . . Russia alone addresses her with a friendly embassy and is ever ready to give her moral and in part material aid, the latter consisting of arms and artillery shells to be used against domestic enemies."

The treaties of 1858 and 1860 opened China to the representatives of all the powers. Russian priests no longer were needed as commercial agents. Labors for the government of the tzar being ended, the revolution of 1917 swept the Orthodox organization into the background.

PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN CHINA

There was one attempt made by Protestants in the seventeenth century to bring their message to China. A band of Christians from Holland visited Formosa and labored among the natives. It was the eighteenth century, however, that brought forth religious fervor among the Protestants. The "Great Awakening" in the United States and the British colonies was strengthened by the Evangelical Movement in England. These forces, emphasizing conversion after a conviction of sin, first spread among the Indians of North America and the inhabitants of the Netherlands Indies, without touching the "pagans" of other regions.

The first overseas missionary societies were formed in 1792 by the Baptists of England, followed by the London Missionary Society in 1795, the Church Missionary Society of the Anglicans in 1799, the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804, and the Wesleyans in 1818. During these years several schools for the training of missionaries were founded on the continent of Europe. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was created at Andover Seminary in 1810, later becoming the chief mission instrument for the Congregationalists.

These groups, dominated by Calvinistic views, saw the millions of "heathens" doomed to hell. With mixed feelings of superiority, enthusiasm, and pity, they listened to the stories of returning merchants. Interest first was centered in India and Africa. China appalled them with its distance, its language barrier, its vastness. The growth of democratic idealism, however, in the United States was rapid in the period the first missionaries departed for the China field. "Manifest destiny" was a prominent part of their mental baggage, leading them to regard the Chinese as "souls" waiting to be "saved" and not as members of a strange civilization with inferior traditions.

The first Protestant missionary to live in China was Robert Morrison. This British member of the Presbyterian Church, who had gained some

knowledge of the Chinese language, offered his services in 1804 to the London Missionary Society. Morrison had been an interpreter with the Lord Amherst mission to Peking in 1816 and had hoped by political and commercial contacts to gain entrance for missionary activities.

Robert Morrison translated into Chinese the Old and New Testaments, which he completed in 1819. This Christian scholar had little time for proselyting and in the quarter of a century he was active in China, baptised only ten natives. He was one of the founders of the Anglo-Chinese College, established at Malacca in 1818, which aimed to bring Chinese culture to the English and introduce the Chinese to Western civilization. Morrison hoped that "the light of science and revelation will, by means of this institution, peacefully and gradually shed their lustre on the Eastern limit of Asia and the islands of the rising sun."

In 1823 the American Bible Society was distributing literature among the Chinese. This organization was the first to send workers to China from the United States. Two missionaries, David Abeel of the American Seaman's Friend Society and Elijah C. Bridgman of the American Board, were chaplains for the Yankee sailors in China waters in 1829. They were given free passage on an American vessel owned by D. W. C. Olyphant, whose interest in Christian missions was derided by some of his American and British colleagues.

The Baptists entered China in 1833 through the General Missionary Convention which three years later sent a man and his wife. The first medical missionary was Dr. Peter Parker of the American Board who arrived in 1834. Dr. Parker opened an ophthalmic hospital in Canton in 1835 and soon gained the goodwill of a prominent member of the *Co-hong*, who furnished quarters for the benevolent work. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States furnished two missionaries in 1835. Two years later, the Presbyterians, who had been co-operating with the American Board of Foreign Missions, supplied two married men.

In these years missionary organizations were centered at Canton. Here in 1830 the Christian Union was born, which started a library and published Chinese scriptures. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China was created in 1835. This society published cheap editions of "plain and easy treatises in the Chinese language on such branches of useful knowledge as are suited to the existing state and condition of the Chinese Empire." This short-lived institution printed some of the fables of Aesop, a history of England, and a universal history.

Unlike Roman Catholic missionaries, the Protestants encountered little violent opposition. Since they kept within the confines of treaty ports where there was protection, personal attacks were infrequent, except later in Boxer days when loss of life was heavy. The most serious disorder occurred in 1834 when the American Board's printing office at Canton was raided on official orders. The local authorities in 1836 proclaimed against the distribution of Christian literature but work continued in spite of governmental disapproval.

The Protestants entered the empire by way of literature, basing their strategy upon distribution of the Bible and religious tracts. By 1840, they had gained about one hundred converts, most of whom were middle-class Cantonese. The officials were not touched in these decades, remaining either indifferent or actively hostile.

It must be admitted, however, that early in the nineteenth century, the opinion was widely held in the United States that "our meanest ministers are fittest missionaries." And yet, it took an unusual individual to leave home, friends, and the amenities of life to seek obscurity in China. Most of these early Protestants were magnetic personalities, who prayed hard, preached at all times, traveled arduous paths, suffered untold hardships. The foundation stones were laid by these restless men of God for the later extensive activities of their Protestant brothers.[2]

[2] In 1858, there were 81 missionaries in 20 different societies, increasing to 436 in 1874. In 1897, there were 55,093 converts. In 1915, out of a total Christian community of 526,108, there were 209,000 Protestants (Presbyterians, 65,000; Methodists, 52,000; Baptists, 33,000; Lutherans, 24,000; Congregationalists, 21,000; and Anglicans, 14,000).

9 Merchant and Missionary in Japan

PORTUGUESE, SPANIARDS, AND NETHERLANDERS IN JAPAN

Until the beginning of the sixteenth century Japan was not known to the Occident. Greek and Roman were unaware of land beyond China. Men of the West during the Middle Ages had no information concerning the island empire.

Portuguese sailors were cast upon Tanegashima in the province of Satsuma in 1543. These odd-looking men, questioned by the astonished natives, were able to answer only because one of the shipwrecked party was a Chinese who wrote upon the beach that "this is a foreign ship from the southwest come to trade with you." The destruction of birds with loud weapons by the strangers so impressed the Japanese that they hastened to the local lord with the news. This dignitary invited the sailors to talk with him, gave them presents and suggested that he would exchange some of the loveliest women of his province for instructions in the use of firearms.

Two years later, a second vessel came to trade in the Bay of Kagoshima. The cargo of Western articles interested the Japanese. It was not long before the profits to be gained from overseas commerce attracted many of the powerful lords.

During the sixteenth century, the Japanese received from Macao, chief Portuguese base, woolen goods, leather, glass articles, firearms, powder, and the commodities of India. Raw silk and silken goods, medicines, cotton, brocades, mercury, needles, iron cauldrons, ceramic ware, porcelains, tapestries, rugs, sugar, lacquer ware, pictures, and old coins, were exported from China. Out of Japan was sent copper, silver, wheat flour, dried fish, salt pork, iron nails, timber, swords, spears, pearls, coral, sulphur, amber, fans, paper, straw mats, chestnuts, and earshells.

Don Rodrigo Vivero y Velasco, acting governor of the Philippines, was shipwrecked on the Japanese coast in 1610. He was successful in obtaining a commercial agreement. Loud in his praise of the Japanese, he exclaimed that if he could prevail upon himself "to renounce my God and my King, I would prefer this country to my own." One can be charitable in believing that gain was not entirely in mind when this enthusiasm was displayed.

The Portuguese monopoly of Eastern trade in the sixteenth century

forced the Netherlands to serve as carriers of goods from Lisbon to the cities of Northern Europe. The victory of Spain over Portugal in 1580 was followed by seizure of 50 Netherlands vessels and the expelling of all merchants from Holland. This highhanded move gave impetus to the Netherlands' determination to seek direct relations with Asiatic marts.

The first expedition to leave Holland directly for Japan sailed on June 27, 1598, under command of Jacques Mahn. One ship of this venture, piloted by an Englishman, William Adams, reached Hirado in April, 1600. Two vessels came to Hirado in 1609, bearing a message to the Japanese ruler from the Prince of Orange. The newcomers were received warmly and given permission to construct warehouses.

The favorable position of the Netherlands induced the Dutch East India Company to send a ship in 1611. Ieyasu granted the Company's agent on this voyage the same privileges given earlier, stipulating that no Japanese should "molest them in any way" and accorded them "help, favor, and assistance." The Netherlands policy was one of realism. All agents were instructed to study Japanese traits, evince no vulgar display, and take the viewpoint that their customers were right.

The commodities imported into Japan by the Netherlands East India Company were varied. Raw silk and silken fabric were shipped from China, Indo-China, Bengal, and Persia; cotton goods and serges from the West; pepper from the East Indies; cloves from the Spice Islands; quicksilver from Bengal; lead from Siam; musk from Tongking; mercury, eyeglasses, rare birds, and manufactured goods from the Occident.

The Shōgunate compelled the Netherlanders to leave Hirado in 1641. At the same time, Nagasaki was made the only port open to foreign trade, now restricted to Netherlands and Chinese merchants. For 219 years, ending in 1859, the Western overseas commerce of Japan was a Netherlands monopoly. Humiliating scenes were enacted in the Japanese court before the trade agreements were renewed. Dignified Netherlanders dressed, shaved, ate, sang, and danced to the delight and contempt of the ladies, who sat behind screens to view the antics of men obsessed with gain. The end seemed justified even though the means were degrading. Large fortunes were made from the Japanese trade.

THE FRENCH, ENGLISH, RUSSIANS, AND AMERICANS

The French were spurred on to seek profits from Eastern trade when they saw the success of the Netherlands. Expeditions were sent to the Orient in 1530 and 1538. Nothing developed from these efforts. Colbert was interested in concluding an agreement with Japan in 1692 but realized that Catholicism was resented by the natives and hence was an obstacle to commercialism.

France, in the nineteenth century, envious of British supremacy, made an attempt to gain an economic springboard in the Pacific from which to plunge into Japan. An armed ship was sent to the Ryukyu (Liu Ch'iu)

Islands in 1844. The captain told the islanders that England was annoyed because Japan refused all trade contacts and was planning to occupy the region. He offered to give the natives protection. Receiving no answer to this alarming information, the French sailed away. A second man-of-war came to the Ryukyu Islands in March, 1846. The local authorities informed the French that they paid allegiance to China and had no commodities to exchange. The vessel lifted anchor, leaving a missionary and a Chinese Christian on shore. The missionary frightened the officials by telling them they could be saved from a British conquest only under French protection. These words induced the Japanese to increase the strength of the local garrison.

Japan, fearing that total seclusion would bring on armed invasions, opened the Ryukyu Islands to French trade in May, 1846. By this policy it was hoped that other Westerners would not be interested in the region.

According to the Japanese, a British frigate appeared off the Five Islands of Hizen in 1554. An English ship anchored at Hirado in 1580 and the merchants aboard were given permission to trade. Contacts were placed upon a formal footing in 1613 by Captain John Saris, agent for the East India Company. Aided by a local lord and the British expatriate, William Adams, Saris was granted an audience by Ieyasu. The Englishman made a favorable impression and obtained trade rights for his company. He was given also exemption from tariff duties; assistance for stranded sailors; guarantees that Japanese merchants would adhere to their contracts; and authorization to explore the region of Yezo (Hokkaido) and the adjacent islands. These concessions were more liberal than any given at the time to other aliens.

The advantages of this agreement were apparent. From Hirado, the English broke the Portuguese monopoly and established factories at Ōsaka, Nagasaki, and Hyōgō. British trade, however, was given a blow in 1615 at the death of Ieyasu. His successor decreed that British commerce be restricted to Hirado because the merchants were believed to be Catholics. To this handicap was added strife with the Netherlanders, ending in 1624 by the decision of the English East India Company to evacuate Japan. In the face of Japanese and Netherlands hostility British commerce ended in this part of the world.

Russia was interested in the regions of Eastern Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bering explored the waters called by his name in 1740. In 1741 Russia took over Chishima, renamed the area the Kurile Islands, and forced the inhabitants to trade in furs which were sent to the United States. The Russians set out to negotiate formal trade relations in 1787 but were told curtly that the only port open to foreigners was Nagasaki, "so your proposal cannot be agreed to, and it would be waste of time for you to return."

Russia occupied Etorofu Island in 1798. In order to thwart these moves the Japanese government placed the region under its jurisdiction. Count Resanoff arrived at Nagasaki in 1805 to conclude a trade understanding and was informed that relations with foreigners were forbidden. The

following year, two Russian men-of-war came to Karafuto (Sakhalin) and attacked the Japanese, carrying away four soldiers. The Russians later released the prisoners and gave them a letter addressed to the Japanese authorities requesting that commercial contacts be permitted. The communication ended with the threat that if an agreement were not reached, "we will then take possession of the entire country." The Japanese replied in similar tones, and challenged the Russians to send as "many warships as you like, and we will be ready to defend our shores." Soon after this, armed boats came to Naiho on Etorofu Island. A landing party looted some shops. The government bestirred itself in 1808 and ordered all foreign vessels stopped by shore batteries whenever they approached.

In the spring of 1811 the Japanese once more were disturbed by the Russians. The *Diana,* under Captain Golownin, on a surveying expedition, sailed to Kushinari and asked for provisions. A shore group, headed by the captain, was made prisoner. The following year the Russians returned bringing with them some Japanese in exchange for their countrymen. A Russian note was delivered in 1813, apologizing for the violent actions and excusing them as the depredations of pirates. The Japanese suggested in 1814 that Captain Golownin convey to his government a proposal that the boundary between the two nations be determined. Russia, however, distracted by Napoleon, was in no position to enter into parleys and was passive in Eastern Asia until the end of the nineteenth century.

Yankee sailors knew the waters near Japan in Revolutionary days. Americans, however, were concerned with the Atlantic and remained indifferent to the fate of mariners cast upon the shores of this distant land. The first official effort to reach an understanding with Japan failed. Rear Admiral Biddle, in command of the United States East Indian Squadron, on May 27, 1846, anchored his two warships in the Bay of Uraga and handed the authorities a letter written by the President, requesting a trade convention. Biddle, without making an issue of the rebuff, sailed away when informed that no contacts could be carried on except at Nagasaki. Eight years later, Admiral Perry succeeded in breaking down the walls of seclusion.

JAPAN AND THE MISSIONARIES

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Francis Xavier, "Apostle of the Indies"

Pope Julius III held great hopes that the Jesuits might be able to convert the peoples of the East to the Christian way of life. In a bull of October 6, 1553, he gave this order authority to found colleges at Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Constantinople. Plans for the establishment of religious centers in these cities were not executed, although during his reign missionaries began their labors in Japan. The first individual to bear the Cross to the island empire is one of the most famous of churchmen, Francis Xavier

When Father Xavier landed at Kagoshima on August 15, 1549, he found Japan filled with unrest. *Daimyō* was pitted against *daimyō*. Danger was seen to the new faith in the well-armed, arrogant Buddhist monks. On the other hand, there was one encouraging element. Many of the great lords were eager to have Portuguese vessels come to their shores with foreign articles. If missionaries entered by way of merchantmen, it was not at first viewed with alarm.

Soon after reaching Kagoshima, Father Xavier, with the aid of his devoted convert, Paul Anjiro, drew up a statement of Christian tenets in the Japanese language. Despite mockery and insults he encountered when appearing on the streets to exhort the passers-by, he was able to baptise one hundred by the end of the year. Many of his sermons were preached in front of a Buddhist monastery where he was received warmly by a group of the more urbane monks. One, a Zen abbot, Ningit, became his friend with whom he discussed religious subjects. The abbot had slight regard for his associates and when the good father asked him what his colleagues were doing when in the act of meditation, replied that "some are reckoning up how much money they have gained from their parishioners, others are trying to think how they can manage to dress well and have good food" but no one "thinks upon any matter of importance."

This extreme toleration was not typical of the Buddhists. Most of them brought private and official pressure to bear upon the foreigners. Father Xavier tells of walking through the streets, followed by bands of boys who shouted "there go the men who declare that it is wicked to have more than one wife."

Handicapped by increasing hostility, Father Xavier and his companions journeyed to Hirado where they were gladdened by the presence of Portuguese sailors. From here, he hoped to go to Kyōto and receive personally the permission of the emperor for his work. Accompanied by a lay brother, he traveled, ill-clad, barefooted, stoned by the people, until he reached the city where the shadow ruler of the land resided. Father Xavier realized the impotency of this figure and offered gifts to the chief of Yamaguchi province who in turn granted him the right to use an old Buddhist temple. He converted several hundred and also obtained the goodwill of the daimyō of Bungo, who requested his presence in his domain. At this time, difficulties in India made necessary his departure from Japan and he sailed for Goa in November, 1551.

One of Father Xavier's aims was to obtain from the Japanese a statement which would help him enter China. His sojourn in Japan had convinced him of the great importance of the Middle Kingdom where scholars were respected. The Jesuits were challenged by the learned men of Japan who maintained that no truth could be found in Christianity, otherwise the Chinese would have discovered it long ago. Unfortunately for the progress of the new faith, foreigners were kept from China's shores. Portuguese sailors shipwrecked there suffered imprisonment, torture and death. Father Xavier expected to gain the support of his friend, Pereira, Portuguese envoy to China, but when this personage was detained

he set out, "traveling, deprived of all human protection, to the island of Shang-ch'uan, in the hope that a friendly heathen will take me over to the continent of China." Portuguese vessels had been anchored off this rocky island, waiting to carry on smuggling transactions with the Chinese. Landing parties had constructed thatch huts, and in one of these Father Xavier found rest.

The great missionary suffered in his last days on earth. He was obliged to send away a lay brother, too ill to aid him. His interpreter deserted, fearing the punishment which the Chinese were meting out to all followers of Christ. The captain of the ship bringing him to the coast was dishonest, and Father Xavier was reduced to begging in order to keep soul in body. And so, the Jesuit was alone, except for one servant and a Chinese convert. Father Xavier was stricken with fever and died on November 27, 1552. His Chinese disciple put him in a coffin and sprinkled the body with lime. The remains were taken to Goa in 1554 and placed in the Church of St. Paul. Later the coffin was entombed at the convent of Bon Jesus, Goa, to be opened once every one hundred years during an impressive religious celebration by Catholics throughout the world.

The Rise and Fall of Christianity

The Japanese were impressed by the moral tone and purity of life of the first missionaries. Changes, however, were not long in coming. The followers of Father Xavier did not possess his virtues. The Portuguese were arrogant and often used violence in speech and deed. Some were contemptuous of local authority. Others dabbled in politics to set converts against erstwhile friendly neighbors who clung to old gods. And yet, the path of the new God was not entirely blocked. A *daimyō* embraced Christianity in 1563 with 25 of his retainers. Five years later, Nobunaga granted land to the Christians. Schools were constructed, and the nobility permitted their children to receive instructions in Occidental sciences and languages. The father-in-law of Nobunaga turned Christian and his son was eager to learn about Jesus. Nobunaga himself plotted to utilize Christians in order to counteract the Buddhists whom he considered traitors, with their wealth and lusty pride and violation of vows.

The lord of Satsuma, whose father was a friend of Father Xavier, longed to have the entire empire accept Christianity. The year that a delegation was sent to Rome (1582), there were about 150,000 converts, including many of the highest in the realm. Pope Gregory XIII received the Christians and made them papal knights. Henry III of France invited the emissaries to his kingdom. Emperor Rudolph II and the Duke of Savoy also extended invitations but the Pope, realizing the wanderers had been traveling for three years, induced them to return and give an account of their travels to the awaiting missionaries. A medal was struck to commemorate the occasion, bearing the inscription, "first Legation and Act of Obedience from the Kings of the Japanese to the Roman Pontiff." This

ingenuous souvenir was proof enough for the anti-Christian Japanese that an intrigue was hatching to turn over the country to the rule of foreigners.

Pope Gregory XIII in 1585 prohibited the work of all missionaries except Jesuits in the empire of Japan. Despite this command, Franciscans came to Japan in 1593. The Jesuits informed them of the infraction of the Roman order. Their rivals insisted that they were serving as ambassadors and not as missionaries. The Jesuits persuaded the officials at Nagasaki to ban all Franciscan meetings. The restricted Order struck back and accused the Jesuits of all manner of injustices.

The struggle between Japanese and Christian did not reach intensity until the time of Hideyoshi, although in the first years of his rule he hoped to conciliate the adherents of the foreign faith by holding out to them promises of support. He received a delegation of Jesuits and converts in May, 1586, and informed them of his plan to attack China. The warrior was eager to obtain two large Portuguese vessels and asked the Christians to procure them. In order to gain active collaboration of the churchmen, Hideyoshi painted a picture of Japan after the conquest of China when he would build temples and churches "all over the countries under his sway, dedicating them all to God, and order all his people to believe in Christianity."

Soon after the announcement of this scheme, Hideyoshi gave the missionaries a patent allowing preaching throughout the islands, exempted their stations from obligations to billet the military, and dispensed with some of the feudal dues from converts. Then, without warning, he delivered a heavy blow against them. Some Japanese maintain that this volte-face was planned because he was opposed to Christianity from the beginning but was biding an opportunity to destroy the sect. Others assert that he was enraged by the proud bearing of the foreign priests. Actually, relations were strained after the missionaries had criticized him for moral laxity, pointing out for special censure a court filled with three hundred women.

Hideyoshi, on July 25, 1587, published an edict ordering the missionaries to leave the empire within 20 days. All found after that time were to be seized and "punished as the greatest criminals." The Portuguese merchants were allowed to enter the ports but were forbidden to bring in "foreign religious teachers" under penalty of confiscation of ships and goods. In other pronouncements, Hideyoshi declared that "the new laws can only serve to introduce into Japan a diversity of cults prejudicial to the welfare of the State."

A Spanish vessel sailing from the Philippines to Mexico was driven upon the coast of Japan in 1596. The captain of the stranded craft, in talking with a petty official and eager to show the might of Spain, pointed out on a map the possessions of his sovereign. The Japanese was informed that Spanish power was based partly upon the stratagem of sending out missionaries who converted the natives and with their help could destroy the government. When Hideyoshi learned of this presumptuous utterance, he ordered that a list be compiled of all frequenters of Christian churches.

The converts prepared for death when they received this mandate but were relieved to see that only Spanish Franciscans and their flock were to be punished. Twenty-four of this order were arrested, including two foreigners. They were paraded through the streets of Kyōto in carts, taken to Nagasaki, and crucified.

The anti-Christian proscriptions were met with fortitude. One nobleman, Takayama Ukon, accepted the confiscation of his property and exile rather than renounce the faith. Some of the high officers on the staff of Hideyoshi accepted Christianity and gave shelter to the persecuted members.

Ieyasu was indifferent to all religions but saw the chance of commercial profits in the presence of foreigners. Fourteen missionaries in 1600 entered the empire and were allowed to preach without molestation. At the same time he supported the anti-Christian lords with reservations, fearing that excessive mistreatment of Christians would alienate the Portuguese merchants from whom he was gaining economic strength.

Two vessels were sent out by the Netherlands East India Company in 1609. The traders were allowed to erect a factory. In the same year, two Spanish ships were wrecked on the coast. Among the survivors was a high official from the Philippines who was received by Ieyasu. He was able to obtain a treaty (July 4, 1610) by which Christian missionaries were protected, and the "piratical" Netherlanders were to be driven from the country. Ieyasu, however, despite his pledge, refused to expel the Netherlanders.

Portuguese and Japanese in these years were entering the paths of misunderstanding. The vessel sailing to Nagasaki in January, 1610, was attacked by the Japanese, and the commander was obliged to scuttle his galleon, losing a cargo valued at one million ducats. Through this loss, the Jesuits failed to receive their subsidies for two years and shut down the local seminary. The Portuguese at Macao sent a gift-bearing mission to Ieyasu, requesting that trade be resumed and compensation be given for the damages. The Shōgun remained evasive, feeling that the Portuguese were not needed when business could be undertaken through the Netherlanders.

The Spanish hoped to gain from these tactics of favoritism. They dispatched an embassy from Manila in 1611, asking that the Shōgun allow them to construct ships in Japan; survey the coasts; prohibit the trade with Holland; allow the King of Spain to send a force to wipe out the power of Amsterdam in the East; and exempt all Spanish merchantmen from search. The Shōgun acceded to these articles, excepting those relating to the Netherlands. When the Spanish, however, began to sound the coast, his suspicions were aroused, the work was stopped, and an order was circulated permitting traders to enter but forbidding the visit of all missionaries. The anti-Christian movement now was in full swing.

The best known decree of Ieyasu against Christians was promulgated on January 27, 1614. Europeans were accused "not only of sending their merchant vessels to exchange commodities but also longing to disseminate

an evil law and to overthrow right doctrine so that they may change the government of the country and obtain possession of the land." The order was reinforced by instructions for the Buddhist priests, charged with the examination of the beliefs of members of their parishes. One such regulation warned them to investigate "such as make light of death" because "the Christian law teaches that those who despise death can pass through fire without being burned, or be plunged into water without being drowned, and that those who die by shedding their own blood are saved."

The local lords were commanded to send all missionaries to Nagasaki, destroy their churches, and force the converts to renounce Christianity. Nagasaki was the center of the faith, and the municipal government was not inclined to institute a program against the prosperous and industrious inhabitants. Realizing, however, that the days of freedom were over, the Christians prepared themselves for death. Bands paraded, scourging themselves until blood flowed. The authorities hesitated to block these acts of ecstasy, fearing cessation of commerce, but finally announced that "the Christians desire death in order that they may be honored as martyrs. Hence it is not desirable to slay them, but rather to prolong their lives, subjecting them to such severe punishments as will finally overcome their resistance. The most effective trial will be to enslave their women, sending the most beautiful to the houses of prostitution of Kyōto. If the people will renounce the religion of Christ, they shall be exempted from imposts and other obligations; moreover, Chinese ships will be induced to come to their ports for trade, and this will be for the great enrichment of the country."

This threat did not deter the "Kirishitans." Scores of men were tortured. Untold numbers of women and children were placed in sacks, heads outside, and dumped on the streets to freeze by night and burn by day. Women were stripped and beaten. Victims were hung head down and killed with spears. Others were thrown into tubs of snakes; covered with scalding water; stripped and branded on the forehead and driven into the forests to die; and tied to the shores and drowned by the tides. Parents were blinded in front of their children and forced to listen to the dying cries of the little ones. Ieyasu had many devoted Christians among his followers. Fourteen of his daimyōs were deprived of their estates because of the banned religion. One of the ruler's Christian mistresses was expelled from the capital when she refused to recant.

The death of Ieyasu in 1616 did not end the purging. His son, Hidetada, was more anti-Christian than the father. The Spanish, merchant as well as missionary, were ordered driven out of the empire in 1624. Those with Japanese wives were forced to leave them behind. No convert was allowed to trade outside the borders of the land. None were permitted to travel to the Philippines for fear of returning with Christian teachers concealed in the ships. A decree was proclaimed in 1630 which prohibited the importation of all Western and Chinese books dealing with Christian subjects.

The situation reached its climax when the Christian hater, Matsukura

Shigemasa, was made lord of the province of Hizen. Headquarters for converts under Jesuit control was Amakusa, within the jurisdiction of this ruthless official. Here his oppressive measures, coupled to the declarations of the government, drove the devout to the limits of endurance. Hostility extended to the merchants. The Japanese in 1636 constructed a small island, Deshima, and connected it to the city of Nagasaki by way of a small bridge, where the Portuguese traders were held during their visits from Macao.

The bloody insurrection, the Shimabara Rebellion, or the "Amakusa War," broke out in 1637. The Portuguese, believed to be responsible for the disturbances, were ordered out of the empire forever. Moreover, the following decision was announced in 1638: "No Japanese ship nor boat whatever, nor any native of Japan, shall presume to go out of the country; whoever acts contrary to this shall die, and the ship and the crew and the goods aboard shall be sequestered until further orders.

"All persons who return from abroad shall be put to death. Whoever discovers a priest shall have a reward of 400 to 500 *shuets* of silver and for every Christian in proportion.

"All persons who propagate the doctrine of the Catholics, or bear this scandalous name, shall be imprisoned in the *Omra,* or common jail of the town.

"The whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao.

"Whoever presumes to bring a letter from abroad, or to return after he hath been banished, shall die with all his family; also whoever presumes to intercede for him shall be put to death. No nobleman nor any soldier shall be suffered to purchase anything of a foreigner."

In order to reinforce this law, special agents were selected to ferret out Christians. The most common procedure was that of picture-trampling (*efumi*), in which all persons suspected were required to step upon crosses and other Christian symbols. Any unwilling to act in this manner were branded as Christians. At Nagasaki, once yearly, the municipal officials called together the people and ordered them to go through the ritual of repudiation. Children were held over the figures with feet touching the object to be scorned.

When the Portuguese at Macao learned of the loss of their commercial strength, they sent four prominent merchants to petition the Shōgun. They were arrested and beheaded (August 3, 1640). Near the execution ground a tablet was erected containing this inscription: "Thus is it that hereafter shall be punished with death all those coming to this Empire from Portugal, whether they be ambassadors or common sailors, and even though it be through mistaking the way or because of a tempest that they come; yea, every such person shall perish, even though he be the King of Portugal, or Buddha, or a Japanese God, or the Christians' God Himself; yea, all shall die." The walls of seclusion were built high.

10 China Against the West—the "Opium Wars"

SPARRING FOR POSITION

The year 1834 brought to the surface all the smouldering hostility between China and England. At this time the charter of the East India Company expired, and China trade was placed under governmental control. Orders in Council of 1834, provided for three Superintendents to promote and protect British commerce. There was created also a "court of Justice, with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, for the trial of offenses committed by His Majesty's subjects, subjects within the said dominions, and the ports and havens thereof, and on the high seas within a hundred miles of the coast of China."

In accordance with this law, the Superintendents of Trade were appointed. Lord Napier was made the chief. Napier reached Macao on July 15, 1834, and journeyed to Canton without waiting for permission to be granted by the Canton Customs head (*Hoppo*) for residence in that port. Upon reaching this city the British agent informed the Viceroy of his arrival but refused to talk with the *Co-hong* officials who offered to serve as his assistants. The Englishman insisted that he would communicate directly with the Viceroy "in the manner befitting His Majesty's Commission and the honour of the British nation." The Chinese, by contrast, took the sensible view that despite the fact Lord Napier had landed without consent and violated imperial laws, he was a newcomer, ignorant of local regulations, and therefore free of blame.

The supercilious attitude of Lord Napier induced the Viceroy, fearing a British attack, to promulgate on August 4 several measures restricting foreign trade. The English merchants, in order to attain unity of action, organized a Chamber of Commerce. On August 16, the *Co-hong* members severed commercial relations, and the Viceroy addressed a note to Napier requesting him to take a more moderate stand.

Eager to settle the question, the Viceroy sent a deputation to Napier. The Englishman berated the Chinese for not being on time and criticized the arrangement of the conference chairs. He regarded the affair as "an insult to his Britannic Majesty, which could not be overlooked a second time." Lord Napier issued a notice terming the Viceroy stupid and ending with the threat that the English "will never relax in their exertions till they gain a point of equal importance to both countries; and the

sage, in October and put guards at the factories. The Commissioner's office was fired upon, and troops marched through his garden. The Chinese answered the attacks by offering large rewards for the capture of "barbarians." One hapless marine was seized and his head was carried through the streets. In December, 1856, the Chinese destroyed the factories.

The government of China, unaware of the calamitous hour about to strike, refused to enter into any kind of compromise in spite of the stipulation in the Treaty of Nanking (Article XI), that the English "chief high officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese high officers, both at the capital and in the provinces." No settlement being reached, the Taku forts were taken in May, 1858. The envoys of England, France, Russia, and the United States reached Tientsin the same month.

The treaties of Tientsin (June, 1858) contain the provisions that: (1) foreign representatives were to be given the right to reside permanently at Peking. (2) Ten additional ports were to be opened (Newchwang, Tengchow, Hankow, Kiukiang, Nanking, Chinkiang, Taiwanfu, Tamsui, Swatow, and Hainan), and foreign vessels were forbidden to trade at any other centers. (3) Foreigners were allowed to travel in the interior, provided they held passports issued by their consuls, countersigned by local authorities. (4) Extraterritoriality was extended and the person and property of aliens in the empire was placed under the laws of their respective countries. (5) Religious toleration was recognized. (6) Provisions were made for tariff revisions. (7) Imports were exempted from inland transit imposts (*likin*) by the payment of a sum in advance amounting to one-half the tariff duty. (8) Legalization of opium importation was acknowledged and rates were determined.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE VERSUS CHINA (1859)

Plans were made at the conclusion of the "Second Opium War" to open legations in Peking. John E. Ward, the American envoy, exchanged views with the Chinese at Shanghai, but the English and French stood firm not to enter into any conversations until treaty ratification was completed at Peking. The Chinese gave promises that future meetings would be conducted on terms of absolute equality but requested that after reaching Taku, the foreign representatives should travel north with a small guard and dispense with the trappings of war.

Admiral Sir James Hope, commander of the British squadron, reinforced with a French frigate and gunboat, learned at this time that no plans had been made to receive the foreign agents and that the Chinese had placed barriers in the river to interfere with their progress. The admiral, thereupon, was ordered to force the passage and attacked the Taku forts on June 25, 1859. The Chinese offered strong resistance, having learned something of the art of modern warfare from Russian artiller-

ists serving at the guns. The British and French retreated to Shanghai after suffering heavy losses.[1]

Ward, in the meantime, was asked to land at Peitang, where he was received by a viceroy and escorted to Peking on July 28. The emperor gave Ward an audience, but when Ward learned that he would be required to perform the *kotow,* he refused to go through with the ceremony. A court order commanded the American to leave the capital at once. Ward obeyed the imperial demand, to be rewarded with ratifications of the agreement at Peitang.

The English did not experience this auspicious settlement. Her Majesty's servant had been directed to travel to Peking by way of Tientsin, under the protection of Admiral Hope. It is clear that London was wrong in insisting upon mapping a route which was not to the liking of the Chinese. At the bottom of the conflict was the fact that neither England nor China conceded equality to the other. The application of force, consequently, once more was believed to be the solution to a situation discreditable and humiliating to both nations.

The English and French addressed an ultimatum to the Chinese in March, 1860, insisting upon an apology for the action at Taku, ratification of the treaty at Peking, adherence to the provisions of the treaties of Tientsin, and additional compensation for the recent attacks. The Chinese disregarded these demands and asked the foreigners to move into Peking without a military escort.

The Westerners had but one reply to this Chinese "obstinacy." England increased her land forces to 10,500 officers and men, supported by a Chinese labor corps of 2,500 coolies, and aided by a naval strength of 7 frigates and 34 smaller vessels. The French put into the field 6,300 effectives. The Taku forts were captured on August 21, 1860, with a loss to the English of 200 killed and wounded and to the French of 130. Chinese casualties were large. Admiral Hope occupied Tientsin on August 25 and, after some diplomatic skirmishes, marched on to Tungchow, gateway to the capital. Here the Chinese received courteously the interpreters, Wade and Parkes, who succeeded in obtaining permission for the invaders to advance without delay. The affair was reaching a peaceful end when the Chinese seized and imprisoned Parkes, and 25 other Englishmen and 13 Frenchmen. The captives were chained and subjected to degrading punishment, resulting in the death of 21.

For two weeks the English and French insisted that their nationals be released. The Chinese, led by Prince Kung, brother of the emperor, refused to comply with the order until the contingent was withdrawn. By this time, tempers were short and on October 5 hostilities were resumed. In order to chastise the Chinese, the summer palace of the emperors, the beautiful Yuenmingyuen, was looted. Lord Elgin, English representative, seeking revenge for the treatment of the prisoners, ordered the razing of

[1] Admiral Hope was wounded in this engagement. Commodore Tatnall, of the United States frigate *Powhatan,* went to his assistance, and later towed some British [illegible] into action with the comment that "blood is thicker than water."

200 buildings on the grounds, overriding Baron Gros, French envoy, who desired the annihilation of the imperial edifices in Peking.

The capital was entered by the Anglo-French armies on October 13, 1860. The Chinese were informed that destruction would begin anew if the captives were not released. The emperor having fled north to his hunting grounds at Jehol, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were left to negotiate with a weakened China, represented by Prince Kung, who like his brother the emperor, was ready to escape white wrath if the Russian envoy, General Ignatiev, had not persuaded him to remain and pick up what could be salvaged from the wreckage.[2] Prince Kung thereupon remained in Peking to receive the conquerors at the Hall of Ceremonies (October 24), where the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858 was ratified and the Peking Convention of 1860 signed with the English. The following day, Baron Gros went through the ceremony at the same place in order to uphold French honor. The empire of China was made secure for Western exploitation.

The British and French conventions of 1860 are similar in content. The Chinese emperor apologized for the action of his troops at Taku in June, 1859; permanent legations were granted in the capital; satisfactory indemnities were paid; Tientsin was opened as a treaty port; Chinese emigration, hitherto prohibited, was allowed under regulation; and Kowloon Point was ceded to England in perpetuity.

The French vindicated the death of a group of their missionaries by an article stipulating that all religious stations confiscated during the anti-Christian movements should be restored. The Chinese text included a sentence not found in the French agreement which states that "it shall be lawful for French missionaries in any of the provinces to lease or buy land and build houses."

The foreign diplomatic agents moved into Peking. The English and French came in March, 1861; the Russians in July; and the United States in June, 1862. In September, 1861, Germany signed a treaty with China, and sent agents in 1866.

Although the powers were ensconced in the capital, the emperor was not reconciled to their presence. For more than a decade the question of the manner to be employed in ceremonies fills diplomatic correspondence with a persistence which would be travesty if it did not show the eagerness with which the government attempted to hang on to the ancient policy of stubborn seclusion and calm indifference to "barbarians," rated as worthy only of bringing tribute to the court of the greatest ruler in the world. It was not until 1873 that the audience problem was settled when at the coming of age of the emperor T'ung Chih, the foreign diplomats were received on terms of assumed equality. The reception, however, was not satisfactory. The Westerners had gained their end, but the court adhered to its belief in superiority and held the function in a pavilion reserved for tributary states outside the Forbidden City.

[2] The canny general was able to acquire for the Tzar the Vladivostok area as payment for this service.

The foreigners, at that time, came on foot to be received by the emperor in the order of their date of arrival at Peking. The Japanese representative, the only one with full ambassadorial rank, was given a private audience, pleasing to himself alone. After the victories of Japan over China in 1893 and 1895, diplomatic observances occurred in more dignified surroundings Chinese smugness needed to be overcome by the soldiers from across the Sea of Japan before the equality of other nations was acknowledged.

11 China's Road to Revolution—T'ai P'ing and Boxer

REBELLION OF THE T'AI P'INGS—HUNG HSIU-CH'UAN, "YOUNGER BROTHER OF JESUS"

By the middle of the nineteenth century hatred against the Westerners burned in white heat. The Chinese looked with rage upon the "barbarians" who took advantage of extra-territoriality to thwart justice, to export the peasantry for harsh labor overseas, to amass fortunes in the opium trade, to push gunboats up the Yangtze River. Antagonism to foreign encroachments took the form of movements aiming at the elimination of a government incapable of resistance to the West. The most widespread and destructive anti-Manchu agitation was the T'ai P'ing Rebellion.

The T'ai P'ing leader, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, born in South China, came to Canton in 1833. He learned about Christianity from tracts distributed by Baptist missionaries. He failed to pass the imperial examination in 1837 and returned to his home. A feverish imagination coupled with epilepsy motivated him in forming a dynamic sect. Hung returned to Canton in 1846 to study with an American missionary, Issacher J. Roberts, who, however, soon dismissed him, refusing to make this strange pupil a member of the Baptist church. Rebuffed a second time, Hung traveled about preaching the meaning of a wondrous dream he had experienced. He told he had visited Heaven where he was informed that he was the younger brother of Christ. God handed him a seal, a sword, and a book, symbols of power. He was commanded to build an empire. The army of "God-worshippers," led by the "Heavenly King" (*T'ien Wang*), "savior of China," also was ordained to free the land of the diabolical Manchus. Hung was reinforced by three powerful secret societies, the "Water Lily," the "Incense Burners," and the "Triads," who pledged themselves to obey the "Heavenly King" in his labors to create the "Rule of Peace" or T'ai P'ing.

The T'ai P'ings seized Nanking in 1853 and massacred the Manchu garrison of 10,000. This bizarre horde who carried the Bible, adhered to the Sabbath, and prayed to the God of the Christians, set out to capture Peking.

When the T'ai P'ings were menacing Shanghai, that stronghold of white men, in 1859 and 1860, an American, Frederick Ward, was first officer on the Chinese gunboat, *Confucius,* engaged in cleaning the river

of bandits. This vessel was owned by the Committee of Patriotic Chinese Merchants of Shanghai, led by the banker, Yang Tze-tang. Ward approached Yang on the question of obtaining funds for the protection of Shanghai from T'ai P'ing depredations. The New Englander was hired for military service and agreed to attack Sungkiang, nearest camp of the enemy.

The obscure Salem adventurer of 28, set out to train a motley army of refugees, beachcombers, escaped criminals, and mutinous sailors. After seven days of drill, he marched off for Sungkiang (June, 1860), followed by some one hundred drunken scamps, excited by the promises of loot. The noisy band was routed easily by the T'ai P'ing defenders of Sungkiang, and Ward returned to Shanghai. He discharged his riotous "army" and recruited a volunteer contingent from the Filipino colony in Shanghai. This corps of "Manilamen" was staffed by two American ex-soldiers, Forrester and Burgevine, picked up by Ward in a city always swarming with adventurers.

After a month of intensive training, Ward started again for Sungkiang, which fell into his hands on July 17, 1860. This victory marks the beginning of T'ai P'ing dissolution. Tsingpu, a rebel stronghold between Sungkiang and Soochow, was the chief objective in August. Ward was wounded five times in the assault and retreated, leaving behind one hundred of his three hundred men.

The disabled leader of the battered fighters returned to Shanghai to recruit in two days one hundred Southern Europeans. Ward marched in the middle of August against Tsingpu, defended by a former British officer, Savage. He retired once more to be carried back to Sungkiang in a sedan chair to direct the defense of this city after the T'ai P'ings opened up a vigorous offensive.

The winter of 1860 was spent by Ward at Sungkiang in the drilling of his army, now augmented by volunteers from Shanghai. Some 30 of his most hard-bitten troops had deserted from American and English vessels. In order to stop these losses Admiral Sir James Hope, in charge of the British Squadron in China waters, arrested Ward in May, 1861. He was turned over to the American Consular Court of Shanghai on the charge of enticing sailors from Her Majesty's Navy. Ward claimed Chinese citizenship and the consul dropped the case.

Ward now changed his tactics, realizing that he could no longer use American and British sailors. He concentrated upon the formation of a Chinese army, aided by a Western staff. For the first time, it was proved that native soldiers, under capable leadership, could fight as bravely and efficiently as any force in the world.

In spite of ridicule from Chinese and foreigners, who saw something ludicrous in peasants turned into warriors, Sungkiang was converted into a modern camp. Within six months the men were so well drilled that visitors were impressed. Ward was made a "General of Irregulars" by the Peking government. This rank gave the American authority, recognized

by England who supplied him with arms and munitions from the Hong Kong Arsenal.

With an army of 800 Chinese and 200 Filipinos, General Frederick Ward, clad in frock coat and armed with rattan cane, in January, 1861, routed 7,000 T'ai P'ings at Tsingpu. Success within grasp, Ward asked the Chinese officials of Shanghai to equip 5,000 men. This request was granted, and at the same time the banker Yang betrothed his daughter to Ward, probably the first time in history that a prominent Chinese encouraged marriage with a Western "barbarian."

The T'ai P'ings endangered Shanghai in February, 1861 and Ward cooperated with the Anglo-French defenders of the city. The conquests of 1861 and 1862 brought Ward's troops the official title of "Ever-Victorious," elevated him to the rank of a brigadier general in the regular army, and honored him with the hat of a mandarin fourth-class. He married the banker's daughter, Chang-mei, and wore during the ceremony for the first and only time conventional Chinese dress.

The winter of 1862 was an odd one for a China in the midst of turmoil. In Shanghai, some gave money to the "Ever-Victorious." Others sold arms to the T'ai P'ings. The city was booming and happy, accumulating profits from both armies. The T'ai P'ings prayed to the Christian God. Many a missionary lamented their ways but considered these fanatics the hand of Providence directing China toward a Christian future. Liberal Englishmen and Americans supported the "Heavenly King," and saw in the rebellion a resurgent people rising to defeat a corrupt regime.

General Ward was wounded fatally in September, 1862, near Ningpo. The dying man was carried to the British gunboat, *Hardy,* and surrounded by his devoted staff of foreigners and Chinese, died within a few hours. The imperial government recognized his services by decreeing that special temples to his memory be erected at Ningpo and Sungkiang. Western and Chinese officials stood before his shrine at Sungkiang in March, 1877, in solemn dedication.

Command of the "Ever-Victorious" was taken over in March, 1863, by Brevet Major of Engineers, Charles George Gordon of Scotland. Gordon, who termed his men a "ragged and perhaps slightly disreputable" array, completed the campaigns of Ward. Gordon forbade looting, gave regular pay, and supplanted the old brigand-officers from Shanghai docks with efficient Britishers. This Anglo-Chinese force of 3,000, reinforced by a labor battalion and a crude field hospital, in April, 1865, began its march. It was able to defeat troops ten times its size by shock tactics and the lightning strategy of its able general.

With final victory near, Gordon was not interested in personally leading the imperial forces into Nanking. He realized that the "Ever-Victorious" was too dangerous to be left intact and thereupon demobilized his inconstant followers. After accepting the praise of Chancellor Li Hung-chang, and the highest award in China, the Order of the Yellow Jacket, the Scot retired to a modest home in England, and was cared for

by his sister, until the empire called him for the Egyptian campaign, in which he died in 1885.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE BOXERS

The Growth of Antiforeignism

The blows of the T'ai P'ings rocked the rotten Manchu edifice. The Chinese saw the decay as an evil of the white man's making. Merchants and missionaries were regarded with increasing hatred. Opposition to the Westerner became increasingly intense in the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Antipathy was reserved especially for the missionaries.

One of the most violent attacks occurred in Tientsin in 1870. The orphanage of the Sisters of Saint Vincent de Paul, other mission buildings, the cathedral, the French consulate, and four English and American chapels were looted and damaged on June 21. Sixteen foreigners and 40 of their converts were killed. In the same year, missions in other parts of the empire were invaded. The victory over Christians was portrayed upon fans and sold upon the streets of Tientsin. Despite decrees promulgated by the emperor and provincial authorities, praising the work of the missionaries and threatening all guilty of violence with heavy penalties, sentiments against the presence of the white man grew.

Antiforeignism in these years was composed of many elements. Racial prejudice was prominent, an attitude not restricted, certainly, to the Chinese, although accentuated in the land by centuries of complacent isolation.

The introduction of a new religion by normal methods might not have aroused hostility. Christianity, unfortunately, entered in conjunction with commercialism. As a result, opposition was expressed in many charges against the Catholic missionaries. It was alleged that one bishop resided in a palace grander than that of the local Viceroy, that he rode in a palanquin decorated in a manner only permitted the highest officials, and that his visitations in the diocese compared to an imperial procession. It was asserted also that priests claimed the right to correspond with the government on terms of equality and combined with or encouraged cliques among their converts in order to defeat imperial aims. A French bishop was reported to have addressed the provincial officials in letters which he stamped with a special seal cast for the purpose. In Shantung a Catholic missionary infuriated the authorities when he styled himself a *hsün-fu*, or governor. There are instances in which missionaries asked that magistrates be degraded from office because of their decisions in cases pertaining to converts. The Chinese looked into a future in which Christians would exercise unlimited prerogatives.

The Chinese Foreign Office drew up rules in February 1871, for the conduct of missionary relations and distributed copies for the guidance of the Powers. "In order to bring about mutual good feeling, it is pro-

posed that hereafter no Roman Catholic missionary shall of his own motion demand that a place shall be given up to him because it was once a church. . . . It is also disallowed to employ crafty natives to deceive in these transactions, and by their help secretly to get the property transferred (without notifying the magistrates). . . . Roman Catholic missionaries have long resided in China, and we wish that they and the people may confide in each other, and not so act as to excite the anger or settled dislike of those around them; for then all parties can live together without suspicion. But now many things are done by the Roman Catholics which greatly irritate the people and lead to strife; as, for instance, those proceedings connected with the restoration of church property. In late years, whenever they have demanded that houses and church should be restored, they have never given a thought as to whether it annoyed the people of the place, but they have pre-emptorily demanded that the places be restored to them. They would even designate fine and elegant houses occupied by gentry, and insist on their rendition, saying that anciently a church stood there, and thus compel the occupants to give them up. . . .

"The points which have been discussed in this paper only relate to a part of the whole subject; but they go to prove clearly the improper conduct of the Roman Catholic missionaries, and that the converts cannot live amicably with their countryman. . . . His Majesty's government desires to treat all Roman Catholics the same as they treat their other subjects and make no difference between them. This decision is not come to because they wish to prohibit mission work in China, but simply because the missionaries do not attend to their proper place and functions. The way the Romanists now stir up and befool the people will surely result in some serious disasters on the part of the latter; and if these burst out in many places in open violence, it is not unlikely that the government will be altogether unable to protect anybody. There is, therefore, no better way than for us to clearly state the case, as we have now done, before anything happens."

The system of extraterritoriality also was not one to encourage harmonious relations beteen Chinese and alien. It had been instituted to aid in the dispensation of justice, but by the end of the nineteenth century it was a mortifying fact that the nations of the world were unable to trust China to function in an unprejudiced manner when cases were tried in which Westerners were involved. China, proud in the memory of past glories, stood humbled before the Western states, who by force of arms had imposed this severe legal procedure upon her. The Viceroy of Nanking, when presenting the case for some boatmen whose craft had been sunk by a foreign steamer, declared in 1868 that the frequency of such incidents had aroused the people to the pitch where violence would result if the alien courts persisted in refusing to render judgments against the shipowners.

The temper displayed by many white men was criticized. Chinese often were insulted in the foreign settlements. It was true that some of the older residents treated the Chinese with consideration, but the younger genera-

tion, employees of the foreign business houses, pushed the natives about in the streets and struck them with whips. Masters of steamships were accused of running down river boats without stopping to rescue the victims of their callous actions.

Finally, the utterances in the foreign press exasperated the Chinese. Articles took on a carping and aggressive tone. Information often was inaccurate. Too many of the writers on China considered the people barbaric pagans, fit only to serve as cogs for the wheels of modern industry.

The Reform of "One Hundred Days"

The sinking of the empire under the combined weight of foreign penetration and domestic apathy had far-reaching effects upon the educated groups of China. Demands grew for reforms in all branches of imperial administration. The first public declaration appeared before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, in a petition to the throne, written by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Among others who saw the need for drastic changes were Kang Yu-wei and Chang Chih-tung.

Kang Yu-wei was a scholar who had created a sensation in 1891 when he published a book showing the falsities of many of the Confucian texts. A personality of unusual appeal, he had attracted to his school in Canton some of the most gifted students in the empire. Kang wrote in 1895 a brilliant memorial, *Reform China and Save Her,* which received more publicity at the time than Dr. Sun's feeble attempts to institute a democratic form of government. Kang Yu-wei led the faction which urged the extension of Western knowledge by means of a progressive newspaper. He founded later the Commercial Press of Shanghai.

The Manchus recognized the disaster following defeat at the hands of the Japanese and the humiliations suffered from the presence of the Western powers. The young emperor, Kuang Hsü, sought wisdom from foreign books. The imperial tutor brought to him Kang Yu-wei, who gained the high esteem of the earnest ruler. He joined the band of reformers who in the summer of 1898 issued edicts signed by the emperor.

These progressives were joined by Chang Chih-tung, Viceroy of Hunan and Hupeh provinces. Chang summoned China to action in *A Charge to Learn,* published under imperial sanction. Basing his thesis upon Confucian concepts, the viceroy recommended the introduction of Western institutions and education, all to be undertaken before republicanism even could be considered. "In no period in China's history has there arisen an emergency like the present. . . . The strength of foreign countries and the weakness of China have been clearly demonstrated to us within the past three years. . . . Gradually we have found out that the knowledge possessed by the Chinese cannot compare with that of Western people. . . . If we do not change soon, what will become of us? . . . We shall really, if not openly, become the slaves of Westerners." A million copies of this appeal were distributed within two years.

Under the guidance of the reformers, Kuang Hsü issued decrees on June 11, 1898. Education was to be modernized. Temples were to be converted into schools. A special institution was to be set up in Shanghai for the translation and distribution of foreign books. Manchu princes were encouraged to travel and break the shell of conservatism surrounding them.

For one hundred days enlightened men were enthusiastic over these steps taken on the path of modernism. They were cheered by the plans made to stimulate art, science, and agriculture. Railways were blueprinted. Law courts were investigated. Commercial bureaus were to be located in the cities for the supervision and direction of maritime trade. A national army based upon conscription, with Western instructors, was considered. All subjects were given the right to memorialize the throne through sealed petitions. Manchus who had no taste or capacity for civil or military duties were permitted to take up a profession or trade. Untilled land of the military garrisons was opened for cultivation by the people.

The new day dawned brightly to end in early darkness. Reactionaries, under the domination of the Empress Dowager, Yehonala, frightened by the efforts being made to undermine their authority, destroyed the powers of the reformers in September, 1898, by annulling edicts, stripping the young emperor of all responsibility, and executing some of the leaders.

Boxer Days

China is the homeland of powerful secret societies. By 1900, several of these organizations clashed with imperial interests. Two associations, the "Fist of Righteous Harmony" and the "Big Sword Society," encouraged by local officials in North China, pillaged the homes of Christian converts, destroyed chapels, and robbed and mistreated women and children. The banners of these societies carried the slogan, "Exterminate the Foreigners." An imperial decree published on January 11, 1900, in making a distinction between good and bad societies gave the impression that membership in the "Fist of Righteous Harmony" and "Big Sword Society" was acceptable to the government.

Sanction for the existence of these terroristic groups came from the highest of sources. It is found in a secret edict issued by the Empress Dowager on November 21, 1899, to the viceroys, governors, Tatar generals, and provincial commanders, "Our Empire is now laboring under great difficulties, which are becoming daily more serious. The various powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavors to be the first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. . . .

"It is our special command, therefore, that should any high official find himself so hard pressed by circumstances that nothing short of war would settle matters, he is expected to set himself resolutely to work out his

duty to this end. . . . Never should the word 'peace' fall from the mouths of our high officials, nor should they even allow it to rest for a moment within their breasts. With such a country as ours, with her vast areas stretching out several tens of thousands of li, her immense natural resources, and her hundreds of millions of inhabitants, if only each and all of you would prove his loyalty to his Emperor and love of country, what, indeed, is there to fear from any invader? Let no one think of making peace, but let each strive to preserve from destruction and spoliation his ancestral home and graves from the ruthless hands of the invader. Let these words be made known to each and all within our domains."

The patriots were not long in organizing a strong force for destruction of the Westerners and their native friends, "disciples of the devil." The Empress Dowager was superstitious, unusual for a person of her intelligence, and believed in the magical charms of the Boxers, as this band of fanatics was called. The emperor, however, was anxious to protect the foreigners, and Yuan Shih-k'ai, acting governor of Chihli province, was impatient with the ignorance displayed by the Boxer leaders, knowing well the efficacy of modern weapons.

In the spring of 1900, the foreign representatives in China were indecisive. Sir Claude MacDonald, British minister, hesitated to sound a note of alarm at a time his country was at war in South Africa. Sir Claude relied upon Sir Robert Hart, head of the Chinese Customs, who had faith in Chinese stability and considered antiforeignism to be harmless chatter. Hart believed the Peking Legation Quarter was the safest center in all China if any troubles arose. In order to allay foreign apprehensions, the Chinese government gave consent to a detail in Peking of 387 men and 16 officers, to be selected from among the forces of the powers stationed on the vessels at Taku Bar, Tientsin. A contingent from this city reached the capital in May, 1900.

The imperial authorities issued decrees against the Boxers in May. One of May 17 describes the activities of "wicked and malicious persons, under the name of the Society of Boxers" who posted placards "containing false statements everywhere in the inner and outer cities of Pekin, the object being to create suspicion and disturb the minds of the people, which it is greatly to be feared will result in stirring up trouble." Another decree warned the people against the Boxers who were committing acts of violence, and ordering the officials to protect all missionary chapels and native Christians, so as "to secure complete peace and quiet, and to stop further calamities."

One last appeal was made on June 6. "The native converts and the Boxers are all the people of our country, and the court regards them all with equal kindness, irrespective of their being Christians or Boxers. We have issued our commands that when cases of litigation arise between the people and the Christians the local officials should deal with them justly, but of late the officials . . . have followed the long-standing practice of acting in a careless and perfunctory way in dealing with such cases. They can not have had relations or intercourse with the missionaries further

they have been unable to show any consideration for the feelings of the people, and whenever cases have come up between the non-Christians and Christians they cannot with their entire minds have investigated them and rendered proper decisions. This has caused a feeling of intense anger and resulted in the people and converts being on bad terms with each other. The Boxers—in name an enemy of Christianity—therefore established their society. There are outlaws and rebels who have joined the society and have caused trouble. . . .

"Should there still be any traitorous persons or banditti among them who stir up and arouse suspicion in the minds of the people, with the avowed purpose of doing injury to any place or locality, the Boxer society must at once deliver up the principal leaders and they will be punished according to law. If any still remain obstinately fixed in a delusion, they will be regarded as rebels, and when they are killed by the soldiers they will then be separated from their parents, wives, and children and their homes ruined—the result of death. . . . The court feels the deepest pity for the people."

The first moves of the Boxers were to sever communications between Peking and Tientsin by burning railway tickets and then more realistically ripping up rails. Sugiyama, chancellor of the Japanese Legation, was killed by soldiers of the Chinese Imperial Army on June 11. The same day Westerners were tortured and murdered by Boxers and government troops stationed in the capital and in the northern provinces. Baron von Ketteler, German Minister, proceeding to the Foreign Office to lodge complaints, was hacked to pieces by enraged soldiers.

In spite of official condemnation of these acts, the Grand Council convened on June 20 and issued a decree calling for the extermination of all foreigners. This document reads:

"Ever since the founding of the dynasty foreigners coming to China have been kindly treated. . . . At first they were amenable to Chinese control, but for the last 30 years they have taken advantage of Chinese forbearance to encroach on Chinese territory and trample on the Chinese people and to demand China's wealth. Every concession made by China increased their reliance on violence. . . . The Throne was anxious to avoid war and issued edicts enjoining protection of the legations and pity to the converts. The decrees declaring Boxers and converts to be equally the children of the State were issued in the hope of removing the old feud between people and converts, and extreme kindness was shown to the men from afar.

"With tears we have announced the war in the ancestral shrines. Better to do our utmost and enter on the struggle rather than seek some means of self-preservation involving eternal disgrace. All our officers, high and low, are of one mind, and these have assembled, without warning, several thousand patriotic soldiers, even children carrying spears in the service of the country. Thus others rely on crafty schemes; our trust is in Heaven's justice. They depend upon violence; we have humanity on our side. Not to speak of the righteousness of our cause, our provinces number more

than 20, our people over 400,000,000, and it will not be difficult to vindicate the dignity of our country."

This decree concluded by promising rewards to all who distinguished themselves in battle and threatened punishment for those who showed cowardice. Another decree published at the same time expressed the satisfaction with which the throne had received the good news of the successful engagements at Tientsin (June 17–19) and praised the Boxers who had done great service without the support of either men or money from the government.

The advances of the Chinese led the foreign powers to send expeditions in order to protect the lives of their respective nationals. The contingents consisted of 10,000 Japanese; 4,000 Russians; 3,000 British; 2,000 Americans; 800 French; 200 Germans; 58 Austrians, and 53 Italians. The most pressing problem was the relief of the little band besieged in Peking. An allied force, under German Field Marshal Count Waldersee, advanced from Tientsin on August 4. Ten days later, the hard fighting companies, who had lost 76 killed and 179 wounded out of 458 marines and 75 volunteers, rescued the 473 civilians enclosed in the British Legation, and kept alive by the courage of a handful of brave missionaries and grim soldiers. The following day, the Empress Dowager and Emperor Kuang Hsü, clothed in the blue cotton of peasants, fled from Peking for Sian, Shensi province, in order to escape the vengeance of the white man.

Peking was punished in a manner befitting war in ancient times. The city was looted by the Boxers, by regular imperial troops, and by the allied troopers. Many a Manchu noble and many a Manchu princess ended their lives when they heard the steps of the advancing conquerors.

The story of Boxer days in Peking is one of the strangest in all history. During the height of the conflict, the Chinese Minister in London never failed to visit the St. James Club, oblivious to the hatred of his countrymen for Westerners. When the legation walls were being stormed, letters were exchanged between the foreign representatives and the Chinese Foreign Office, couched in language which gave no clue to the feelings of either side. Upon several occasions, the ministers were offered safe-conduct passes to Tientsin, followed the next day by heavy attacks. Their health was a concern of the Chinese, and the Empress Dowager dispatched fresh fruit with her compliments. The imperial court wrote on July 30 a letter of condolence to the Italian minister on the death of King Humbert. And to this day one bullet-scarred wall of the British Legation carries three words: "Lest We Forget."

The Boxer Protocol

Settlement of the conflict was arranged in a document signed on September 7, 1901. The original stipulations of this convention which tied the empire more tightly than ever to the wheels of alien might are:

I

"(A) Dispatch to Berlin of an extraordinary mission, headed by an Imperial Prince, to express the regrets of His Majesty, the Emperor of China, and of the Chinese Government, for the murder of His Excellency, the late Baron von Ketteler, German Minister.

"(B) Erection on the place where the murder was committed of a commemorative monument suitable to the rank of the deceased, bearing an inscription in the Latin, German, and Chinese languages, expressing the regrets of the Emperor of China for the murder.

II

"(A) The severest punishment in proportion to the crimes for those whom the representatives of the Powers shall subsequently designate.

"(B) Suspension of all official examinations for five years in all the towns where foreigners have been massacred or have been subjected to cruel treatment.

III

"Honorable reparation shall be made by the Chinese Government to the Japanese Government for the murder of Mr. Sugiyama, chancellor of the Japanese Legation.

IV

"An expiatory monument shall be erected by the Imperial Chinese Government in each of the foreign or international cemeteries which have been desecrated, and in which the graves have been destroyed.

V

"Maintenance, under conditions to be settled between the Powers, of the prohibition of the importation of arms, as well as of material used exclusively for the manufacturing of arms and ammunition.

VI

"Equitable indemnities for Governments, societies, companies, and private individuals, as well as for Chinese who have suffered during the late events in person or in property in consequence of their being in the service of foreigners.

VII

"Right for each Power to maintain a permanent guard for its legation and to put the legation quarter in a defensible condition. Chinese shall not have the right to reside in this quarter.

VIII

"The Taku and other forts which might impede free communication between Pekin and the sea shall be razed.

IX

"The right of military occupation of certain points, to be determined by an understanding between the Powers, for keeping open communication between the capital and the sea.

X

"(A) The Chinese Government shall cause to be published during two years in all subprefectures an Imperial decree embodying—

"Perpetual prohibition, under pain of death, of membership in any antiforeign society.

"Enumeration of the punishments which shall have been inflicted on the guilty, together with the suspension of all official examinations in the towns where foreigners have been murdered or have been subjected to cruel treatment.

"(B) An Imperial decree shall be issued and published everywhere in the Empire, declaring that all governors-general, governors, and provincial or local officials shall be responsible for order in their respective jurisdictions, and that whenever fresh antiforeign disturbances or any other treaty infractions occur, which are not forthwith suppressed and the guilty persons punished, they, the said officials, shall be immediately removed and forever prohibited from holding any office or honors.

XI

"The Chinese Government will undertake to negotiate the amendments to the treaties of commerce and navigation considered useful by the Powers and upon other subjects connected with commercial relations with the object of facilitating them.

XII

"The Chinese Government shall undertake to reform the office of foreign affairs, and to modify the court ceremonial relative to the reception of foreign representatives in the manner which the Powers shall indicate."

The amount of the indemnity was fixed at $333,000,000, gold. China agreed to pay this sum, at 4 per cent interest, by installments over a period of 39 years. The American share was $24,440,778.81, and to June, 1907, China had paid $6,010,931.91. A portion of the indemnity was remitted to China in 1908, with the provision that it was to be used for educational projects. The remainder of the American claims which otherwise would not have been paid until 1940, was remitted in 1924 by an Act of Congress. Russia and Germany claimed more than the other six powers, and Italy demanded far larger reparations than her military participation justified. In the Treaty of Versailles, Germany renounced all Boxer indemnities. In the agreement with China of May 31, 1924, Russia relinquished the remaining amount of the indemnity and stipulated that it was to be used for educational purposes.

The Empress Dowager, the "Old Buddha," did not wait long before returning to the capital. Realizing that the sufferings of China were caused partly by blocking roads to the future, the empress took up the discarded reform measures. Three edicts of 1901 abolished the old educational system by sweeping away the requirements for classical composition in the state examinations, set up schools based upon Western foundations, and furnished funds for the study of Chinese youths abroad. A commission was sent to Europe and the United States in 1903 to report on the various school organizations. A national educational institution was created in 1904. The traditional civil service ordeals were relegated in 1905. A Ministry of Education was founded in the same year.

At the time of her death (November 15, 1908) China's strongest ruler in more than a century had restored some of the abject fortunes of the empire. A revolution, however, swept over the land before China was able to rid herself of the monarchy.

12 The Machinery of Imperialism for China

SETTLEMENTS AND CONCESSIONS

The struggles between China and the West resulted in the enslavement of the empire. By means of treaties, wrested from a confused and weak government, many parts of China were placed under foreign control.

There were 49 "treaty ports" in China in the early years of the twentieth century. Ten of them had settlements and concessions under the administration of aliens. A concession was an area leased to a foreign power from which the Chinese government received an annual land tax. In these regions the various nationals had leases or deeds obtained from the consuls of the country holding the concession. The governmental organization generally was the same in each concession. A council of three to ten members were elected by the rate-payers with the consul of the concession-holding power serving as chairman. These concessions were comparable in administrative services to the cities of the United States which have executive but not political power. Police forces were under their jurisdiction, and courts were controlled by the consuls. The Chinese theoretically had sovereignty, and resident foreigners were protected by extraterritoriality, as in other parts of China.

In the period of World War I, one Austro-Hungarian, two German, and two Russian concessions were taken over by the Chinese. During the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the Chinese delegation, encouraged by these eliminations, asked for the abolition of all settlements and concessions on the ground that "China has been denied her right of plenary jurisdiction over her own citizens residing within the Concessions."

Between 1925 and 1931, England relinquished settlements in Hankow, Chinkiang, Kiukiang, and Amoy. The United States in 1938 ordered the departure of the 15th Infantry Regiment from Tientsin, leaving the city guarded by two companies of marines transferred from Peking (Peip'ing). This step was taken partly because the Japanese had changed the status quo in North China and partly because of the isolation sentiment in the United States in 1938.

SHANGHAI—COMMERCIAL IMPERIALISM

The economic importance of what is known today as Shanghai was recognized in the eleventh century when a customhouse was located in

that region. Until 1842 Shanghai was a port where river and seagoing junks stopped. The British forces occupied the city at this time and by the Treaty of Nanking, Shanghai was made one of the five treaty ports open to foreign commerce. The original aim was to have the settlement exclusively English, but the American consul flew the Stars and Stripes over his residence and undaunted in the face of British and Chinese objections, refused to lower his flag. In this manner Shanghai was internationalized.

The governing body of the Settlement was the Consular Body and the administrative organ was the Municipal Council. Council members usually were selected from the leading foreign residents who served without pay. Direct administration fell upon the secretariat and the various departments, who carried on the work connected with the police, and fire protection, supervision of schools, etc. The Settlement also had its own army and navy, Volunteer Corps, police reserves and river patrols.

The Municipal Council was mainly British in character and dominated by British views. Before World War I there was one German, one Russian, and one American on the Council. After Germany was defeated a Japanese was made a Councillor. The Russian was dropped in 1919, and an American took his seat. The Americans were elected by English votes and were typical "Shanghailanders," convinced that the Chinese had failed to progress, that their future was dark, and therefore, they were not qualified to be given equality in the Settlement.

The status of the Chinese in the Shanghai International Settlement was one of the most conspicuous aspects of imperialism on record. Owning more than 90 per cent of the property, paying 90 per cent of the taxes, and in 1925 constituting out of a total population of 840,226 about 96 per cent (810,278), they had no voice in the government. It is true that in order to placate them, a handful of native "advisors" was attached to the various municipal organs, but these had neither influence nor social position. The Chinese saw 70 per cent of the educational appropriations spent for the training of foreign children. They viewed the municipal library, maintained by public expense, without a single Chinese book in 1925 and with only 20 Chinese out of 6,000 subscribers. They stood at the gates of public parks and as taxpayers were not allowed to enter and listen to concerts made possible through their levies.

The Chinese Ratepayers Association of the International Settlement in 1927 launched a movement against taxation without representation. Thousands of the ratepayers registered with the Association and refused to pay a 2 per cent tax increase voted by the foreign ratepayers without Chinese consent. The Chinese government addressed a note to the Shanghai authorities, pointing out the illegality of the new tax and criticizing the Municipal Council for not admitting Chinese to its organization.

Strengthened by foreign battleships in the harbor and foreign troops on the streets, the Council broadcast notices to the Chinese shops that all licenses would be revoked if the tax increase were not paid within 24 hours and also threatened to cut off the light and water if the rebels in-

sisted upon striking for equality. The Council won and ruled Shanghai until World War II.

PEKING—DIPLOMATIC IMPERIALISM

The sights of Peking have been described by many travelers. Its history is known as well as that of Paris and London. The first blow against its ancient pride was delivered in 1873 when after threats and wars, the foreign powers met with the emperor on terms in line with the traditions of Western diplomacy. The Chinese, on January 16, 1901, were forced to recognize the right of the powers to garrison permanent guards at the capital in the "Legation Quarter."

In order to restrict the foreigners in their residence and commerce in Peking, a treaty was signed in 1903 providing an area outside the Inner City for their use. Here merchants of all countries lived and traded and leased land, houses, and warehouses. The roads and bridges were to be under Chinese jurisdiction and "when such place of international residence and trade shall have been opened and its limits properly defined, the foreigners who have been residing scattered both within and without the city walls shall all be required to remove their residence thereto." This treaty, however, was violated. China, sinking into disorder, was not able to curb the foreigners. Schools, homes, offices, and stores were located throughout the sections near the "Legation Quarter." The diplomats in their walled citadels remained indifferent to the establishments set outside, being content to let a Commission manage the little city within a city and levy taxes sufficient for the upkeep of roads, bridges, and the employment of Chinese police.

The peace of this outpost of foreign ascendancy was shaken in 1928 when Chiang Kai-shek announced that Peking (Northern Capital) would be named Peip'ing (Northern Peace). Governmental archives were moved to the new capital at Nanking. In order to keep in touch with the young regime the foreign powers built ministries and embassies in the south but clung to their spacious grounds and large offices and homes in Peip'ing, hoping that the change was temporary.

HONG KONG—MILITARY AND COMMERCIAL IMPERIALISM

The rocky island of Hong Kong is one of the most prominent of British commercial triumphs. England obtained this region in 1842 and its rapid growth has been due to the unsatisfactory trading conditions at Canton where local officials interfered with foreign commerce. Hong Kong was extended to include Kowloon and Stonecutter's Island in 1860 and in 1898 the New Territories were leased from China for 99 years.

Hong Kong was, before World War II, a Crown Colony, under the ad-

ministration of a Governor and the Secretary of State for Colonies. The Executive Council contained one unofficial Chinese member and the Legislative Council had three unofficial Chinese representatives, appointed by the Governor. The Chinese had no voice in the management of the colony. In 1938, Hong Kong had a population of one million, 98 per cent of whom were Chinese.

The war between China and Japan, which broke out in 1937, brought sweeping changes into Hong Kong. The Crown Colony was converted in a few months from a conservative settlement into the most prosperous entrepôt in Eastern Asia, after scores of wealthy Chinese brought their money and business enterprises to this free port in order to escape the ravages of war. At the same time Hong Kong became the headquarters for the services and supplies of the Chinese government, as well as the financial center for the territory unoccupied by the Japanese. There were about 500 Chinese millionaires in the city in 1940. None of these men of money was under the jurisdiction of the government of Chiang Kai-shek, although some gave substantial contributions to his armies.

FOREIGN INSPECTORS AND FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

The creation of an efficient customs organization for China was the result of the T'ai P'ing Rebellion and the desire of the Peking government to clip the claws of greedy local officials who were gaining wealth at the expense of imperial revenue. During the course of the Rebellion in 1853, the T'ai P'ings captured Shanghai and took over the customs house. The collector and his staff sought refuge outside the city in the region occupied by the Western merchants and entered into an agreement with the foreign consuls that trade would be carried on and customs duties collected, regardless of rebel encroachments. In order to strengthen the position of the Chinese, a number of foreigners, termed Inspectors, were selected to safeguard local revenues. Thus began, in June, 1854, the Foreign Inspectorate of Customs.

All merchants, foreign and native, paid duties according to a tariff schedule. The commercial treaties of 1858 stipulated that the Chinese government had the right to appoint any Europeans or Americans desiring to aid in the collection of customs levies and that this system initiated at Shanghai should be made uniform in all treaty ports. The organization of 1859 was put in operation under the direction of an Irishman, Robert Hart, who was an honest and capable servant of the Chinese government.

Robert Hart not only expected superior performance of their regular duties from his subordinates but also encouraged them to write monographs on subjects relating to China. These ranged from works on Chinese music to special reports on silk, tea, and opium. Under his direction studies on native diseases were published. The construction and maintenance of lighthouses, lightships, buoys, and beacons were supervised by

Hart who said that "navigation has been made as easy as walking down Regent Street when the gas is lit."

The only Chinese organizations which have withstood political stress and revolutionary storms are the Customs and the Postal Service, also instituted by Robert Hart, who was knighted for his labors in China. It is true that Robert Hart can be criticized for not training Chinese to carry on in the responsible offices of the Customs, yet Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself paid tribute to Sir Robert, calling him "the most trusted as he was the most influential 'Chinese.'"

The total amount invested by Americans in China by 1930 was about $265,000,000, composed of business investments ($125,000,000); missionary and other nonprofit enterprises ($75,000,000), and loans and debts ($65,000,000). Thirty-two per cent of the entire American capital in 1932 was concentrated in some one hundred import and export houses; 23 per cent in public utilities, including the Shanghai Power Company and the Shanghai Mutual Telephone Company, a subsidiary of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company; 17 per cent in banking and finance in the hands of branches of the National City Bank, the American Express Company, and The Equitable Eastern Banking Corporation; 14 per cent in manufacturing, including electrical equipment, wood products, cigarettes, and egg products; 7 per cent in railroads, airplane motors, automobiles, and shipping; 6 per cent in real estate; and 1 per cent in mining. About two-thirds of the total American investments were in Shanghai and most of the rest were in Tientsin.

Out of about 500 million pounds invested in China by 1936, the British share amounted to 225 million, consisting of trading enterprises (25 per cent), real estate (21 per cent), and manufacturing (18 per cent), concentrated at Hong Kong, Shanghai, and the cities of the Yangtze Valley. In the domestic trade British interests were centered in large concerns which owned their own fleets, wharves, and docks. In normal years, English investments brought from five to ten million pounds to imperial wealth and also gave employment to most of the 13,000 Britishers residing in China. One of the chief reasons why the English have been supreme in China is the fact that they were on the scene in the years when the empire was being opened to foreign influences and, after the "Opium Wars," were able to gain securities from the Maritime Customs, the Salt Gabelle, and the railroads, leaving other countries little opportunity to gain profits.

The British share in Chinese government loans by 1939 amounted to about $165,000,000; railroad investments were $95,000,000; and mining interests about $10,000,000. About 75 per cent of all railroad loans was British money.

Of all the British financial institutions in China none was more important than the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation ("Wayfoong"). This bank was founded in 1864 at a time when British exchange establishments in Hong Kong were connected with the opium traffic. During these years, Bombay was the financial center of the East and joint stock companies were growing. One of these was the Royal Bank of

China, formed by Bombay financiers who set out to destroy the China trade from Hong Kong. Out of this beginning came the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Limited, which was given authority to open branches in London, India, Penang, Singapore, China, and Japan. Until 1934, this Corporation was the depository of all Chinese governmental funds and the most influential force in China's financial life. The shares of the institution at Hong Kong issued at $125 were quoted in 1936 on the London Stock Exchange at 150 pounds sterling.

Japanese investments increased after World War I. By 1927, 91 per cent of the iron produced in China, including Manchuria, came from properties under Sino-Japanese control. In that year, Japanese business investments and loans amounted to $1,264,815,000, three quarters of which were in South Manchuria. Total Japanese stakes in Shanghai, Tientsin, Tsinan, and Hankow was estimated at 500,000,000 yen in 1930, representing mainly cotton and shipping enterprises. The Japanese owned and operated 43 cotton mills with a capitalized value of about $120,000,000 in 1930, containing 39 per cent of all the cotton spindles in the country. Japanese investments in 1938, excluding Manchukuo, were estimated at $494,000,000, composed of $362,000,000 in business concerns and $131,000,000 in loans to the government.

Many of these loans to the Chinese were flavored politically, without any attempt to conceal the aim to force China into the status of a vassal state. The so-called Telegraph Loan of 20,000,000 yen was made in April, 1918. Security for this sum was found in the property and revenues of the entire Chinese Telegraph Administration. In October, 1918, a Telephone Extension Loan of 10,000,000 yen was granted, guaranteed by the holdings and profits of the Government Telephone Administration. Loans also were consummated for the construction of wireless stations, and monopolistic rights were given to the Japanese, despite the fact that other departments of the Chinese government had made similar agreements with British and American interests. By 1928, the principal and interest upon these loans amounted to $273,000,000, silver.

All these sums were part of the Nishihara negotiations which also included plans for the construction of five railways in Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia and two in Shantung province. The Japanese declared, after protests had been made regarding these transactions, that the money was given to enable China to enter the war on the side of the Allies in 1918 but that 100,000,000 yen was earmarked for debt settlements and only 35 per cent was used for military preparation. The Nishihara agreements accentuated the political anarchy within China, and furnished Japan with an excuse to send in an army in order to maintain peace, partly destroyed by Japanese financial conspiracies.

The interests of Germany in China increased after 1933. The Reich in 1938 had 16 per cent of all Chinese imports, and 5½ per cent of the export trade in contrast to the British 9 per cent. A Sino-German agreement was concluded in 1937 for the purchase of $40,000,000, silver, worth of railroad equipment. Of this amount $10,000,000 was long-term credit,

to be used for repair of the bridge across the Yellow River on the Peking-Hankow line. German credits were linked to barter understandings in order to promote Chinese exports to Germany.

Russia's total investment in China in 1915 was about $750,000,000. Most of this was lost after World War II, including the railroad from Changchun to Port Arthur (South Manchuria Railway Company) and the concessions in Tientsin and Hankow. The value of Russian investments in 1930 was estimated by the Japanese to be $232,000,000, of which about $200,000,000 was in the Chinese Eastern Railroad.

French interests were in the province of Yünnan, and in the colony of French Indo-China. The Paris government in 1937 encouraged the financing of a railway in Szechuan province, but all Sino-French undertakings ceased after Hitler started his advances into France in 1940.

FOREIGN OFFICES AND BANKERS

The financial forces of the powers in opposition to the schemes of one another are displayed clearly in the many negotiations for railway construction. The wires of foreign offices were busy with complaints, and the pouches of the diplomats were filled with accounts of the positions of the various groups.

The year 1909 was a crucial one for investors in the China field. The United States observed the meetings in Paris and Berlin of the European bankers and worked for equitable American participation in the loans. The German, French, and English groups finally recognized the American demands for inclusion, but the Department of State was irritated by the action of some factions who were blocking the final stages of agreement. Secretary of State Knox deplored the fact that unnamed interests were defeating the operation of the Open Door[1] policy and informed China that the time had come when that country "should exercise its right to determine the matter by confining her dealings to those who are willing to respect her highest interests." Knox intimated that Americans welcomed the opportunity to carry the loan singlehanded if intrigues continued.

The President of the United States, William Howard Taft, in July, 1909, took the unprecedented step of sending a personal cablegram to the Emperor of China. He wired that he "was disturbed at the reports that there is certain prejudiced opposition to your Government's arranging for equal participation by American capital in the present railway loan. To your wise judgment it will of course be clear that the wishes of the United States are based . . . upon broad national and impersonal principles of equity and good policy in which a regard for the best interests of your country has a prominent part . . . I have resorted to this somewhat unusually direct communication with Your Imperial Highness, because of the high importance that I attach to the successful result of

[1] See pages 154–161.

our present negotiations. I have an intense personal interest in making the use of American capital in the development of China an instrument for the promotion of the welfare of China, and an increase in her material prosperity without entanglements or creating embarrassments affecting the growth of independent political power and the preservation of her territorial integrity."

The Chinese Foreign Office thereupon informed the American Minister in Peking that plans regarding the railway loan for the line between Szechuan and Hankow had been discussed by Viceroy Chang Chih-tung and the European bankers, and it was suggested that an additional sum of half a million pounds be added to the original £5,500,000. Of this total, £3,000,000 was to be devoted to the Canton-Hankow line and the rest to the Szechuan-Hankow railroad, the Americans furnishing one-half. This concession was made because the Chinese were anxious to please the American government, although insistence upon equal participation was regarded by Peking as of slight importance. In August, however, it was announced that China had agreed to an increase in order to admit equal American shares.

The question of American entrance into the loan arrangements being settled, difficulties then arose in regard to the appointment of engineers to supervise the construction of the various sections. The British Ambassador to the United States, James Bryce, wrote to the Secretary of State in September, that a just solution of the problem might be reached, provided the original parties in the deal sacrificed in order to allow the presence of the Americans. The British were willing to divide the engineers among the four powers, but the Russians made it clear that their government was conscious of the desire of the British, French, and Germans to stand together in all future loans to China and that, therefore, the government at St. Petersburg wished to be included in all transactions, believing that this policy was in conformity with the principles of the Open Door. The Russians requested that the United States promise that in the future nothing would be done to debar Russian financial interests from having an equal part in loans to China.

In this stage of the deliberations, Viceroy Chang died. This gave the British an opportunity to reconsider the entire Yangtze Valley railroad question and work for new deals. English, French, and German groups met to formulate other propositions. It was realized that German and British rights in the Canton-Hankow railroad rested mainly upon assurances given by Viceroy Chang which had not been given official sanction, although in view of the advances for the line made by the English, the latter possessed moral claims which the Chinese would have difficulty in evading.

At this time the undercurrent of international rivalries came to the surface. Many British criticized the action of their government for not co-operating with the Americans and surrendering to the Germans. The Peking correspondent of the London *Times* advocated recognition of American interests and scored the "haggling" of the Hong Kong

and Shanghai Banking Corporation, which he attributed to German influence on its board of directors. These suspicions and charges made it difficult for China to borrow money except on the disastrous "concession" basis.

At the end of World War I China was in an abject plight. This condition was owing to the breakdown of the administrative system and the emergence of an irresponsible military despotism. The foreign powers discussed methods of seeking investments in a land where profits could be lucrative. It was realized by the interested governments that the old policy of constructing specific railroads with outside capital was unsatisfactory, first, because foreign control exercised for the protection of bondholders perpetuated spheres of influence, thereby restricting development of the Chinese railroad system; second, the financing and construction of these roads was expensive, and third, the adoption of different standards on the many lines operated against efficiency. With this in mind, steps were taken by the foreign bankers, allied to their respective governments, to form a new international financial organization.

The United States proposed that a consortium be formed, consisting of bankers from English, French, Japanese, and American institutions. The four powers agreed to share equally in all Chinese guaranteed loans and to pool existing and future options, excepting those concessions in operation. An understanding was reached in 1919 by the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation; the Banque de L'Indo Chine; the Yokohama Specie Bank, Limited; J. P. Morgan and Company; Kuhn, Loeb and Company; the National City Bank of New York; The Guaranty Trust Company of New York; and the Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago, on the basis of complete equality, for a period of five years.

Opposition to this plan was not long in appearing. The Japanese members, in June, 1919, declared that "all the rights and options held by Japan in the regions of Manchuria and Mongolia where Japan has special interests should be excluded from the arrangements for pooling provided for in the proposed agreement." The British Foreign Office replied that the government "should take up towards Japan a perfectly firm but not threatening attitude." British members of the consortium regarded the claims of the Japanese to exclude Manchuria and Mongolia as "totally inadmissible." The French Foreign Office was unwilling to eliminate Japan, fearing that Tokyo's isolation would compel her to seek an alliance with Germany. The Chinese feared an attempt was being made to superimpose upon the administration a foreign civil service such as functioned in the Customs.

By the middle of the summer of 1919, forces were working openly against the consortium. A pro-Japanese Chinese syndicate handed to the President of China a memorandum stating that with the support of Japan the admission of their group to the consortium had materialized and that the Belgian, Japanese, and French interests had agreed to work in harmony with the Chinese. Following this declaration, a bill was introduced into the Peking Parliament attacking the consortium on the

ground that it constituted a monopoly. When suggestions were made that a three-power consortium be drawn up, the American officials in China reported to Washington that this scheme would lower the prestige of the United States in Eastern Asia and hasten the domination of the Japanese.

The Japanese minister to China called at the American Legation on October 3. He expressed apprehension that there would be general disorder in North China unless financial assistance was given to the Peking government. He declared that Japanese would be the chief victims of any violence, and, therefore, it was essential for the Tokyo government to act independently in financing the Chinese, provided such a move was not taken through the consortium. The Japanese diplomat suggested that American financiers co-operate with the Japanese in a loan.

The Japanese on September 1, 1919, notified the British that they were willing to accept the terms of the consortium provided that their special rights in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia were recognized. The London government, however, realized that there were enterprises developed or in the course of development in South Manchuria which were not within the range of the consortium, but the Japanese had no reason to include the Mongolian region. The English then tried another tactic. London urged in November, 1919, that a loan of £5,000,000 be made by the bankers of Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan, without prejudice to the future character of the consortium. This suggestion was disregarded.

Thomas L. Lamont, American representative of the consortium, arrived at Shanghai in April, 1920. He made a favorable impression by stating that the agreement was made for the benefit of the Chinese people as opposed to any faction or clique within the country. He was given a cordial reception in Peking, although the attitude of the Chinese officials was described by the vernacular press as that "of cold, weak tea." The Japanese were back of the movement to discredit the American financier. The pro-Japanese papers insisted that the consortium had no other aim than to gain control of China's resources, including the land taxes and salt revenues, which were to be accepted as mortgages in a single arrangement, instead of being seized piece by piece.

The consortium finally started its work to loan money to the hard-pressed Chinese government. The group issued a statement on May 15, 1922, that "the policy of the Consortium, namely, the substitution of international co-operation for international competition in the economic and financial affairs of China, has now been definitely affirmed and endorsed in a larger sense by China and the Powers" in the Washington Conference Treaty of February 6, 1922. The consortium was "an appropriate instrument" for putting into effect this policy. It was not to be considered a permanent organization but a temporary "bridge" whereby China would be able to pass from a period of transition into a settled state. The consortium later also declared that it was the purpose of the group to "assist in building up the general credit of China on such a secure foundation that all outside intervention may be gradually eliminated and

the entire control of loan service and expenditure may finally pass into the hands of China herself."

Despite the frank pronouncements of the bankers, the Chinese were opposed to the operation of the consortium, partly owing to the propaganda of the Japanese and partly owing to bitter experiences with the financiers of the West. The organization was managed efficiently and honestly, but the Chinese regarded it merely as one more tool of exploitation. The consortium had been created in order to prevent China from reckless borrowing, which was destroying political stability and injuring domestic business and foreign bondholders. The Chinese, however, saw the foreigner as doing nothing to strengthen the land and encouraging unwise loans for further enslavement of the people.

The final official expression of consortium aims was made on July 10, 1929, by Thomas L. Lamont. He said that "China's own banking and investment resources are increasing, and as time goes on China herself may be able, I hope, to finance largely her own enterprises of public utility." After Chinese credit was restored, groups from all countries interested must receive "equally fair treatment."

These optimistic utterances were not fulfilled. Between 1929 and 1940, China depended upon individual deals instead of co-operative agreements. A case of the old "pressure salesmanship" occurred in 1935, when Sir Frederick Leith-Ross headed a financial mission to China, to be met by Major-General Isogaya, Japanese military attaché, who voiced his disapproval of the British interest in assisting China. A Japanese official stated in March, 1936, that his country would not consent to any arrangements for loans from the United States and Great Britain on the grounds that all Chinese railroads were government-owned and loans to them had political implications; that Japan possessed "vast economic interests" in North China; that Japan was a creditor and, therefore, refused to sanction any foreign loans which would have priority claims upon the earnings of Chinese railways.

All influential Chinese were not hostile to assistance from abroad. Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself was not entirely opposed to foreign investments. He believed that his country could be developed on an international scale for the good of all concerned. He hoped that the class struggle might be avoided through the eradication of capitalistic rivalries and that experts could be used under Chinese control. Dr. Sun also trusted the consortium, and thought that if the powers were sincere "in their motive to co-operate for mutual benefit, then the military struggle for material gain in China could eventually be averted."

In line with this expression the government took a stand on loans in March, 1929, when the Central Political Council of the Nationalist regime passed resolutions regarding the use of foreign capital. First, assuming the arrangement did not injure sovereignty, the government would contract loans and carry on the work of the consortium with funds supplied from the outside. Second, corporations operated by the government or Chinese merchants were permitted to grant financial privileges to alien financiers,

provided Chinese held at least 51 per cent of the shares, with Chinese directors in the majority, the chairman of the board of directors and the general manager Chinese, and all private enterprises regulated by Chinese laws and regulations.

China indicated the path to be followed in 1934 after the China Development Corporation was created. This was an organization formed to investigate proposed undertakings, owned entirely by Chinese, with a capital of $10,000,000, silver. It was intended that foreign loans would be accepted in order that Western and Eastern interests might function in harmony.

This aim was not destroyed by World War II and the problems of reconstruction. Chinese financial leaders realized that whatever was accomplished in the future would be undertaken by themselves without attachment to those nations which had been exploiting Chinese resources and Chinese weakness. They hoped that eventually the machinery of imperialism, as geared for China, would be totally destroyed.

13 The Machinery of Imperialism for China (continued)

THE OPEN DOOR—GREAT AMERICAN ILLUSION

The great powers had cut deeply into China. The Fournier Convention of 1884 was concluded whereby France gave China assurances that the southern boundaries of the empire would be protected from attack. China in 1885 promised France that if any railroads were constructed in that region, France would be called upon first to furnish materials.

Up to this time there had been equal opportunity for all to enter China. In order to counteract French designs, England insisted that China grant her a preferential position in the valley of the Yangtze. France again consolidated her position by an agreement signed on April 10, 1898. China promised not to cede to any power the southern border provinces. The following month, Kwangchow-wan was leased and the French were given the right to construct warehouses, wharves, and hospitals. China also agreed that France was to be given permission to construct railroads with Pakhoi as a terminus.

In southern China the French and English saw no reason why their nationals could not conduct their affairs in harmony. In order to record this policy formally, the Anglo-French agreement of January 15, 1896, was concluded. "The two governments agree that all commercial and other privileges and advantages conceded in the two Chinese provinces of Yünnan and Szechuan either to Great Britain or France in virtue of their respective conventions with China . . . and all privileges and advantages of any nature which may in the future be conceded in these two Chinese provinces, either to Great Britain or France, shall, as far as rests with them, be extended and rendered common to both powers. . . ."

Russia, too, had eyes upon China. China leased Port Arthur to Russia in 1898. The treaty between the two countries stipulated that since it was necessary for "the due protection of her navy in the waters of North China that Russia should possess a station she can defend, the Emperor of China agrees to lease to Russia, Port Arthur, and Talienwan, together with the adjacent seas, but on the understanding that such lease shall not prejudice China's sovereignty over this territory."

The English also moved to bring under their influence portions of China, partly to oppose Russian advances into Manchuria and partly to offer support to France in the south and Germany in Shantung province.

An understanding was signed with the Chinese in regard to the Yangtze Valley on Februrary 11, 1898, making it clear that none of this area was to be leased or ceded to any other power.

In the spring of 1897, Germany desired to gain a foothold in China. Two German Catholic missionaries were murdered in Shantung on November 1, 1897. Within one week German forces landed and presented demands, including the right to build a railroad and open mines and the grant of a naval station at Tsingtao.

The powers worked swiftly to entrench themselves on the continent of Asia. Great Britain and Germany settled their respective interests in the Yangtze Valley and the province of Shantung. During the negotiations for the lease of Weihaiwei by England, the London government informed Berlin that she had "no intention of injuring or contesting the rights and interests of Germany in the province of Shantung, or of creating difficulties for her in that province." The final terms whereby China relinquished the area of Weihaiwei to England were made on July 1, 1898. The region was "to provide Great Britain with a suitable naval harbor in North China and for the better protection of British commerce in the neighboring seas," to endure as long as Russia occupied Port Arthur.

China leased to England on June 9, 1898, for 99 years, Kowloon, Mirs Bay, and Deep Bay. Hoping to gain something out of these partitions, Italy, on February 28, 1899, demanded a lease on the coast for a coaling station and naval base. China refused to consider this proposal but placated the Italian government with a mining concession in Chekiang province.

This "scramble for concessions" left the United States with considerably lessened opportunities to carry on trade and extend American influence. The time appeared ripe for the formulation of a definite policy in order to gain a place in the Chinese sun. Out of this situation the Open Door was born.

THE GENESIS OF THE OPEN DOOR

The United States Secretary of State, John Hay, on September 6, 1899, requested the governments of France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Japan to give consent to three propositions: first, that each "will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called 'sphere of interest' or leased territory it may have in China"; second, "that the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within such 'spheres of interest' (unless they be 'free ports'), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government"; and, third, "that it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such 'sphere' than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its

'sphere' on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such 'sphere' than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances."

Secretary Hay continued to urge the powers to take concrete action. He sent a note on July 3, 1900, to Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Russia. "The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace in China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."

Great Britain and Germany replied to the American note in August by agreeing upon a mutual policy to be followed. "It is a matter of joint and permanent international interest that the ports on the rivers and littoral of China should remain free and open to trade and to every other legitimate form of economic activity for the nationals of all countries without distinction, and the two Governments agree on their part to uphold the same for all Chinese territory so far as they can exercise influence.

"Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Imperial German Government will not on their part make use of the present complication to obtain for themselves any territorial advantages in Chinese dominions and will direct their policy towards maintaining undiminished the territorial conditions of the Chinese Empire." Russia also agreed in a general way to the same principles.

The British government entered into this accord owing to the Russian penetration in North China. Yet this paper declaration did not prevent the expansionists of St. Petersburg from moving into Manchuria.

There was nothing original in these suggestions. The most-favored-nation clause in the treaty of 1843 between England and China was the basis for the Open Door. Similar considerations had been discussed by Caleb Cushing and Secretary of State Daniel Webster the same year. The British had been urging these measures for many years. London, in March, 1898, had proposed to Washington that the two powers cooperate "in opposing action by foreign powers which may tend to restrict freedom of commerce of all nations in China either by imposing preferential conditions or by obtaining actual cession of China coast territory." President William McKinley, in his instructions to the American Peace Commissioners on September 16, 1898, after the Spanish-American War, first used in an American official document the phrase "open door." "We seek no advantages in the Orient which are not common to all. Asking only the open door for ourselves, we are ready to accord the open door to others."

During early negotiations, John Hay was American representative at the Court of St. James and was in close touch with the English leaders interested in the Chinese and Russian questions. The United States at this

time was viewing with alarm the movements of the Russians in Manchuria where Americans were building up lucrative trade in oil and cotton. Alfred E. Hippisley, an executive of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, had suggested an agenda to W. W. Rockhill, who was Director of the Bureau of American Republics in the Department of State and formerly a resident of China and Korea. A note of Rockhill's to Hay, written on August 28, 1899, and inspired by the former's correspondence with Hippisley, stated that "if the Chinese empire is in a disturbed condition, and if foreign interests suffer thereby, this is evidently due to unseemly haste of some of the treaty powers in their scramble for commercial advantages and acquisition of territory." Rockhill also wrote that the spheres of influence had been recognized by England, France, Germany, and Russia, and they "must be accepted as existing facts." He recommended that the American government should insist upon "absolute equality of treatment in the various zones, for equality of opportunity with the citizens of the favored powers we cannot hope to have."

JAPAN QUESTIONS THE OPEN DOOR

During the period when the Manchurian Convention, involving the granting of exclusive privileges for the opening of mines and the construction of railroads, was being discussed by Russia and China (1901), the Japanese Minister called upon the American Secretary of State and stated that his government viewed the Convention as a "most undesirable thing because it was a violation of the understanding among all the Powers that the integrity of the Chinese Empire should be preserved, and that the Japanese Government was anxious that some means should be taken by the different Powers to induce China to delay the final signature of the convention beyond the period assigned by Russia as an ultimatum for signing."

A circular note was sent from Washington to the powers pointing out that the Russian maneuvers constituted a monopoly, injured the sovereign rights of the Chinese in Manchuria and that such a policy would be followed by similar demands from the other powers. These actions would signify the "complete wreck of the policy of absolute equality of treatment of all nations in regard to trade, navigation, and commerce within the confines of the empire."

Before 1905, the chief interests of Japan were found in Korea. Some of the leaders, however, were willing to recognize Manchuria as a Russian sphere, provided Japanese interests were not touched in the Liaotung Peninsula. As long as there was an assurance that the Open Door might be maintained and the territorial integrity of China guaranteed, Japan appeared to be content. Then, launched into an aggressive policy in Manchuria after the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, Japan had no reason to uphold the Open Door except in the abstract. During this struggle, President Theodore Roosevelt, upon two occasions, invoked the principle

of territorial integrity of China and accepted the role of mediator in the dispute only after he had been promised by Japan that it "adheres to the position" to maintain the Open Door in Manchuria and return the region to China.

Japanese commercial interests increased rapidly in Manchuria after 1905. The powers were suspicious of these economic activities. Charges were made in 1906 and 1907 that Japan had violated the principles of the Open Door by failing to pay Chinese customs duties, giving rebates on the Japanese railroad, and interfering with the collection of local taxes. The Japanese government denied that the Open Door was being shut.

After many communications and delays, notes were exchanged between Baron Kogoto Takahira, Japanese Ambassador to the United States and Secretary of State Elihu Root on November 30, 1908. This is known as the Root-Takahira Agreement. It enunciated a "common aim, policy, and intention" in the areas of the Pacific Ocean in order to "strengthen the relations of friendship and good neighborhood which have immemoriably existed" between the two nations and also "materially contribute to the preservation of the general peace." One of the five articles of this understanding stated that "they are also determined to preserve the common interest of all Powers by supporting by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire." Another section declared that "should any event occur threatening the status quo as above described or the principle of equal opportunity as above defined, it remains for the two governments to communicate with each other in order to arrive at an understanding as to what measures they may consider useful to take." [1]

During World War I the Japanese motive in expressing high regard for the Open Door and at the same time advancing into China was exposed. The Chinese government in 1915 was presented with "Twenty-one Demands" by the Japanese.[2] Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, in his *Diplomatic Commentaries* considered these demands to be "just and reasonable." He maintained that the powers in their relations with China had approved the American proposals to respect the territorial integrity of China as well as the Open Door and equal opportunity but the same nations individually carried on contrary policies. Russia regarded the Open Door and equal opportunity with "indifference." Germany, encouraging Russian imperialism in the East, voiced the opinion that the territorial integrity of China would be upheld but refused to consider Manchuria a part of China. Secretary of State Hay had emphasized the Open Door and equal opportunity rather than maintenance of territorial integrity. England considered her commercial and industrial stakes as important but also was concerned over territorial integrity, owing to the Russian threat to

[1] The origin of these notes is found in the talks between William Howard Taft and Premier Katsura on July 29, 1905. At that time, Japan recognized American interests in the Philippines, and the United States realized that Japan had similar interests in Korea.

[2] See Chapter 17, pp. 205–207.

India. Japan, by contrast, had been the only consistent power. China trade being of prime importance, it was obvious that the Open Door and equal opportunity were of "primordial interest" and territorial integrity "as indispensable to her as lips to teeth and wheels to axle." Japan had not hesitated to wager national existence upon this principle.

Viscount Ishii in June, 1917, as a special ambassador, was sent to the United States. He was determined not to be outdone by Balfour of England and Viviani of France, who represented their governments in the expressions of war aims to the American people. During his sojourn the Japanese diplomat talked to the press and lectured to large audiences in New York on the Japanese policy in China. He pointed out that the Open Door and equal opportunity were benefiting Japanese trade and therefore it was the wish of his government that these principles be upheld in all parts of China. In a talk with President Woodrow Wilson, Viscount Ishii was informed by the American executive that the United States desired only the Open Door and equal opportunity to be applied to China. In reply, the Japanese diplomat pointed out that Germany and Russia, who had subscribed to these sentiments, were the first to enter Shantung and Manchuria and thus closed the door to equal opportunity. Japan, on the other hand, in the occupation of Manchuria since 1905, "never failed to uphold" the Open Door doctrine.

The question of the Open Door was brought up during the Washington Conference. Secretary of State Hughes presented a draft resolution in January, 1922, calling for a more effective application of the principles. The Open Door received consideration in many statements issued by the League of Nations during the sessions of 1932.

JAPAN SHUTS DOOR

Yosuke' Matsuoka, Japanese representative in the League of Nations, declared on December 8, 1932, before that body, that "we often hear of John Hay's note for the preservation of the integrity of China and so forth. We pay all our respects to that note of the secretary of state of the American government. However, taking into consideration the realities of the Far East, and the temper of the Powers since, would you imagine that the paper on which the note was written would have alone enabled China to continue to exist? There must have been power behind that note. And whose power was it? Largely the power and strength of Japan. So we Japanese, to be very frank, feel that our Chinese friends ought to be thanking Japan as much as the United States of America for saving China from being partitioned, and for, later on, saving the Republic of China which these distinguished gentlemen from China now claim to represent."

Such pious expressions lulled no Western power. They looked with anxiety upon the manner in which the Japanese formulated restrictive measures in their new state of Manchukuo, organized in 1932. An oil monopoly was created in the region in 1934. British and American inter-

ests inquired at the Japanese Foreign Office concerning this organization. Tokyo replied that the Japanese had nothing to do with the policies of the government of Manchukuo because it was an independent state and the oil monopoly was a domestic question. The British and American governments, now joined by Holland, continued to protest to the Japanese on the ground that the Open Door was being shut and that Japan alone was responsible for the action of the Hsinking government. The Tokyo Foreign Office insisted that the aggrieved powers take up the matter directly with the Manchukuan authorities.

Washington on November 30, 1937, ordered that investigations be made concerning rumors that Japan was violating the Open Door and various tariff conventions by reducing the duties on Japanese imports at Tientsin. In reply to the United States, Japan stated (January 22, 1938) that the Open Door had not been closed and China would not become a second Manchuria. These words were in direct contrast to the actions of military and commercial agents who were setting up barriers to Western enterprises.

London and Washington in 1938 criticized the actions of the Japanese in Manchuria and North China. A Tokyo official talked about a "new" China, free of exploitation. The United States Department of State announced that "the attitude of the United States government in relations both with Japan, as with other countries, is governed and guided by generally accepted principles of international law, by provisions of treaties to which the United States and numerous countries—among them China and Japan—are parties, and by the principle of fair dealing and fair play between nations. This country's position with regard to the Far East has repeatedly been declared and this position remains unchanged." The Japanese Foreign Office met this statement with a declaration that the United States had failed to see the changed conditions brought about by the Japanese military campaigns in China. The United States also was criticized for adhering to the old concept found in the Nine-Power Treaty. Japan at the same time denied that Americans were being discriminated against and insisted that new regimes were being instituted in China which welcomed foreign participation "in the great work of reconstruction of Eastern Asia."

Another angle was given to the question of Japanese movements in January, 1939. The Tokyo Foreign Office announced that it was ready to discuss the Open Door provided its corollary, the Open Door in other parts of the world, also was put in the agenda for discussion. The Japanese maintained they were ready to start negotiations regarding the right of Asiatics to reside and travel without restrictions; freedom of international commerce by the abolition of tariff barriers and import quotas; and an equitable distribution of resources, in order to have free access to raw materials needed for defense. The Japanese suggestions were not taken seriously by any power.

What was the Open Door after all? In the beginning the doctrine was not only a means whereby the United States could obtain commercial op-

portunities but also a guarantee for China's sovereignty. It was apparent soon that it was a political as well as an economic instrument. The United States, for the first time, championed the territorial integrity of a country outside the Western hemisphere. And yet, the motivation of commercial pressure coupled to sentimental regard for China were forces making the United States realize that its future strength meant the status quo in the regions of the Pacific. John Hay, furthermore, did not achieve any genuine guarantee from the powers pledging the Open Door principles. He merely pushed the United States into a more aggressive role in Eastern Asia, in keeping with the spirit of "Manifest Destiny," tried out and found good after the war with Spain in 1898.

14 The United States and the Opening of Japan

THE EMERGENCE OF AMERICAN ASIATIC INTERESTS

The interest of the United States in Oriental commercial conquests was not relaxed during the War of 1812. One vessel, the *Essex*, was detailed to guard American shipping in the East. Under the command of Captain David Porter, this solitary guardian sailed around Cape Horn (November, 1812), and in 1813 was the first warship to fly American colors in the waters of Eastern Asia.

The promising future for trade in these unknown regions was realized by Captain Porter. He addressed a letter to President Madison on October 31, 1815. "We, Sir, are a great and rising nation. We have higher objects in view than the mere description of an island seen before by others, and the mere ascertaining the trade that may be carried on with a tribe of Indians. . . . Other nations have there been represented by their ships, ours never. Others have contributed to ameliorate their situation and to introduce civilization amongst them; we have profited by their philanthropy without having made any return. We have reaped all the advantages of the labors of other nations, and gratitude and duty now call loudly on us to add to their store.

"The important trade of Japan has been shut to every nation except the Dutch, who by the most abject and servile means secured a monopoly. Other nations have made repeated attempts at an intercourse with that country, but from jealousy in the government and from other causes, (among which may be named a want of manly dignity on the part of the negotiators) they have all failed. Great changes have since taken place in the world—changes which may have affected even Japan. The time may be favorable, and it would be a glory beyond that acquired by any other nation for us, a nation of only 40 years' standing, to beat down their rooted prejudices, secure to ourselves a valuable trade, and make that people known to the world."

Attention gradually was turned toward Japan and plans were made to batter down the walls which separated the island empire from the West. A resolution was introduced into the House of Representatives in 1844 urging a commercial convention with Japan and Korea. Commodore Biddle of the *U. S. S. Columbus* was ordered to visit Japan. The commodore reached Yedo on July 20, 1846 and was informed that the government was not interested in commercial relations. The meeting almost

turned into an "incident" when Biddle was molested by a Japanese soldier. The American wisely refrained from meeting force with force, only requesting that the Japanese be punished according to native law. The Japanese, however, interpreted compromise for weakness and were convinced that American strength was puny and American honor meaningless.

Despite this official rebuff, interests in the United States were seeking for formal relations with Japan. Shippers and whalers were anxious to settle the status of shipwrecked sailors. Public opinion was stirred by the harsh treatment of the *Lawrence* crew, wrecked in May, 1846, and the barbarous reception given the sailors of the *Lagode* (February, 1848). Commander James Glynn of the *Preble,* sent to rescue these Americans, was advised "not to violate the laws or customs of the country, or by any means prejudice the success of any pacific policy our government may be inclined to pursue." The commander advocated a commercial treaty with Japan and if such an understanding could not be reached, urged that force be applied.

PERRY AND THE JAPANESE EXPEDITION

Secretary of State Daniel Webster, on June 10, 1851, ordered Commodore J. H. Aulick, in charge of the China Squadron, to set out for Japan. Aulick was embroiled with the Navy Department and Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry was commissioned instead to head the Japan Expedition.

It was fortunate that Commodore Perry had been selected to enter into negotiations with the Japanese (March 24, 1852). This romantic, peppery, and efficient Rhode Islander had proved his worth in the Mediterranean and at Vera Cruz in the Mexican War. The commodore recognized the fact that all conversations would be futile if attention were not given to the peculiar forms of Japanese society, based upon caste lines. The United States having no such distinctions, the realistic sailor invented them by making himself a special envoy, with gorgeous trappings and solemn retinue, and also assuming the rank of admiral, for the occasion.

Public opinion, at home, critical of the unusual, ridiculed Perry. The papers scoffed. Some considered the expedition a stupid show of force to intimidate a barbaric country. Others believed that Perry was the vanguard of an armed invasion of Japan. Edward Everett Hale wrote an ironic comment that the "funeral of Bill Poole or the filibustering operations in the Gulf of Mexico have (naturally) awakened more interest among the people than has the opening, by peaceful diplomacy, of the Italy of the East to the intercourse of the world."

The little expedition, consisting of the *Plymouth, Saratoga, Mississippi,* and the provision ship, *Supply,* reached Hong Kong on April 6, 1853. Perry and his staff were wined and dined and discouraged by the European merchants and consular agents of Canton. He set out for the Liu

Ch'iu (Ryukyu) Islands on May 17, where he was prepared to experiment with the local officials and sound out the manner of approach to the empire proper. The Americans sailed into the harbor of Naha on May 23. Here Perry was visited by a Christian missionary. Armed with a red greeting card, a delegation of islanders waited upon him. Salutation and envoys were rejected and orders given to the crew to have no relations with the people.

The following morning a second mission reached the flagship, carrying a card and gifts of animals and vegetables. These also were spurned. The astute Perry knew that it would not be long before the local authorities would inform the Japanese government of his arrival. He could bide his time and force them to make the next move. The Commodore sent landing parties to explore the islands, purchase supplies, and obtain a residence on shore. The natives (Okinawans) made no efforts to interfere with the Americans.

The first official maneuver was made by the interpreter, Wells Williams, and an officer who called upon the mayor. This dignitary was informed that agents of the United States were not in the habit of accepting gifts and that Perry's exalted rank rendered it necessary for him to have contact only with the highest official on the islands. The mayor saw the logic of this position and within 24 hours Perry was notified that the Regent would pay his respects. The Regent was received by the commodore in the privacy of his cabin, after being honored with a salute of six guns. Cakes and wine were served. The Regent invited the American to call upon him at Shuri. Perry accepted, to the consternation of the Regent. The Okinawan had been forced into planning a tentative encounter but was adamantine in making it unofficial.

An *opera bouffe* then was acted. The Regent suggested a conference at some place other than the palace at Shuri. Perry refused to consider any other locality. The mayor came to the rescue by issuing an invitation for a banquet at his residence where the Regent was to appear, thus making the dinner an official return for the first meeting. The commodore declined to attend, and the mayor sent the dishes out to the American flagship. The wily Commodore shut himself in his cabin, shunning the repast.

The Regent now suggested that a conference be arranged at the palace of the young prince because the queen dowager was ill owing to the shock caused by a recent visit from an English vessel. Perry gave a polite answer, offered the services of his own doctor, and the ship's band to amuse the ailing royalty, but refused to act in any way derogatory to his superior status.

Unable to endure the uncertainty and fearing that the Americans would remain, the Regent at last acceded to an official palace reception. The commodore staged a spectacular entrance; officers and men in full dress, bands and gifts, followed by his decorated sedan-chair on the shoulders of eight coolies. The first step had been taken. The sailor had conquered

without the firing of a shot except in salute. The contingent left Naha on July 2, 1853, for Japan.

The four vessels entered Yedo harbor on July 7. Terrified, the court ordered the Shintō priests to pray that the "barbarians" and their "black" ships be swept into the ocean. Large boats came up to the men-of-war. The crews remained at battle stations. From land came the sounds of preparations to resist an invasion.

After some delay, it was arranged that the Japanese vice-governor of Uraga would meet an American of comparable rank, a naval lieutenant. The Japanese also insisted upon having an audience with the commodore but were told that the "lord of the Forbidden Interior" would negotiate only with a personage of rank equal to his own. The following morning, the Governor of Uraga, Yezaimen, appeared. He was received by two captains. The governor stated that the presidential letter must be delivered to the Netherlands authorities at Nagasaki. To this the Americans replied that Uraga was the center for conversations. Furthermore, if a high official were not appointed to deal with him, Perry was prepared to land with an armed force and deliver his message personally to the emperor. Three days were given for the Japanese to decide what course to follow.

Early on July 12, Governor Yezaimen returned. The Japanese regretted that the commodore must hand over the letter at Nagasaki. Perry would not go to this city, and stated he would take the document to the shore of Yedo Bay and hand it over to an officer of comparable rank. This question was thus settled. Then while waiting for instructions from the capital, Yezaimen and his delegation became friendly. They were escorted over the vessels and viewed everything except Perry's sacred cabin. They were given food. They were filled with whisky and brandy. They left in unsteady happiness to return the next day with official confirmation of the news that a representative of the court would supervise negotiations.

The first meeting of Commodore Perry and the Japanese was a splendid scene. The shore was lined with decorated screens, flags, and streamers. Japanese infantry and cavalry stood in the background. American officers appeared in blue uniforms, gold buttons, and heavy glistening epaulettes. The marines were decked out in colorful dress and the seamen looked neat in blue and white. Through the ranks of this array came Perry, to the accompaniment of bands, two negro bodyguards, flag and broad pennant at right and left, held by tall sailors. In front walked two ship's boys, holding rosewood boxes covered with red cloth heavy with silken cords and golden tassels containing the commodore's credentials and a letter from the President of the United States. The procession was met by Yezaimen at the entrance of a pavilion and escorted by that worthy into a room hung in violet silk and cotton, with coat-of-arms in white silk embroidery. Here Prince Toda and Ido, Prince of Iwami, rose as the American approached and then reseated themselves to remain immobile during the

ceremonies. Before these officials knelt Yezaimen and his interpreters with a long red lacquer box in front of them. Prince Toda made it known that he was ready to receive the message. Perry stepped forward, slowly opened the boxes, and laid the letters and seals before him.

The letter written by President Filmore to the emperor of Japan read:

"Great and Good Friend: I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the navy of the United States, and commander of the squadron now visiting your Imperial Majesty's dominion.

"I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your Imperial Majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings toward your Majesty's person and government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your Imperial Majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other.

"The Constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquility of your Imperial Majesty's dominions.

"The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean, and our Territory of Oregon and State of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your Imperial Majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in 18 days.

"Our great State of California produces about 60 millions in gold every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country, and produces many very valuable articles. Your Imperial Majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other, for the benefit of Japan and the United States."

The long silence following the reception of the document was broken by the commodore who announced his intention of sailing for the Ryukyu Islands and Canton, to return in the spring for an answer. Yezaimen rose from his knees. The two high officials bowed deeply. The audience was ended. The government of the United States of America had spoken and had been heard.

THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN TREATY OF 1854

Commodore Perry returned to Japan in February, 1854. After long conferences a compromise was reached whereby a meeting was arranged at Kanagawa, residence of a Japanese high commissioner. The climax came on March 15, when the American presents were exhibited. To the silent wonder of the Japanese, a miniature locomotive, tender, and passenger car, were put in motion upon a circular track. A mile of telegraph wire

also was erected, causing fear and amazement. Agricultural implements, vegetables, seeds, rifles, swords, cannon, books, clocks, clothes, perfumery, and navigation instruments were displayed. One hundred gallons of whisky, champagne, brandy, and wines were opened. In return for these marvels of the West, the Americans were presented with porcelains, silks, brocades, dolls, dried fish, pet dogs, and rice. All was cordiality during the celebration.

Before the treaty was signed, Perry gave a banquet on the *Powhatan* in honor of the five Japanese commissioners. Surrounded by pomp, a feast prepared from "five bullocks, sheep and plenty of game and poultry," fish, vegetables, fruits, liquors, and wines was served. The Japanese partook of every dish and every drink and toasts to the Shōgun and the President of the United States and the "ladies of America" continued until evening. The junket ended with a minstrel show, put on by the seamen, after which the Japanese packed up the remnants of food and departed. The High Commissioner, Matsusaka, hugged Perry, "crushing in his tipsy embrace, a pair of new epaulettes, and repeating in Japanese, with maudlin affection, these words as interpreted into English, 'Nippon and America, all the same heart.' He then went toddling into his boat, supported by some of his more steady companions."

The first treaty (Kanagawa) between Japan and the United States (March 31, 1854) contained the following articles:

Article I

"There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America . . . and the Empire of Japan . . . and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places.

Article II

"The port of Shimoda . . . and the port of Hakodate . . . are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships. . . .

Article III

"Whenever ships of the United States are thrown or wrecked on the coast of Japan, the Japanese vessels will assist them and carry their crews to Shimoda or Hakodate and hand them over to their countrymen appointed to receive them. . . .

Article IV

"Those shipwrecked persons and other citizens of the United States shall be free as in other countries and not subject to confinement but shall be amenable to just laws.

Article V

"Shipwrecked men and other citizens of the United States, temporarily living at Shimoda and Hakodate, shall not be subject to such restrictions

and confinement as the Dutch and the Chinese are at Nagasaki, but shall be free at Shimoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese miles (or *ri*) from a small island in the harbor of Shimoda. . . .

Article VI . . . .

Article VII

"It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin and articles of goods for other articles of goods, under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese Government for that purpose. . . .

Article VIII

"Wood, water, provisions, coal, and goods required shall only be procured through the agency of Japanese officers appointed for that purpose, and in no other manner.

Article IX

"It is agreed that if at any future day the Government of Japan shall grant to any other nation or nations privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that these same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States. . . .

Article X

"Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Shimoda and Hakodate, unless in distress or forced by stress of weather. . . ."

The American agreement was followed by similar treaties between Japan and other powers. Admiral Sir James Sterling concluded a convention for the British government on October 14, 1854. The Russians, through Count Pontiatine, on January 26, 1855, were able to gain Japanese assent to the opening of Nagasaki, Shimoda, and Hakodate; consular residence; extraterritoriality; and boundary delimitation, with Sakhalin under joint ownership. On January 30, 1856, the Netherlands was given the right to enter the open ports.

The treaty of Kanagawa, signed at Yokohama, was not as satisfactory as the one signed with China in 1844 (Wanghia). Shimoda was not a suitable commercial center, and the harbor was not adequate for steam vessels. Hakodate was not accessible. The trade regulations restricted economic activities. Provisions were not made for American residence at the open ports. Yet, it must be realized that Perry considered the understanding merely as the first stage in negotiations leading to additional treaties. Furthermore, it is clear that the American was successful when Netherlanders and Russians and some Japanese themselves had failed.

The United States, without a war and without great hostility, opened the doors of an empire which had been shut for 216 years.

TOWNSEND HARRIS, FIRST AMERICAN CONSUL GENERAL IN JAPAN

On August 21, 1856, the *San Jacinto* cast anchor at Shimoda, bringing to Japan, Townsend Harris, an unwelcomed agent of the American government. The representative and his Netherlander interpreter, C. J. Heusken, were received by three officials who were courteous but vague in their reasons for not having prepared a residence for the newcomers. It was clear to Harris that the Japanese, in the months between the departure of Perry and his own appearance, were determined to avoid adhering to the treaty stipulations and hoped to force the Americans to retreat. The authorities, therefore, set out to wear him down with protracted and inane interviews.

Sick most of the time, without funds and proper food, without the backing of armed forces, forgotten by his government, unable to distinguish for months between Shōgunate and imperial prerogatives, negotiating with the "greatest liars on earth," Harris on June 17, 1857, concluded a convention. This agreement provided for the opening of Nagasaki to American vessels; the right of permanent residence for the citizens of the United States at Shimoda and Hakodate, with a vice-consul at the latter city; settlement of the currency exchange problem; the enforcement of extraterritoriality; and the right of the consul general to travel anywhere in Japan, furnished with local money with which he might purchase articles without the interference of government agents.

The first barrier removed, Harris then labored to enter the capital and present to the Shōgun the letter of the President of the United States. Five and one-half months after the signing of the convention (November 30, 1857), the American was taken to Yedo under a colorful escort. In the retinue were 40 porters carrying provisions; a huge umbrella; 20 palanquin bearers; two shoe and fan bearers; two grooms; and two commanders in charge of the procession.

The presentation of the letter was only the beginning of an important achievement. Harris made it clear that he had come to conclude a commercial treaty. Without long conversations, the American was able to negotiate in February, 1858, an understanding which in completed form comprised 34 articles and 7 trade stipulations. The most significant of these included the right for diplomatic agents to reside in the capital; the opening of additional ports; permission for Americans to reside, lease land and buildings for business and religious purposes in these centers; unrestricted trade without the intervention of Japanese authorities; consular and diplomatic agents to be allowed to "travel freely" in all "parts of the empire"; opium traffic to be prohibited; and the coins of the West to circulate without discount.

A tariff agreement also was reached, which was incorporated into the political treaty. The provisions of this contract divided imports into four categories, with levies ranging from zero on gold, silver, furniture, and books, to 5 per cent on food and metals; 35 per cent on liquors; and 20 per cent on articles not specifically designated. This treaty was to be effective on July 4, 1859. A clause provided that "upon the desire of either the American or Japanese governments," with one year's notice, revisions could be made.

Townsend Harris was respected by the Japanese of his day as no other Occidental. He gained the good will of the Shōgun through valuable advice pertaining to international law and procedure. Commodore Perry opened the door to Japan, but it was Townsend Harris who kept it open for the commerce of the world and concluded a treaty without any threat of force, without any great pomp, without recognition from his superiors in Washington, except the salary of $5,000 annually, which often was late in reaching his lonely station.

After retirement from service with the Department of State, Harris settled in New York to live on a modest annuity. When General U. S. Grant was made Commander-in-Chief of the Union Armies, Harris presented him with the sword given to him by the Shōgun. He entertained with quiet charm the travelers who returned from Japan. Harris died in 1878, at the age of seventy-four. The only tangible monument to the memory of a great American was Townsend Harris High School, in the City of New York and a statue in the same metropolis.

THE FIRST JAPANESE MISSION (1860)

The commercial treaty of 1858 contained an article (XIV) stipulating that ratifications were to be exchanged at the capital of the United States. The Japanese had suggested this plan, realizing that the time had come for them to travel and learn the secrets of the power of the West by first-hand observations. The Japanese mission created for this purpose reached San Francisco in March, 1860, where it was given a reception by the state officials. In May, it traveled to Washington, to be met by large and enthusiastic crowds. The Congress adjourned to greet the strangers. They were given spacious rooms in the Willard Hotel. In the midst of excitement over the nomination of Lincoln, the capital city could not tear itself away from the stores filled with Japanese costumes nor keep from filling the hotel, where, the New York *Times* of May 16, says, throngs "crowded the reception rooms, peered into the strangers' faces, fingered their garments and in all ways exhibited far more curiosity and astonishment than the imperturbable objects of their interest."

The Presidential reception, on May 17, was a brilliant affair. Later, the Capitol was visited, and sessions of both houses attended. The chief concern of the Japanese, after studying the American political structure and currency manufacture, was armament construction. The Japanese also

went to Philadelphia, where they were entertained with fire department demonstrations, tours of factories, and inspection of the mint. Crowds, estimated at half a million, lined the streets to gaze upon these strange men from across the Pacific. Several of the party were guests at one of the theaters for a matinee performance but were embarrassed by the attention they attracted. A New York *Times* story describes the scene during the play when "opera glasses were leveled at the Japanese from all parts of the house and much merriment was created by the Japanese leveling their glasses in turn with as much nonchalance as if they had been always used to them. The audience stared the principal officers out of countenance, and at the end of the first act, their private box was vacated."

The Japanese moved on to New York, where they marched down Broadway, reviewed 7,000 troops in Union Square and then were escorted to their headquarters in the Metropolitan Hotel. The high point of the New York visit was a great ball, attended by more than 10,000, some of whom paid $50 for a ticket. This function was followed by a week of shopping. The New York *Times* of June 22 said that "they appear to have reserved their spare cash for outlay here and in all manner of dry goods, hardware, firearms, jewelry, glassware, optical instruments, and other evidences of our ingenuity and art—doubtless when our commerce with Japan is freely opened, to be returned to us in the shape of duplicate imitations and improvements." Before the mission left the country, gifts of all kinds were showered upon them. The United States Agricultural Society gave them one hundred varieties of seeds. The government presented them with firearms. The American Watch Company furnished gold watches. Tiffany and Company created a pure gold medallion as a testimonial. Other firms furnished tableware of all kinds.

The Americans who came in contact with the Japanese were impressed favorably by their calm understanding. The New York *Times* expressed these feelings when it commented that "all authentic accounts of Japan and the Japanese agree in representing that people as singular among Orientals for their intellectual activity, their practical good sense, their zeal and desire for information. . . . They recognize the humanity of the race at large; and when they contrast a Japanese junk with an American steamer, they not only perceive that the steamer is practically the better vessel of the two, but are forthwith moved to try and build steamers themselves. The very fact that a Japanese Embassy has been sent to America proves that the people from whom it comes are a people eager for light, perfectly competent to know light from darkness when they see it—in fact, in a word, to be dealt with as intelligent adults; and not as mere infant phenomena."

In their turn, the Japanese were touched by American kindness and geniality, by the American custom of handshaking, by American children bearing flowers to honor them. One of them felt shame when he remembered the manner in which his countrymen had mistreated the sailors from this great land.

The effects of this first mission to the West were far-reaching. One of

the members constructed a Western type house and taught his wife to ride horseback. The treatment of women in the United States led to a feminist movement in Japan. The study of American business methods resulted in the formation of new economic organizations. Fukuzawa Yukichi in 1867 published *Western Things and Affairs* (*Seiyō Jijō*), the first accurate book by a Japanese to describe American civilization. Modern shipbuilding was begun. The National Bank Act of 1872 was based upon the American system. Citizens from the United States were selected as advisers in education, agriculture, law, and finance. One of the most dramatic events in modern times came to an end without excessive hostility to those who had broken down the walls of isolation.

15 Japan Accepts the West—the Restoration

JAPAN AND "BARBARIAN"

After the departure of the Americans the Japanese were in an ebullient state. Copies of the presidential letter were sent to the feudal lords. Few of these warriors were ready to open the doors to aliens. In order to ward off aggression forts were constructed, metal was turned into cannon, soldiers were trained with modern arms. Thousands came to the capital ready to defend the empire.

Hatred was engendered in the hearts of the Japanese by the appearance of the foreigners. Attack after attack was made by two-sworded patriots against the unwanted white man. Sir Rutherford Alcock, British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan, sent a protest to the government on August 9, 1859, regarding these acts of violence. This document gives a clear picture of conditions existing in the months of tumult.

"Do your Excellencies know how this confidence on our part has been met? No officer of the Missions of either country, Great Britain or the United States, can walk out of their official residence without risk of rudeness, offense, and latterly—more especially latterly—violence of the most wanton and determined character. Stones are thrown, blows are struck, swords are drawn on gentlemen passing along the great thoroughfares inoffensively and peaceably, offering neither offense nor provocation to any one. . . . My own staff have complained to me of insolence and rudeness experienced in their walks, and not always from common people, but officers. . . . It appears they do not deem it inconsistent with a reputation for courage to attack perfectly inoffensive and unarmed strangers . . . and think it no disparagement to their courage, and no evidence of cowardice, to steal from behind to throw these missiles, or, backed by a crowd, to attack by dozens a single stranger."

This protest and many others in no way curbed the spirit of antiforeignism. The assassination of "barbarians" continued. The Japanese interpreter in the British Consulate was cut to pieces in January, 1860. The following month, two Netherlands naval officers met the same violent death. Heusken, interpreter at the American Legation, and confidant of Townsend Harris, was killed. Two British officials were wounded. In each incident, the Japanese promised to attend the funeral of the victims and punish the murderers. After many conversations, the Japanese paid an indemnity of $10,000 for each assault.

The Japanese reformers who were striving to create a new era also were menaced by reactionary patriots. One of these leaders, Yukichi Fukuzawa, wrote that "there was really no reason why the people of the country thus newly opened to foreign intercourse should dislike foreigners, but there was a general feeling that foreigners were objectionable, and should not be allowed to defile the soil of the country, which occasionally led to some two-sworded brave cutting down a foreigner in the exuberance of his youthful spirits. But that was no reason why such youthful desperadoes should turn their swords on Japanese such as myself, even though we were students of Western learning. Merchants who went up to Yedo from Ōsaka on business might be startled by the cutting down of a Russian at Yokohama, but they did not think that it was a matter affecting themselves. But the feelings against foreigners made quick progress and assassinations were soon carried to a fine art, its methods being regularized and its scope widened."

The realistic foreign policy displayed by the Shōgunate was opposed by those who believed that violence employed against the intruders and their faithless Japanese friends would turn the tide toward exclusion. Two factors opposed each other during these months of tension. On one side stood the Shōgunate. On the other stood the imperial court to whose defense now came the powerful daimyōs of Western Japan, the clans of Satsuma, of Choshu, of Tosa, bent upon strengthening their cause with the people through the slogan "Revere the Emperor and Expel the Foreigners" (*Sonnō Jo-i*).

During these days assaults upon the white man were unabated and demands for indemnities regularly were met. The court ordered the Shōgun in January, 1863, to move to Kyōto and take over command of the armies in order to drive away the "barbarians." Hoping to maintain authority by carrying out imperial instructions, the Shōgun promised to obey "His Majesty's will in all things." The British and French, in the meantime, offered their men-of-war to the Shōgun for his campaign against the Western clans, but this assistance was not accepted, owing to the fact that emperor and Shōgun planned to have an interchange of views.

The first visit of a Shōgun to Kyōto since 1643 occurred on April 21, 1863, when the heads of the contending parties met. As a result of this conference, the Shōgun accepted the royal mandate to oust the foreigners. The day of expulsion was set at June 25. Daimyōs were ordered to harry the invaders. Before the antiforeign tactics were executed, the Kyōto faction in opposition to the Choshu clan, the most articulate in animosity to the "barbarians," forced them from the city and thus spiked the expulsion policy. The Shōgunate, once again in power, was hesitating before showing a conciliatory front to the Western powers, when blows against foreigners reached a high level. A two-sworded "wave man" (*rōnin*), an unattached feudal retainer, fought his way through the Japanese and English guards at the British Legation on June 26, 1862, and after hacking down two of the white marines, committed suicide. During the settlement of this "incident," on September 14, four Britishers—one

a woman—traveling on horses, encountered the procession of the father of Lord Shimadzu of Satsuma. The foreigners, either ignorant or defiant of Japanese etiquette, refused to dismount and crossed in front of the cavalcade. The escort of the prince, seeing their lord insulted, struck and killed one of the party and wounded two others.

The British pressed for an apology and an indemnity for these outrages. The Shōgunate, bewildered by the gravity of the case, knew not where to turn, having maintained power with difficulty and not daring to arrest the father of the leader of the Kyōto faction. Relations between Japan and the powers were strained further by another outburst of violence. After the assault upon the British Legation in 1861, London had insisted that a new site be granted for the five treaty powers. The demand had been complied with, yet all knew that a storm was approaching. The Japanese said at the time that the "British have our plum-garden but the blossoms will be red," and true to prophecy, on February 16, 1863, the native guard detailed for protection of the English was killed. Two weeks later the legation was burned. American headquarters was left a charred pile on May 24.

Compensations for loss of life and destruction of property were included in the terms sent to the Shōgunate. Reparations were demanded in the form of an apology, payment of £100,000, the "immediate trial and capital execution" of the guilty *rōnin,* and an indemnity of £25,000 for the families of the murdered men. An additional sum of £10,000 was also to be given for the relatives of the marines killed earlier The Shōgunate was allowed 20 days in which to answer this note, otherwise the navy of Her Majesty would "proceed to enter upon such measures as may be necessary to secure the reparation demanded."

After long discussions, the Japanese promised to make an initial deposit and also agreed to pay the £25,000 demanded, provided the case of the Lord of Satsuma was dropped. The British refused to consider this proposal. The time for payment of the first installment found the Shōgunate supporting the court in its stand against the agreement. The British agent thereupon turned the matter over to Admiral Küper with orders to employ "prompt coercive measures of reprisal." The Japanese, alarmed by this preparation for war, paid the entire indemnity, leaving unsettled the case of the Lord of Satsuma.

The next move of the British was purposeful, resulting in humiliation for the Japanese, who too long had attempted to avoid the strong arms of a great power, angered by persistent refusal to recognize the virtues of might. Admiral Küper was sent to Kagoshima, where Lord Shimadzu was presented with an ultimatum demanding settlement of the case. The Japanese gave prompt answer, promised to punish the assassins when apprehended, and conferred with the Shōgunate regarding the money payments. England, believing the reply to be evasive, seized three small vessels belonging to Lord Shimadzu and proclaimed their intention to hold them until all demands were met. An answer was given from the shore batteries. The admiral replied by razing the ships in his custody and de-

stroying the city of Kagoshima. The British, furthermore, instead of being satisfied with this drastic offensive, brought pressure upon Lord Shimadzu and, on December 11, extracted £25,000 from the terrified daimyō. It must be noted, to the credit of the London government, that the "victor" of Kagoshima was reprimanded.

Violence did not cease with the Kagoshima affair. The Shōgunate was showing signs of compromising with the orders of the court, although the Choshu party was prepared to expel the "barbarians." The *U. S. S. Pembroke* was fired upon near the Straits of Shimonoseki on June 26, 1863. The French gunboat, *Kiencheng,* was hit on July 11, and three days later, the Netherlands sloop, *Medusa,* was damaged. The *U. S. S. Wyoming* was ordered on July 13 to seize the Japanese vessels responsible for the attack upon the *Pembroke.* When the Yankee man-of-war reached the Straits it was shelled ineffectively by shore batteries and ships. After burning the Japanese ships, the *Wyoming* returned to Yokohama. On July 20, Admiral Jaurès of the French navy landed a small force at Shimonoseki and avenged the insult to the Republic's honor by putting a battery out of action and burning a village.

The Shōgunate was dazed during the summer of 1863. Kyōto was dominated by the antiforeign faction. The Shōgun was held a prisoner until the expulsion decree was executed. The Satsuma question had not been solved. The officials at Yedo, in fear of being exterminated, repudiated the hostile acts of the Choshu clan and promised to investigate. A mission sent by the Shōgunate to determine the facts of the case was assaulted by the men of Choshu. The situation was confused by the authority divided among the imperial, shōgunal, and feudal leaders. The emperor was unable to control the Shōgun and the Shōgun was unable to curb the Satsuma and Choshu clans.

The representatives of Great Britain, the United States, France, and the Netherlands, were firm in their insistence that the reactionary warriors of Choshu should be brought to heel. They brushed aside the announcements of the Shōgun that severe measures were being formulated against them. The five powers, on July 22, 1863, hoped to gain strength by working together to maintain treaty rights, protect the open ports, refrain from demanding any "spheres of influence" or concessions, and keep aloof from domestic quarrels. They also made it clear that Yokohama must be closed and the ports of Hyōgō, Nügata, Yedo, and Ōsaka must be free for the development of trade and the right of residence.

During the discussion of these points, two samurai of the Choshu clan who had traveled in Europe in order to gain a picture of Western conditions, suggested that the foreigners negotiate new understandings with the imperial court at Kyōto. The answer to this plan was given in the form of a contingent of nine British vessels, four Netherlands vessels, three French vessels, and one American vessel which sailed for Choshu in August, 1864. By September 8, it had destroyed all the shore batteries of the inflexible clan. A treaty was signed, on September 16, whereby passage of foreign ships through the Straits was permitted, no fortifications were

to be erected in the region, the town of Shimonoseki was to be rebuilt, the expenses of the campaign were to be paid by the Japanese, and all necessary supplies were to be sold to captains of alien vessels. A convention was concluded on October 22, 1864, which fixed the indemnity at $3,000,000, silver, payable in six installments and guaranteed the opening of Shimonoseki or some other suitable port.

JAPAN RECOGNIZES THE WEST

Negotiations were carried on for the opening of Hyōgō and Ōsaka by the powers, who made it clear that a successful outcome of this question was more important than payments for the Shimonoseki affair. In order to convince the Shōgunate, a squadron of British, French, and Netherlands vessels, under the command of the British minister, Sir Harry Parkes, and accompanied by an American agent, anchored off Hyōgō on November 5, 1865. The Japanese stood their ground and refused to open the ports although they expressed willingness to pay all indemnities.

In the meantime, the Shimonoseki clash had brought together Shōgunate and imperial court, with the former urging treaty ratification as the only preventive of war. The Shōgunate informed the powers on November 24, 1865, that the emperor, realizing the impending danger, had confirmed the treaties, accepted tariff revision, and payment of all claims but rejected plans for the opening of Hyōgō and Ōsaka. In the face of strong threats, however, Japan finally recognized these demands and granted commercial privileges at the two ports in January, 1868.

The revision of the tariff followed the acceptance of the treaties. A convention included import duties on specified commodities to 5 per cent ad valorem and an impost upon the average price of 89 articles for five years; prohibited the opium traffic; stipulated an export tariff with duties on 53 items; permitted the free circulation of gold, silver, and copper; and forbade the exportation of rice, wheat, barley and saltpeter. This agreement also removed some of the more objectionable barriers to foreign commerce, such as elimination of the permit fee; creation of bonded warehouses; and recognition of the right of direct trade relations between Japanese and Western merchants. The Shōgunate, after long discussions, was willing to sign this tariff regulation with the knowledge that revision would be undertaken in 1872. Opposition might have been stronger if the authorities could have foreseen that the text was to stand unchanged until 1899.

It was fortunate that in these years of indecision an intelligent Shōgun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, was convinced that rivalry between his office and that of the court was bringing ruin to the empire, faced as it was by increasing demands from the Westerners. In order to achieve stability he subordinated personal power to national needs and in a statement of 1867, scored his own ability. "Although I hold my ancestor's office," the document reads, "there has been great maladministration of the gov-

ernment and of the penal laws, the result being the present state of affairs. . . . It appears to me that the laws cannot be maintained in the face of the daily extension of our foreign relations, unless the government be conducted by one head, and I propose therefore to surrender the whole governing power into the hands of the Imperial Court. This is the best I can do for the interests of the Empire at this moment, and I call upon you all to give your opinions as to the advisability of this course."

The 15-year-old emperor, Meiji Tenno, upon receiving this note of resignation, proclaimed the restoration of imperial power. One of the first acts of the young ruler was to create a Board of Foreign Affairs (January 15, 1867). At the same time, a decree announced the emperor's intention to carry on cordial relations with the Occidental nations and directed all his subjects to show the same spirit of amity. The first meeting on the basis of equality between the Board of Foreign Affairs and the representatives of the Western countries occurred on February 4, 1868, when the Japanese pledged themselves to adhere to all treaties, conventions, and agreements signed by the Shōgunate.

The restoration of imperial authority was not accepted by all the clans. A palace revolution of January 3, 1868, aiming at destroying the position of the Tokugawas in the court, left the emperor under control of the lords of Eichizen, Owari, Satsuma, and Tosa. These clans carried on civil war until November, 1868, when they were beaten and forced to recognize the end of the Shōgunate system. This final serious struggle of the clans to maintain supremacy over imperial authority is known as the Tokugawa revolt.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

An event of great significance happened on April 6, 1868. The emperor promulgated the "Charter Oath of Five Articles." This proclamation announced that: (1) An assembly was to be created in order to discuss impartially all State affairs; (2) The administrative services of the State were to be undertaken by the "co-operative efforts of the governing and the governed"; (3) All classes should work hard and encourage "the achievement of their legitimate desires"; (4) All antiquated customs to be discarded and "justice and righteousness shall regulate all actions"; and (5) "Knowledge and learning shall be sought for all over the world, and thus the foundations of the imperial policy be greatly strengthened."

With skillful maneuvering, the leaders of the Restoration persuaded the emperor to announce the Imperial Oath (June, 1868), which guaranteed the right of discussion and debate and "all measures" to be "decided by public argument." This actually meant, however, not that the people but the samurai class should be allowed to participate in governmental affairs. During the first years of the constitutional regime, politicians were selected from the ranks of imperial princes, court nobles, and the large daimyōs. Consequently, the machinery of government was controlled by

the samurai coming from the four great western clans. Public opinion was recognized through the prefectures, which contented themselves with supervised discussions of trivial matters.

The path in the direction of representative government was not an easy one to follow, blocked as it was by the bureaucratic groups, opposed to the liberals who worked to achieve a political system whereby the popular will could be expressed. Two rebellions in 1874 were quelled. These disturbances forced the government to institute changes in the form of an Assembly of Local Governors which met in 1875 only to become a mouthpiece of officialdom. Attacks against this institution were silenced by a Newspaper Press Law and control of local authorities by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The government in July, 1878, created local assemblies (*Fuken-kai*) in the prefectures whose chief function consisted of devising means to obtain local taxes. The prefectural governors proposed all bills and possessed veto power, under the authority of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Members of the body were elected for four years, being eligible for office provided they paid land taxes of ten yen annually. They were chosen by males over twenty-five years of age who paid a land tax of at least five yen. This innovation was of some moment in so far as it was a minor triumph for representative institutions and gave the liberals a platform from which they agitated for a national constitutional assembly. The government delayed action although in 1880, cities, towns, and villages were given assemblies and the prefectural units were granted the right to have committees serving as gubernatorial advisors.

Forces by 1881 were favorable to modified constitutionalism. The head of the Hokkaido Colonization Commission planned to have the government sell to the Commissioners who had formed a company for this purpose, the property on the island acquired during the period of the Commission's services. This case of unveiled graft was made public and angry mobs stormed about the streets of Tokyo. In order to allay discontent, the emperor promised the institution of a parliament in 1890. This forced move was followed by some preparatory work. The Progressive Party (*Kaishinto*), later the Minseito, was born in 1882. At the same time, Ito Hirobumi was sent to the United States and Europe in order to study Occidental political life.

A "Peace Preservation Ordinance" which brought martial law to the capital, was decreed in 1887. This regulation abolished secret societies and restricted political movements of suspicious characters within seven and one-half miles of the imperial palace. Opposition thus being put under heavy surveillance, the new constitution was announced on February 11, 1890, without press comments, after some discussion by a handful of high officials in the greatest of secrecy. The opening speech of the emperor in releasing the document read:

"Whereas We make it the joy and glory of Our heart to behold the prosperity of Our country, and the welfare of Our subjects, We do hereby, in virtue of the supreme power We inherit from Our Imperial Ancestors,

promulgate the present immutable fundamental law, for the sake of Our present subjects and their descendants."

The preamble stated that "having by virtue of the glories of Our Ancestors, ascended the Throne in lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal," and "the rights of sovereignty of the State, We have inherited from Our Ancestors," and "We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither We nor they shall in future fail to wield them, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted."

LEGAL REFORMATIONS

There were several foreigners who aided in the establishment of modern legal practices. Gustave E. Boissonade de Fontarabri of France assisted in forming the first modern codes and taught French law for more than 20 years. He was also responsible for the preliminary drafts of the civil and criminal digests. The *Criminal Code,* from 1882 to 1908, was based upon the Code Napoleon and eliminated some of the arbitrary sentences of the old judges.

The Germans, Hermann Roesler, and Albert Mosse, were attached to the new government as legal experts. Roesler wrote the commercial laws and Mosse laid down the principles for the administration of local government. The training of Japanese lawyers was under the direction of the American, Henry T. Terry; the Frenchmen, Henri de Riberolles and Georges Appert; the Swiss, Louis Bridel; and the German, Ludwig H. Loenholm. The technical aspects of commercial studies and banking laws were written by Paul Mayer, German; Karl Rathgen, German; Edward J. Blockluys, Belgian, and Alexander A. Sland, English. Among the "fathers" of the Restoration was Kido Takayoshi, termed the "brain and pen" of the young regime, who accomplished the most for legal reforms. He traveled to the West in order to obtain personal information on taxation problems, municipal laws, and administration. His work was crowned in 1875 when he served as chairman of a meeting composed of local magistrates who started work on administrative law and procedures. These labors of foreigners and Japanese resulted in codes which abolished some of the torture and excessive punishments of the old days, although trial by jury was not initiated.

ECONOMIC REORGANIZATIONS

An Imperial Rescript of August, 1871, repealed the institution of feudalism and converted the daimyōs into provincial governors (*chiji*). The change from feudalism into a centralized form of government was opposed by many of the lords and their retainers but none was powerful enough to struggle against the four large western clans who accepted at

last the new order. Even though there was a loss of social prestige, the daimyōs were compensated by material gains, receiving an annual pension of 10 per cent of the income of their former estates. This amount was more than the sum received under the feudal system because the daimyō now had no obligations to care for his samurai and large staffs. Debts, furthermore, were either repudiated or taken over by the imperial regime, resulting in a more stable economic status for the lords, many of whom obtained high governmental positions and new titles. Court nobles (*Kuge*) and feudal barons (*Buke*), as a result of the changes, were given similar prerogatives.

The rank and file of the samurai were not as fortunate as those connected with the western clans. Incomes had been small and a reduction by one-half in 1871 brought poverty to many. These impecunious warriors were degraded by the new conscription laws which forced them to enter military service side by side with commoners. The more realistic of the two-sworded men took advantage of the transformations and engaged in business. They became the founders of some of the leading concerns of the twentieth century. The Restoration also was a windfall to the wealthy bourgeoisie who had loaned money to the struggling government and now were rewarded with important contracts. Large numbers of rich farmers, too, raised their status by foreclosing upon their luckless neighbors and reducing them to tenancy. The lot of the small tiller, however, constituting about 80 per cent of the total population, hardly was affected by the changes. The Restoration laws allowed him to travel without restrictions and held him for service in the armed forces but gave him little opportunity for development.

MILITARY AND NAVAL MODIFICATIONS

A Supreme War Council (*Gunji-sangi-in*) was created in 1887 consisting of Field Marshals, Fleet Admirals, Chiefs of the General Staff and Naval Staff, Ministers of War and Navy, and their assistants, all appointed by the emperor. The Ministers of War and Navy were required to be generals, lieutenant generals, admirals or vice-admirals, on the active list. These were often accepted by the premier after being named by the army and navy men sitting on the War Council.

Prior to the innovations of 1868, the French technique of military science was the most popular in Japan. It was discarded in 1885 when Prussian methods were introduced. Under the guidance of Prussian officers, the Japanese Army was developed in the three branches of army administration, staff headquarters, and military education. The navy was dominated by the English, although in naval shipbuilding, the Frenchman, Louis E. Bertin, adviser to the Naval Department, was the most influential of all foreign experts. The plants for the manufacture of armaments were supervised by Prussians, with the exception of cannon construction, which was in the hands of an Italian engineer. During the Sino-Japanese War of

1894–1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, these Italian-made cannon were superior to all others.

SOCIAL CHANGES

The cultural life of Japan was modified after the leaders, by example and precept, opened the empire to Western forces. The new influences were felt in philosophy, in literature, in the arts, in scientific procedure, in education.

The leading philosophers who resided in Japan during the Meiji Era (1868–1912) were the German, Ludwig Busse; the Russian, Raphael von Koeber; and the American, Ernest F. Fenellosa. Koeber taught German philosophy at the Imperial University of Tokyo. Fenellosa lectured at the same institution and was one of the best Western interpreters of Japanese art.

The fine arts were dominated by a distinguished coterie, including the Italians, Antonio Fontanesi in painting; Vincenzo Ragusa in sculpture; G. V. Cappelleti in architecture; and Edoardo Chiossone in engraving. James Summers and Basil Hall Chamberlain, English, and Lafcadio Hearn, American, left permanent imprints upon literature. Japanese music was given vigor by the Germans. Franz Eckert taught Western music in the navy and was one of the composers of the national anthem, the *Kimigayo*. August Junker and Heinrich Werkmeister also instructed Japanese students in the musical field.

Tokyo Imperial University, partly because of its superior equipment, was the center of scientific research. Sir James Ewing, English, and Thomas C. Mendenhall, American, were among the faculty. The Englishmen, William E. Ayrton, Thomas Gray, and John Perry, were noted engineers. John Milne and Ewing started their studies of seismology in Tokyo and introduced courses in inorganic chemistry. Another Britisher, Robert W. Atkinson, of the chemistry department of the Imperial University, contributed improvements to the brewing of saké. An American, Edward S. Morse, was a leader in zoological researches and discovered the shell mound at Omori.

Modern engineering was initiated in 1870 when the government created a Department of Public Works (*Kobusho*), which supervised mines, railroads, telegraphs, lighthouses, iron foundries, shipbuilding, and glass manufacturing. Henry Dyer of England was made head of the University of Engineering in 1873, the *Kobu Daigaku*, later incorporated into the Imperial University. Building construction was aided in these years by Josiah Conder, English, who is called the "father of construction education." This field also was distinguished by the labors of Richard H. Brenton, English, on lighthouses; C. J. von Doorn, Netherlander, on river improvement; and Johannes de Rijke, Netherlander, on harbor work.

The first Netherlanders in Japan introduced the science of the West, but with the exception of American contributions to dental surgery,

Japan has been influenced in the medical field almost entirely by Germans, headed by Erwin Baelz and Julius Scriba. Compilation, however, of the Japanese pharmacopoeia was undertaken by the Netherlanders, Johannes Eickman and A. I. Geerts.

The work of the state was supported with enthusiasm by many private groups, Christian and secular. David Murray, professor of mathematics and astronomy at Rutgers College, was appointed the first Superintendent of Schools and Colleges of Japan and in 1875 was made Commissioner to the Centennial Exhibition. The first United States resident minister to Japan, Robert H. Pruyn, had lived at the court of Yedo in the dark days of 1861. William Elliot Griffis was chosen to be the first American to dwell outside the treaty ports. Griffis was one of the 5,000 salaried Westerners (*O-yatoi*) in the empire between 1868 and 1900, of whom 1,200 were Americans.

Contacts were not limited to Occidentals coming to Japan. There were movements from Japan to Europe and the United States. Before the bombardment of Shimonoseki in 1864, some Japanese had traveled outside their own country. Little is known, however, concerning that band of 20 students from Satsuma who defied the decrees of the Tokugawa government and journeyed to England, under the guidance of Laurence Oliphant, former secretary of the British Legation at Yedo. This picturesque literary figure was interested in spiritualism as propounded by Thomas Lake Harris, founder of the settlement at Brocton, New York, where he and some of his Japanese charges resided for a time. Three of these young men left this center and enrolled at Rutgers College.

Of all the personages who aided in ushering in modernism, none is more renowned than Fukuzawa Yukichi (1838–1901), son of a scholarly samurai. From early youth he flouted the rigid rules governing his caste. Upon one occasion, he was rebuked by a brother for stepping deliberately upon a piece of paper containing the name of his overlord. In order to show contempt for convention, he defied the gods by destroying a sacred bit of print and threw away a stone enshrined in a local temple and substituted one picked up in the road.

This firebrand was eager to learn the ways of the West and traveled to Nagasaki where he studied the Netherlands language. From this city his restless spirit took him to Ōsaka for instruction in the foreign sciences. Here he and his companions were mocked by the prime devotees of Chinese studies. Fukuzawa, in 1858, settled at Yedo where he taught in a Netherlands language school. One day he visited Yokohama and discovered that he was unable to read the notices in the shops and realized that the tongue he had mastered was not the commercial medium of expression. He thereupon set about to understand English.

The Shōgunate sent a small vessel to the United States in 1860. Fukuzawa persuaded the captain to take him along as a servant. His sojourn in America left him with a keen sense of social justice. Upon returning to Japan, he published an English dictionary. He was made an interpreter for the mission sent to Europe in 1862. After a second trip to

the United States in 1867, Fukuzawa was employed by the government of the Shōgun, yet dared to criticize its antiforeignism. Refusing to engage in political activity, he concentrated upon his writings and teaching, going so far as to have his students declared unfit physically and thus unable to bear arms in the civil wars.

Fukuzawa founded a newspaper in 1882, the *Jiji Shimpo,* and in simple language filled its pages with discussions of the weaknesses of the political and social life of the empire. This farsighted liberal believed that the moral standards of the people could be enhanced through the acceptance of some religion, Buddhistic or Christian, it mattered not, provided it contributed to stabilization and offset the excessive materialism of the new age.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF CHRISTIANITY

The opening of Japan brought to the front the need to clarify the policy regarding Christianity which had been followed during the Tokugawa Shōgunate. The new treaties granted foreigners religious toleration, their safety being reinforced by extraterritorial clauses, but the status of native converts was not clear. The regulations prohibiting the exercise of the Christian faith were as yet active, and the government had avoided all references to the alien religion in the various agreements made with the powers.

The Christian problem had been a serious one before 1868. One year before the Restoration, the Shōgunate arrested and deported several Japanese Christians living in Nagasaki. To the protests of the Western diplomats, the government replied that all moves were legal, no foreigners having been molested.

The government issued an anti-Christian order in 1869, calling upon the feudal lords to deport all native converts to the "pernicious doctrine." This policy was strengthened by the appearance of wall placards denouncing Christian practices. The situation, however, did not become intolerable, owing to the discreet and patient attitude of the British and American representatives who hoped that the Japanese eventually would recognize the legality of Christians without any pressure being exerted from the outside which would add to the difficulties of the new regime. The forbearance of the foreigners made a conference possible on January 19, 1870, between some Japanese leaders and delegates of the powers. The Japanese made it clear that friendly relations with all nations were necessary but control over Japanese subjects must be a domestic policy; that the anti-Christian movements were essential, owing to the fact that the converts were not loyal to the traditions of the empire, and finally that missionaries were disregarding treaty stipulations by carrying on their work among the people. Instead of interfering with the aliens, the government found it more expedient to restrict their local followers. A second conference (February 9) was held in which an understanding was reached

whereby the powers admitted that some of their nationals were causing disturbances by preaching outside the foreign settlements and that deportation of converts was a "political necessity."

This problem remained unsettled until 1873, when the Japanese government issued an edict (February 19) declaring the abolition of all anti-Christian laws. At the same time, the authorities, realizing that repressive measures merely spread the new faith, announced that Christians were to be tolerated because the government desired the good will of the West. The constitution of 1889 formalized this policy in Article 28 which guaranteed the "freedom of religious belief" to all "within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects."

THE REVISION OF TREATIES

One of the chief objectives of the young government was revision of the unequal treaties. The first step in this direction was taken in February, 1869, when the Japanese suggested that all agreements be changed before 1872, the year set for modifications, in order to bring about domestic harmony. The foreign representatives showed no interest in this proposal. The Japanese in 1870, again requested that a conference be held. There was no response. The diplomats were informed in 1871 that the government was ready to initiate reciprocal treaties; revise the tariff; make uniform the texts of all conventions; change the system of levying tonnage dues, and negotiate concerning Japanese participation in the coastal trade. A mission of one hundred delegates and staff sailed from Japan in December, 1871, to study Western conditions and lobby for treaty changes. Meetings were held with the American Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, in March, 1872. At the termination of these talks, however, the two most important points, the problem of tariff autonomy and abolition of extraterritoriality, had not been mentioned by the Washington officials. The conversations met a snag after Tokyo made it known that any individual agreements were to wait until the European powers had convened in order to discuss the question. Consequently, any possible Japanese-American treaty was impossible at this time.

The Japanese proposed, in 1875, that the right be given to place reasonable levies upon imports, provided additional harbors were opened for foreign commerce, and also that all export duties be abolished. This suggestion was rejected by the English through Sir Harry Parkes although the United States Minister, John A. Bingham, believed the plan to be just. Secretary Fish spurned the offer, wishing to gain a victory by cooperating with the other powers.

After many delays, a conference was held in Tokyo in May, 1886, which resulted in an Anglo-German plan, the basis for subsequent discussions. This project called for the opening of the empire to alien residence, travel, and trade, two years after ratification of new treaties; equal rights for foreigners; consular courts to function for three years; reformation of

Japanese jurisprudence along Western lines; the employment of Occidental magistrates and personnel for 15 years; the abrogation of the treaty 7 years after adoption, and the creation of a tariff with rates fixed between 5 and 25 per cent.

When the Japanese learned about the draft of these proceedings there was loud outcry against it, especially that portion relating to the use of alien judges in local courts. Treaty revision was a rallying point for the antiforeign factions and all those opposed to the new policies. The government was forced to employ drastic measures against the malcontents. After Count Okuma was made Minister for Foreign Affairs in February, 1888, the agitation died out and he was able to sign a revised treaty with the United States on February 20, 1889. This understanding contained the Japanese demands, including reciprocity, abolition of consular courts after five years, the most-favored-nation clause, and fixed ad valorem imposts.

The Japanese, not satisfied with this decision, now insisted upon absolute equality, feeling that national honor was at stake. The Cabinet debated the issues, and Count Okuma was obliged to stop all discussions with the foreign representatives. Public opinion turned against the count and on October 18, 1890, a "patriot" bombed him, causing the loss of a leg. The Cabinet was dissolved and treaty revision again was postponed.

The more intelligent Japanese were not disheartened by these domestic wranglings. They knew that the empire never would gain the respect of the world without this equality, which could be achieved only after the unequal treaties were abrogated. It was fortunate for the revisionists that Great Britain now favored them. After eight lengthy conversations, a compromise draft was reached by London and Tokyo, providing for acceptance of the most-favored-nation clause; equal treatment in residence, travel and trade; abolition of consular courts and foreign settlements, to be enforced five years after ratification; elimination of alien land ownership after existing leases had been confirmed; restriction of the coastal trade except between the ports specified; a new ad valorem tariff to be completed, and the enforcement of the treaty for 12 years. This revision pact was signed on July 16, 1894. A similar understanding was reached with the United States on November 22, 1894, followed by agreements with Italy (December 1, 1894); Germany (April 4, 1895); Russia (June 8, 1895); and France (August 4, 1896). After 26 years of commotion, the empire of Japan attained political and economic equality with the nations of the West.

16 Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese Revolution

THE CAREER OF SUN WÊN

Sun Yat-sen, or Sun Wên, was born in 1866 at Choy-hung, some 40 miles from Canton. This son of a poor farmer emigrated to Hawaii in 1879 where he worked in a small general store owned by his brother. He entered the "Bishop's School" (Iolani College) sponsored by Bishop Willis of the Church of England and was graduated in 1882. Soon after returning to his native village, he showed the influence of his Christian training. He entered the local temple and spoke against the old gods, ending by showing his contempt for them by mutilating several of the images. Horror-stricken, the villagers drove him away. He journeyed to Hong Kong, where he enrolled in the Diocesan School of the Church of England. He became acquainted with Charles R. Hager, a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who baptised him. In the same year he entered Queen's College and also was married.

When his brother learned of his Christian conversion, he was furious and induced him to leave China for Honolulu, where the crafty elder refused to give him funds for the continuation of his education. He was befriended, however, by Dr. John G. Kerr, who had been responsible for the building of the hospital at Canton. Kerr was interested in obtaining young Chinese for medical training. Among them was Sun Yat-sen.

During his years as a medical student, Sun Yat-sen discussed with a boyhood friend, Lu Hao-tung, also at the Canton Hospital School, the possibilities of overthrowing the Manchus. They were joined by Cheng Shih-liang, embittered against the government he held responsible for the bankruptcy and premature death of his wealthy father. Through these discussions, Sun Yat-sen was made familiar with anti-Manchu secret organizations.

Carrying on the life of medico-revolutionist, Sun Yat-sen was the first student to enroll in the new institution in Hong Kong supervised by the London Missionary Society. He was graduated in 1892 and opened an office at Macao, but soon moved to Tientsin and applied for a position in a local medical school. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 was regarded by Dr. Sun as the death warrant of the Manchus. He saw a vanquished China as fertile field for the planting of revolutionary seeds, provided funds could be obtained. He shipped for Honolulu and in 1894 organized

his first group, the "Prosper China Society" (*Hsing Chung Hui*) for the purpose of associating progressive Chinese abroad in an organization to promote Chinese strength.

In the midst of these plans, Dr. Sun received word from Shanghai to return to China and agitate against the Manchus before they could recover from the defeat at the hands of the Japanese. One of the prominent leaders who urged his presence in China was the Christian, Charles Soong, a student at Vanderbilt University in 1882–1885.

The first aim of the revolutionists was to gain control of the Cantonese provincial government. In order to achieve this purpose the plotters organized a center in Canton called the "Scientific Agricultural Association" through which they purchased arms and enlisted men. After one of their consignments labelled as "cement" was discovered by the Customs officials to be pistols, Dr. Sun realized his efforts were blocked. His headquarters was raided in 1895 and he was able to escape although 70 of his companions were arrested and three executed.

The refugee, with a price upon his head, reached Macao and later went to Kobe, Japan, where with a moustache, without a queue, and dressed in modern Japanese clothes, he was lost to the searching Chinese agents. He returned soon to Honolulu and in 1896 sailed for San Francisco. The Chinese minister in Washington learned of Dr. Sun's presence in the United States and when the plotter sailed from New York for London the Manchu officials were notified that the "dangerous political criminal," Sun Wên, should be extradited. The British Foreign Office refused to arrest him because no extradition agreement existed between Great Britain and China. After being in London two weeks, Dr. Sun was accosted by a fellow countryman who took him to the Chinese Legation where he was "detained" until plans were made to have him sent back to China to stand trial for subversive activities. After days of anxiety Dr. Sun was able to persuade an English servant in the Legation to deliver a note to the one friend he knew to be in London, Dr. James Cantlie, who had been a teacher in the medical school during Sun's student days. Cantlie took the case to the Foreign Office, and after wide publicity the revolutionist was released.

Dr. Sun resided in England from 1895 to 1899, sometimes supported by his brother, sometimes living on a handful of rice. During the years of exile, he spent hours in London libraries, reading revolutionary literature and talking with Russian radicals. He visited the continent where he gained firsthand knowledge of social and economic conditions. He journeyed to Japan, where some 10,000 of his countrymen were living. Few of these accepted his political doctrines. His best friends were found among the Japanese liberals.

The Boxer debacle gave Dr. Sun another opportunity to strike against the ineffectual government. The first blow was to be delivered at Waichow, one hundred miles east of Canton. Dr. Sun had planned to go to Hong Kong and enter China from this city, but the Chinese government had persuaded the British authorities to prevent his entrance. He there-

upon went to Formosa where the governor received him cordially and put at his disposal Japanese military experts and expedited the shipping of munitions from Japanese arsenals. Dr. Sun ordered his friends to capture the coastal cities of Kwangtung and Fukien but once again the revolutionary cogs were jammed after the liberals in Japan lost political power. The new government in Tokyo ordered the governor of Formosa to refuse all aid to the revolutionists. The leaders in China of the anti-Manchu plot were apprehended, and some were executed.

The reactionary forces, however, were being undermined in these years. Encouraged by prospects of sucsess, Dr. Sun once more began his travels. He visited Hanoi, French Indo-China, in 1903, at the invitation of the local officials. He was received warmly and obtained generous grants of money from the wealthy Chinese merchants. He returned to Honolulu the same year and remained six months with his family, spreading his ideas among the Chinese.

During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, Sun Yat-sen was not near the scene of action. Fortified with a document proving him to be of Hawaiian birth, and therefore an American citizen, he entered the United States. He addressed mass meetings in San Francisco's Chinatown, arousing interest to such heights that the Chinese Consul General posted a warning that "there is a revolutionary leader in our midst, who is arousing people by his false statements. The educated element can easily understand that his aim is to collect money, which he will afterwards squander, and I fear the ignorant people will become his victims. As the chief—the general consul here—it is my duty to protect them. I advise the elder people, who will not be turned by his false utterances, to caution their younger brothers and sons to beware of this man. He will squander your money and get you in trouble."

Unlike the reformers who carried their messages to the influential members of society, Sun Yat-sen worked among the lowly, talking with them and sleeping in their small homes. He had two advantages not possessed by other reformers—his contact with Christians and association with well-established secret societies. These organizations supported him in the speeches before large audiences in their meeting halls and also hired theaters for his discussions.

Dr. Sun moved on to New York in 1904. He found congenial friends in the Chinese Mission of Chinatown where the pastor and his Western wife discussed with him the plans for China's regeneration. During his sojourn in New York he fashioned his slogan, the "Three Principles of the People," based upon the ideology of Lincoln's "of, by, and for the people."

Sun Yat-sen early in 1905 sailed for Europe at the same time that K'ang Yu-wei, his rival in the making of a new China, entered the United States to be received at reception after reception, meeting important Chinese as well as President Theodore Roosevelt. Fate, however, was pointing at the obscure doctor of medicine and not at the prominent scholar whose progress was being noted in the American press.

The soil worked by Sun Yat-sen had been made fertile by the labors of many other enemies of the Manchus. Gathered about him were revolutionists who had escaped the clutches of the executioners, waiting only for a leader. This direction Dr. Sun furnished, and, in September, 1905, he created the "Together Sworn Society" along the lines of the old Chinese secret societies. The members took an oath to destroy the Manchu dynasty and pledged themselves to establish a republic, advocate nationalization of all land, seek co-operation with Japan, and gain the friendly interest of the powers.

Dr. Sun spoke to an audience of about five thousand in Tokyo in January, 1907. When news of this meeting came to the ears of the Chinese government, pressure was brought upon Japan to have the radical expelled from the empire. Encouraged by his earlier reception in French Indo-China, Dr. Sun returned to Hanoi, where he was offered the aid of French retired officers who secretly worked among the leaders of the Chinese provincial armies.

At this time, the French authorities were aware of the embarrassment of the Chinese government and promised to suppress all further anti-Manchu activities in Indo-China. Dr. Sun then sought a haven in Singapore. From here he saw the attempts to capture Canton end in disaster. One effort, that of March 29, 1911, is celebrated as a national holiday and commemorated in the "Seventy-two Heroes monument," near Canton. Ten more revolts failed, partly owing to leakage of plans and inadequate supplies. And then, at last, the revolution ended the rule of the Manchus.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1911–1912

Tangible elements were weakening the imperial regime. There was a large stream of money pouring into the coffers of the revolutionists from the Chinese overseas. The secret societies had completed undercover borings into the Manchu body. The objectives of the faction led by Dr. Sun were outlined in "The Manifesto of the Military Government of the Revolutionary Brotherhood." The Manchu yoke was to be broken. China was to be given back to the Chinese. The welfare of the people was to be considered through a republican form of government. In order to achieve this goal, three paths were blazed. First, a period of military rule was to be established during which time all the worn-out monarchical institutions, from feudal types of punishment to footbinding and opium smoking, were to be eradicated. Second, the military regime was to end, and the counties (*hsien*) were to have self-government, with the central government exercising military authority. Third, after six years, a permanent constitution was to be instituted, with the relinquishment of power on the part of the military.

The reforms being undertaken by the imperial government appeared to be working in the direction of these revolutionary agenda. An edict of 1906, bearing the seal of the Empress Dowager, promised a constitution.

A plan was laid out in August, 1908, to be completed within nine years through a gradual modification in the services of the provincial and central governments. The Empress Dowager died on November 15, 1908. Her death followed by one day the "accidental" demise of the young Kuang Hsu, whose life had been dominated by the ambitious empress. The new ruler was an infant, Pu Yi, later puppet emperor of Manchukuo, whose father was named regent. The first act of the regent was to dismiss Yüan Shih-k'ai, the one firm man in the Peking government. Yüan's rebuff was hailed by the reformers as a victory for themselves, owing to the fact that the general was known to have been the confidant of the Empress Dowager. The regent, in these days, was an advocate of modernization. He antagonized many of the leading officials, however, especially those who favored the new army which had been created by Yüan Shih-k'ai.

According to the proposed measures, in October, 1909, the provincial Assemblies met, followed one year later by convocation of the first National Assembly. This institution petitioned that a parliamentary system be created. The government set 1913 as the year for sessions of the legislative parliament. In view of the fact that the National Assembly had demanded an earlier meeting, it took a hostile stand against the regent and supported those who were seeking to destroy the monarchy.

The spark now grew into flame. The authorities, on October 9, 1911, discovered an ammunition depot hidden by the revolutionists in the Russian Concession at Hankow. The Viceroy of Wuchang ordered the arrest of 30 suspects and the searching of their rooms for documents. The imperial troops were carrying out the orders against the radicals when the provincial artillery and engineering forces, seething with anti-Manchu sentiments, refused to carry out the commands of their officers. They burned the residence of the Viceroy and massacred the Manchu garrison. Stories are told that the Manchus, once proud horsemen, were so fat they were unable to saddle their horses and mount them, after their staffs had fled. Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow fell into the hands of the revolutionists.

The frantic Manchus recalled Yüan Shih-k'ai. Yüan was looking for personal fame and only took over command after making certain that his position was strong enough to gain a compromise with the revolutionists. The regent hastened to promise a constitutional monarchy in the name of his ward, but it was too late. Southern China, more progressive than the north, owing to wider contacts with the outside world, had defied imperial decrees. The regime lost 13 provinces within a month. The regent resigned and Yüan was left in charge. Yüan desired a solution of the problem through peaceful means and selected the American-educated Cantonese, Tang Shao-yi, as his agent. The revolutionists also chose a Cantonese, Wu Ting-fang, formerly Minister at Washington, to represent their interests. A conference was held in Shanghai on December 15, 1911, at which time Wu insisted that a republic be created.

During these days, Sun Yat-sen was traveling in the western part of the

United States, raising funds. A code cable reached him in Denver, Colorado, telling about the plans against the Manchus and requesting money, but, not expecting an early collapse of the monarchy, he waited two weeks before deciphering it. His first news of the occupation of Wuchang was read in an American paper. He hurried to London where he learned that he was wanted in China to serve as the provisional President of the Chinese Republic.

Sun Yat-sen landed in Shanghai on December 24, 1911. He was inaugurated President in Nanking on New Year's Day, 1912. His first decree was to adopt the Occidental calendar, beginning the republican era with January 1, 1912. Messages were sent abroad, giving assurances that foreigners would be protected and diplomatic and financial obligations respected.

The Southerners were filled with optimism in the early days of the young regime. Conditions in the north, however, were not favorable. The National Assembly, meeting in Peking, had made Yüan premier. The Southerners had decided upon a president, having no wish to maintain any vestiges of a constitutional monarchy. The Northerners would not favor Sun Yat-sen, a revolutionist, and even worse, a Cantonese, a man ignorant of political matters. Insistence upon a presidency would have led to bitter civil struggle and, accordingly, Sun Yat-sen, on January 15, notified Yüan Shih-k'ai that he would step aside and relinquish his office in Yüan's favor, provided the emperor abdicated and all relations with the Manchus ceased.

The wily Yüan stalled for time, hoping to gain power through constitutional means but faced with military hostility and financial distress, persuaded his generals to petition the emperor to descend from the throne. It was announced on February 12 that the Ta Ch'ing dynasty favored a Republic, "from the preference that is in the people's hearts the will of Heaven is discernible." Yüan was given full powers to construct a form of government "that will assure peace to the Empire, thus forming a great Republic by the Union of Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans." Yüan telegraphed Sun Yat-sen that "a Republic is the best form of government. The whole world admits this. That in one leap we have passed from autocracy to republicanism is really the outcome of many years of strenuous efforts exercised by you all, and is the greatest blessing to the people. . . . Henceforth, forever, we shall not allow a monarchial government in our country."

The assumption that the imperial government was conferring republicanism upon China was not to the liking of the revolutionists. Nevertheless, on February 13, Sun Yat-sen handed his resignation to the Nanking Council. He wrote that "the abdication of the Ching Emperor and the union of the North and South is largely due to the great exertions of Mr. Yüan. Moreover, he has declared his unconditional adhesion to the national cause. Should he be elected to serve the Republic, he would surely prove himself a most royal servant of the State. Besides, Mr. Yüan is a man of political experience, upon whose constructive ability our united nation looks forward to the consolidation of its interests."

Sun Yat-sen relinquished his position in April and planned to turn over his authority personally to Yüan Shih-k'ai, but that clever general pleaded riots in the north prevented him from traveling south to receive the post. Yüan's suggestion that Peking be made the temporary seat of government was accepted. Dr. Sun set out to deliver a series of lectures before large audiences, climaxed by a public reception given by Yüan Shih-k'ai in the summer of 1912.

Sun Yat-sen was so entranced by his vision of a great China that he either refused to see or failed to give recognition to the tense political situation. President Yüan had selected as premier, the revolutionist, Tang Shao-yi, with whom he was constantly at strife. The National Assembly had given way to a National Council in which three factions struggled for power. The premier resigned over the question of foreign loans. He was followed by some of his Cabinet.

New developments came to the surface in August, 1912. The old Revolutionary Brotherhood linked its fortunes to that of several other groups and took the name of the National People's Party (*Kuomintang*). This organization incorporated in its platform the radical agenda of the Revolutionary Brotherhood to "adopt the principles of social service to prepare the way for the introduction of socialism in order to facilitate and better the standard of living, and to employ the powers and strength of the Government quickly and evenly to develop the resources of our country."

THE END OF THE FIRST CHINESE REPUBLIC

Dr. Sun, in 1912 and 1913, traveled over the railroads of the country. He envisioned a network of lines, 75,000 miles of track, to be completed within 10 years. This was to be constructed at a cost of three billion gold dollars. The government made him Director General of Railway Development and from his Shanghai office he wrote the details of his plans in *The International Development of China.* He hoped to secure funds for railways through domestic loans and eventually reclaim all railroad rights and control held by foreigners under the various treaties. He was checked, however, by the Peking government after the Reorganization Loan was concluded.

Dispute over this loan was only one of many differences between Yüan Shih-k'ai and Sun Yat-sen. Personal questions, however, were overshadowed by the revolts against the Peking regime in the summer of 1913. After three provincial governors of the Kuomintang were dismissed, Dr. Sun telegraphed Yüan to yield his post. "Formerly you were invited to the Presidential office to bear the heavy responsibility of the country, and now you should leave it in order to save the country from being involved in trouble. . . . If you can follow my advice, I will persuade the soldiers and the people in the South and East to lay down their arms. . . . If you reject my sound advice . . . I shall adopt the same measures against you as used against the absolute monarchy. I have made

my mind up now. This is my last advice, and I hope you will consider it well."

Yuan Shih-k'ai ignored these words. The revolutionists did not delay in moving against him. The garrison at Kiukiang was attacked on July 12, 1913. Two days later Nanking proclaimed its separation from Peking. Patriots were urged to destroy the Yuan faction. Dr. Sun was dismissed from the post of Director General of Railway Development on the ground that he was using its funds for political purposes. By the first of August, Yuan had his regiments advancing against the rebels, and their size was large enough to induce Sun Yat-sen and his staff to seek refuge in Japan.

From overseas, Dr. Sun read of the victories of Yuan over constitutionalism and how he had been elected President by the docile National Assembly for five years. More bitter defeats were to come to the Kuomintang. Yüan refused to accept the findings of the Constitutional Committee that recommended a restriction of presidential power. The provincial governors, military for the most part, and maintaining authority only with Yuan's will, brought about the dissolution of the National Assembly. Prominent Kuomintang leaders of the Assembly were arrested. The party was outlawed. Yuan thereupon created a Political Council, composed of his most trusted henchmen.

During the summer of 1914, Sun Yat-sen lived in Tokyo.[1] He was embittered against Yuan, whom he considered a traitor to democracy, and against the foreign bankers who had loaned large sums to Peking, which had been used for purposes other than stipulated. An announcement was made in 1915 that on the first day of January, 1916, a new dynasty would be ushered in, with Yuan Shih-k'ai as its first emperor. Opposition to the repudiation of republican pledges arose in all parts of the land. Yunnan province was the center of protest, followed by six other provinces in what is known as the "Third Revolution." In the face of these strong forces, Yuan abandoned his monarchial plans and reinstituted the Republic on March 23, 1916.

Sun Yat-sen resided in Shanghai during May and occupied the offices of the "Intelligence Department of the Republican Government of China." He attacked Yuan. "On mature reflection I am of the opinion that Yuan's crimes began long before the restoration of the monarchy, and that simply to overthrow him is not sufficient to secure the Republic. The traitor must be brought to justice. . . . As Yüan's attempt against the Republic began with the violation of the Constitution, so the preservation of the Republic must necessarily begin with the maintenance of the Constitution. . . . We must be firm in our attitude towards Yuan. . . . Yüan overturned the Republic, and for the sake of the glory of his own family, did not scruple to enslave the people. That is why we consider him as the common enemy, who, at any cost must be vanquished."

These threats against Yüan Shih-k'ai never were put into action. The "emperor" died on June 6, 1916, grief-stricken over the failures of his

[1] In 1913 or 1914, Dr. Sun married Soong Ching-ling, graduate of Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, who was his secretary at the time.

"empire." The demise of Yüan made it possible for Dr. Sun to take the front of the stage once more.

THE "SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT"

The dissolution of Parliament in June, 1916, brought together in Shanghai the defeated parties who saw conditions growing more intolerable with Peking in the hands of reactionary officials and their masters, the militarists. The Shanghai factions issued a manifesto condemning Yuan for his suppression of Parliament, and declared their intention of setting up a "legal" government in the south. This group, among them Sun Yat-sen, moved to Canton where Parliament was asked to convene. Sufficient numbers had arrived by August, 1917, to transact business. One of the first acts was the creation of a provisional military regime, led by Sun Yat-sen as Generalissimo. The "Canton National Assembly," as the southern administration was called, was encouraged by interest being taken in them by neighboring provinces. Sun Yat-sen, however, found himself at odds with politicians more astute than himself. He refused to compromise with them until he was faced with hostile forces which deprived him of his high position by reorganizing the government to form an Administrative Committee. In this the ousted Generalissimo was one of seven members. Control thus disappearing, Dr. Sun left Canton and took up residence in Shanghai, where he spent his time in re-writing his political beliefs.

Sun Yat-sen, in 1920, was able to persuade Chen Chuing-ming to drive their rivals from Canton. This being achieved, he returned to that city where in April, 1921, he was made "President of China," with Chen as Governor of Kwangtung and commander-in-chief of the army. Dr. Sun, in the summer of 1921, encouraged Chen to gain control over Kwangsi province. This success led Dr. Sun to plan an expedition against Peking but the more realistic Chen realized the futility of such a campaign. Angered by this attitude, Sun Yat-sen took over command and personally led the armies in futile maneuvers during the winter of 1921–1922. When he returned to Canton he blamed Chen for the failures and dismissed his friend from office.

If Sun Yat-sen was alienating old companions with his autocratic manners, the city of Canton at least was attracting favorable notice for civic innovations. The metropolis was modernized. The administration was put upon a firm financial base. Peking, however, did not remain idle. Here, in 1922, the scholarly war lord, Wu Pei-fu, upon taking over the government, announced his intention of embarking upon a constitutional path. He requested Dr. Sun to come north and aid in the work of constructing a new China. The adamant Sun refused to consider this invitation. This unwise stand of Sun Yat-sen's gave his former ally, Chen Chuing-ming, the opening to seek revenge. He demanded that Sun resign as President in view of the restoration of a stable regime in Peking. Again

Sun Yat-sen ignored the threat and Chen marched into Canton. President Sun fled for safety to a vessel in the harbor. With the refugee on the boat was a young officer, Chiang Kai-shek, who later led China in the war with Japan during World War II and also was President of the Republic in the first years of reconstruction. The support Dr. Sun expected failed to appear and he again moved to Shanghai.

THE LAST DAYS OF SUN YAT-SEN

The fifty-eight-year-old Sun, with his wife and a staff of secretaries, started out in 1924 to give a series of lectures in North China. En route, he stopped at Kobe, Japan, where on November 24 he made his last public appearance to urge the co-operation of China and Japan for the strength of all Asia. Dr. Sun reached Peking on December 31, incapacitated by an illness which the doctors at the Peking Union Medical College diagnosed as cancer. An operation was unsuccessful, and he was moved to a private residence in the city where he, a doctor trained in scientific procedure, allowed Chinese medicos to explore his frail body. The old revolutionist died on March 12, 1925.

A Christian funeral was held in the auditorium of the Peking Union Medical College in the face of threats from the radicals that violence would break out, if bourgeoisie rituals were used. After simple prayers and testimonies the coffin was carried to Central Park. Leo Karakhan, Soviet Ambassador, was among the chief mourners. Sun Yat-sen lay in state for three weeks. Crowds of school children filed past the blue-and-white draped stand.

Sun Yat-sen was taken to a temple in the Western Hills near Peking, where he was left for five years, watched by a student bodyguard until Chang Tso-lin sealed up the tomb. No injury came to the spot during the tempestuous days of 1927–1928 when foes gathered and fought over the ideals of the dead leader. Then, with elaborate ceremonies, the body was carried to Nanking to rest on Purple Mountain near the tomb of the emperor who founded the dynasty of the Mings—an emperor, like Sun Yat-sen himself, a revolutionist.

During the last days of his life, Dr. Sun was surrounded by Chinese and Russian friends. Out of this coterie came two "messages," signed by the dying man. One, the famous "Will," is attributed to Wang Ching-wei, later puppet President of the Japanese-created Nanking Government. This document states that "for 40 years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations. My experiences during these 40 years have firmly convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality so that they may co-operate with us in our struggles.

"The work of the Revolution is not yet over. Let all our comrades follow my 'Plans for National Reconstruction,' 'Fundamentals of National Reconstruction,' 'Three Principles of the People,' and the 'Manifesto' issued by the First National Convention of our Party, and strive earnestly for the consummation of the end we have in view. Moreover, our recent declaration in favor of the convocation of a National Citizens' Convention and the abolition of unequal treaties should be carried into effect with the least possible delay. This is my heartfelt charge to you."

At the same time another statement appeared, "A Message to Soviet Russia," addressed to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, probably signed by Sun Yat-sen, and composed by Eugene Chen, left-wing Kuomintang leader: "Dear Comrades: While I lie here in a malady against which men are powerless, my thoughts are turned towards you and towards the fate of my Party and my country.

"You are at the head of the union of free republics—that heritage left to the oppressed peoples of the world by the immortal Lenin. With the aid of that heritage the victims of imperialism will inevitably achieve emancipation from that international regime whose foundations have been rooted for ages in slavery, wars, and injustice.

"I have behind me a party which, as I have always hoped, will be bound up with you in the historic work of the final liberation of China and other exploited countries from the yoke of imperialism. By the will of fate I must leave the work unfinished, and hand it over to those who, remaining faithful to the principles and teachings of the Party, will thereby be my true followers.

"Therefore, I charge the Kuomintang to continue the work of the revolutionary nationalist movement, so that China, reduced by imperialism to the position of a semicolonial country, shall become free.

"With this object I have instructed the Party to be in constant contact with you. I firmly believe in the continuance of the support which you have hitherto accorded to my country.

"Taking my leave of you, dear comrades, I want to express the hope that the day will soon come when the U. S. S. R. will welcome a friend and ally in a mighty, free China, and that in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people of the world both these allies will go forward to victory hand in hand."

SUN YAT-SEN AND THE JAPANESE

The overthrow of the Manchus gave Japan the opportunity to modify her policy regarding China. The necessity for economic contacts which had interested Dr. Sun during his visit in 1913, was regarded as the platform of the more liberal politicians who preferred the revolutionists of South China, Japan's best customers. The government, however, remained neutral in the bickering between the various factions. The Chinese revolutionists residing in Japan had prices upon their heads, but Japan

maintained the same stand as taken by England and the United States, believing that political criminals were entitled to humane protection.

The tactics of Dr. Sun, in 1913, were not to seek support from the Western nations but enlist the aid of Japan. He hoped to gain an alliance with the island empire in order to weaken Yüan Shih-k'ai.

The iron industry of the Yangtze had been turned over to Japan in return for a loan made during the time that Dr. Sun was President. The province of Hunan made a similar agreement in 1913, when the local Assembly declared its independence and received a loan of 15,000,000 yen from Japanese capitalists, in return for the privilege of exploiting minerals. Sun Yat-sen believed Japan to be different from the powers of the West. He saw that nation as anxious to come to the aid of a distressed China. He dreamed of a future in which the two great Oriental countries would stand together and fight off the encroachments of the West.

SUN YAT-SEN AND THE RUSSIANS

Sun Yat-sen, after Lenin's victory in 1917, telegraphed Moscow and congratulated the Soviet Union on the victory over autocracy. This interest on the part of the Chinese leader prompted Russia to create "cells" in the cities of China. Russia, in 1919, sent a special agent to China and on July 25 of that year a "Manifesto to the Chinese People" was sent from Moscow, calling attention to the fact that if the Chinese did not wish to become a "second Korea or a second India," they should realize that the "only ally and brother in its struggle for national freedom are the Russian workers and peasants and their Red Army."

The Chinese Communist Party was formed in 1920. In October, Tchitcherin, Commissariate of Foreign Affairs, wrote Sun Yat-sen that he was delighted to see China's valiant fight against imperialism. The Russian suggested that trade relations be initiated. In a speech before the Cantonese leaders of the Kuomintang on March 6, 1921, Sun Yat-sen enunciated his ideas on socialism and advocated a more equitable distribution of land and control of all capitalistic groups.

The Russian envoy, Joffe, visited China, and he and Dr. Sun issued a joint statement in January, 1923, declaring that "Dr. Sun Yat-sen holds that the communistic order, or even the Soviet system, cannot actually be introduced into China because there do not exist the conditions for the successful establishment of either communism or sovietism. This view is entirely shared by Mr. Joffe, who is further of the opinion that China's paramount and most pressing problem is to achieve national unification and attain full national independence; and regarding this great task he has assured Dr. Sun Yat-sen that China has the warmest sympathy of the Russian people and can count on the support of Russia."

One month after the conference with Joffe, Sun Yat-sen returned to Canton. During the journey he was received by large delegations of students. He was given the title of Generalissimo and made Chiang Kai-

shek chief of staff and sent him to study the military system of the Soviet Union.

Michael Borodin, ex-citizen of Chicago, officially designated as chief of the Rosta News Agency in China but actually an agent of the Communist Party, arrived in Canton in October, 1923. The most significant work of Borodin was accomplished in the political field. The constitution of the Kuomintang was written by Borodin. Communists were admitted to the organization, "broadening the base" of the Party. The army was modeled along Soviet lines. Sun Yat-sen, working closely with the Russian, instituted a Central Executive Committee for the Kuomintang, which planned the convocation of a Congress. Delegates to this body were selected by Sun Yat-sen and by trusted local branches. One hundred and ninety-nine members of the "First National Congress of the Kuomintang" met in January, 1924, in Canton. Sun Yat-sen made the opening address in which he attacked the old party because of its lack of discipline and tendency to split on petty differences. Borodin encouraged Dr. Sun to carry on his propaganda activities, and the last months of his life were spent in addressing organizations of all kinds in which he elaborated upon the "Three Principles of the People."

THE POLITICAL CONCEPTS OF SUN YAT-SEN

Between 1918 and 1925, Sun Yat-sen was able to produce most of his writings, owing to the fact that his retirement in Shanghai gave him the leisure needed for such labors. At this time he edited his periodical, *The Reconstruction Miscellany,* later published in book form. In this magazine and also in his *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary,* appearing in English in 1918, he admitted the failure of the revolution, although he believed it would not be difficult to make dynamic the revolutionary program of "nationalism, democracy, socialism, and the five-fold constitution." Failure, he confessed, was due to his "inability to influence my party comrades and, apparently, my incapacity to guide them."

The written works of Sun Yat-sen show no unusual imagination but are remarkable for the passion to put into print programs and projects. The best example of his academic approach to China's problems is found in *The International Development of China* (1920), in which he visualized the millions of dollars to be obtained from the West for the construction of 75,000 miles of railroads, 1,000,000 miles of good roads, and scores of canals, irrigation measures, and river conservancy extensions, all to be liquidated gradually. "Our national culture can be made literally the common property of all the Chinese." He was ecstatic over visions of international collaboration among the Powers for the progress of China "as a practical solution for international war, commercial war, and class war."

The "Three Principles of the People" was the main interest of Dr. Sun. In a speech he said that "the Three Principles of the People correspond

with the principles stated by President Lincoln—'government of the people, by the people, for the people.' I translate them into *Min yu* (the people to have), *Min chih* (the people to govern) and *Min hsiang* (the people to enjoy)." These principles, the *San Min Chu I* (nationalism, democracy, livelihood), were the keystone of his doctrines and made the author the "constitutional father" of modern China.

Dr. Sun showed the two extremes which should be avoided. One, China under a monarchy, with the people living in isolation, having no interest in government. As a result, the country was a prey to war lords within and encroachments of foreign nations from without, a land enslaved to domestic and alien capitalists. The other danger was an excessive concern for internationalism or universalism to the detriment of strong nationalism. Some urged China to take this course in order to shackle her, thus making the policy one of "imperialism in disguise." An aggressive nationalism was desired in China as protection against the political pressure and the economic advances of the powerful nations.

Sun Yat-sen saw as one of China's most serious defects the lack of organization. When the people were aware of this weakness, nationalism could be inculcated through loyalty and devotion to family. The new nationalism, however, of a strong China must be built upon peace, not war, because the Chinese naturally are lovers of peace.

Democracy was known to China in days of old when local communities governed themselves. Dr. Sun, influenced by Jefferson and Hamilton, took the middle path in believing that the "rights of the masses should be limited and checked," with an avoidance of mob rule as well as restriction of militarism. Democracy was to be attained in three stages. The first was military dictatorship, necessary before introducing the second period of political training. This form was to be followed by constitutionalism, after the people had been educated to function under this system.

There are three classes, wrote Dr. Sun, among mankind—the creators, the intelligent followers who spread ideals, and the "unthinking majority" who acted blindly without conscious thought. As human rights were created, it was important to train all, even the "unthinking majority" to have some conceptions of liberty and democracy. Everyone was entitled to an equal opportunity "to develop his own natural endowment." "The moral consciousness of all should be equalized, and all be made to work for the same high moral ideals."

The "People's Livelihood" aimed at raising the mental and material standard of the masses.[2] The people suffered acutely under industrialization and wherever rural economy was being changed into urban economy. The first essential step toward reconstruction of society was to "promote the economic well-being of the people."

[2] This section is the most obscure of all Dr. Sun's writings. John Dewey has pointed out its roots as found in a book by Maurice William, a New York dentist, *The Social Interpretation of History* (1920) published at a time his ideas were being formulated. Maurice William shows in his *Sun Yat-sen vs Communism* that Dr. Sun was a Marxist until he read his book, but his claim is not tenable. Sun Yat-sen picked his ideas after a study of many social theories, as he himself said.

Dr. Sun opposed the Marxian materialistic conception of history on the grounds that human changes do not consist merely of physical laws. He did not emphasize the class struggle, although recognizing the fact that workers were exploited. The basic evil was lack of livelihood which led to social maladjustments and class antagonisms.

The "surplus value" theory also was attacked. Dr. Sun believed that value is created by anyone who "is doing useful work, whether he is a producer or a consumer." The struggle between capital and labor was incorrectly named in view of the fact that the genuine social conflict was against "the class of selfish capitalists."

Dr. Sun Yat-sen maintained that the soviet type of government was unsuited to China. He realized, however, that something had to be done for the workers by the government because private initiative led to strikes and exploitation within the groups themselves. One solution was to give the masses opportunities to own land; the other was to regulate capital, for the "capitalists are becoming unbearably autocratic toward the common people."

The evils of land speculation were to be counteracted by taxation and purchase, and each landowner was to be assessed at a value set by himself, the government having the right to buy the land at this determined price. All increments in land values were to revert to the public. Just distribution of land meant that revolutions could be avoided and livelihood promoted.

China, in order to develop economically, needed national capital and the regulation of individual capitalists. State enterprises would eliminate the concentration of wealth in private hands, which tended to exploit the people, although capitalism controlled by a government with vision would be "a source of blessing to all the people."

This summary of Sun Yat-sen's concepts lays bare certain weaknesses. Many of these ideas are incomplete, superficial, and illogical. Some are based upon Western backgrounds, unfitted for China. There is too much of sweet reasonableness in many of the theories. In the question of China's relations with other countries, Dr. Sun recommended large scale introduction of foreign capital, yet also preached that this same alien exploitation was making the land a vassal state. The most glaring weakness is the fact that he failed to be definite and concentrated upon principles rather than plans. In short, Sun Yat-sen presented *new* ideas for an *ancient* China instead of proposing *new* ideas for a *modern* China.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF SUN YAT-SEN

Peking soon felt the effects of Sun Yat-sen's movement as the armies of the Kuomintang marched north in 1927 and 1928, but there were deeper marks than the fall of one city imprinted upon the Chinese. Veneration of Dr. Sun's name began in January, 1926. At the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang Party his "Will" was read to become one of the

pillars of the new government's heritage. Memorial sessions henceforth were a required ritual of all Kuomintang meetings, held every Monday morning in government offices, schools, barracks, and factories. This worship consisted of a triple bow before his picture, a reading of the "Will," a three-minute period of silence, and frequently an inspirational address, ending with the singing of the national anthem.

There are many friends of China who are convinced that Sun Yat-sen was a consummate fraud. One of these, J. O. P. Bland, an English scholar, insists that the *San Min Chu I* is "merely a manifestation of the Chinese mandarin's adroitness in protective mimîcry" signifying "nothing more than an imposing jerry-built façade behind which the Chinese people, leaders and led, may continue to pursue the changeless ways prescribed by immemorial tradition."

One of the fairest tributes, however, when all is said about Sun Yat-sen, comes from Tang Shao-yi, first Premier of the Republic:

"We were not only fellow-provincials but natives of the same district, our homes being but eight miles apart in Heung-shan. For some 40 years we have known one another and since the founding of the Republic, we have often been associated in public service.

"To Dr. Sun will have to go the credit for having made the revolution an effective force and for having crystallized public opinion behind a democratic movement, which has survived all the mistakes and the reactions . . . we shall forget everything about him, but one outstanding fact, that is that he was the champion of democracy in China. Everything else will be forgotten. Every personal whim, every personal dissension, every difference of opinion will be forgotten, only the large fact of his life will remain, his struggle against despotism, his struggle against corruption, his struggle for the right of the governed to a say in the government."

17 China and World War I

CHINA ON THE SIDE LINES (1914–1917)

China was confused in 1914. Between the Allies and the Central Powers she saw little difference, although in the beginning of conflict there was more hostility displayed against Great Britain and Russia than against Germany. During the first months of battle many a Chinese hoped that Germany would win and punish a Japan who had been gnawing at Chinese sovereignty for a quarter of a century. Large portions of the army, trained by German instructors and equipped with German material, were eager to see a victorious Kaiser.

Yüan Shih-k'ai, however, saw by the fall of 1915, the advantages to be gained by an alliance with England and her supporters. Arms and munitions could be obtained from them. Money also could be found in London and Paris. When the Japanese learned of this interest, they moved to block its materialization, fearing that a prepared China, under the guidance of Yüan, backed by his war partners, would offer eventually a barrier to rapid advances on the continent.

The death of Yüan Shih-k'ai, in 1916, brought to the helm a new president of the Republic, Li Yuan-hung, formerly vice-president, and known as one of the "Fathers of the Revolution." Li was a man of character, yet had neither the boldness of conduct nor the knowledge of world affairs possessed by Yuan. He feared the aggressiveness of Japan.

Japan, in these days of indecision, was sowing discord between the United States and China. Tokyo publications printed assaults upon American designs. One article, appearing in the summer of 1917, quoted a "prominent" Chinese as believing that it was Yankees who caused the Koreans to lose their independence by encouraging them to engage in schemes for freedom, thus leading to annexation by Japan. Consequently, the American plot was to have China follow in the path of Korea. The Japanese grew concerned over the possibilities of an armed China. The Japanese press distributed news items emphasizing the fact that Japan would object if the Allies attempted to persuade China to join them, a move being regarded as the prelude to disruption of peace in Eastern Asia.

The English persisted in their pressure upon the Peking government to declare war. The benefits accruing to China by such a move were presented in a memorandum of August, 1916. By throwing in her lot

with the Allies, China would save the German and Austrian shares of the Boxer Indemnity Fund, amounting to $141,000,000; the German concessions in Tientsin and Hankow would revert to China; by abrogating all treaties with Berlin, China could negotiate more favorable ones after the war; and room in the Customs for Chinese would be made by elimination of the 118 Germans.

The United States was co-operating with England in efforts to gain the support of the Chinese. The United States Minister to China, Paul S. Reinsch, in February, 1917, made it clear that the position of his country was not based upon any desire to obtain advantages at the expense of other nations but aimed at protecting the rights of all nations. By standing with the United States, China would gain in prestige and also would be able to demand a just settlement of many claims at the peace conference.

The question of entrance into the war was debated in the Chinese Parliament on March 10, 1917. For three months a struggle was carried on by the many factions. Parliament met in secret session on May 10, 1917. Mobs, backed by anti-Allied interests, stormed and threatened to burn the building and kill the delegates. After 12 hours of debate in which the question of war was not mentioned, the Premier, Tuan Chi-jui, was left with the support only of his Minister of Education. Tuan demanded that the Lower House reconvene and vote war measures. This stand was supported by the liberals, angered by publication in the Peking papers of the Japanese scheme to execute the "Twenty-one Demands" by loaning twenty million yen to China and expending an additional eighty millions for a Chinese army under Japanese control. The military governors, fearing a loss of their authority in the provincial capitals, presented a petition to the President demanding the dissolution of Parliament. Parliament, however, remained indifferent to the voices of the war lords.

The Premier was deserted by all on May 21. Two days later, he was dismissed by the President and replaced by Dr. Wu Ting-fang. At the same time, the military governors entrained out of the capital in order to agitate against the Republic in their respective provinces. They were blessed as they departed by the legations, with the exception of the United States. The French Minister had entertained these warriors and had uttered uncomplimentary remarks about Parliament in their presence.

The military governors urged the provincial capitals to declare for local independence. Agents of the governors, supported by soldiers from the northern armies bent on loot after many lean months, met at Tientsin in June and laid the basis for a provisional government. Troops marched toward Peking. Orders were circulated against Parliament. The President, in desperation, called upon a leading general, Chang Hsun, to solve the impasse. This feudal-minded individual came to an agreement with his brother generals at Tientsin and informed the harassed President that all were eager to see the coming of that day when Parliament no longer existed.

President Li appeared firm in his stand for maintenance of Parliament,

reiterating his position on June 9. The following day, he capitulated in the face of threats to pillage Peking, and place upon the throne young Pu Yi, last of the Manchu rulers. The leaders of democracy in the south and the head of the small navy gave moral support to Li, but the troops of the governors carried more weight than brave words. In the mandate dissolving Parliament, however, President Li called for an immediate election in order to keep alive constitutionalism.

Japan now saw the Chinese plum hanging within reach. General Tanaka, Vice-chief of the Imperial General Staff, who had been inspecting strategic posts in North China, conveniently appeared in Peking and entered into conferences with the Japanese officers in the employment of the Chinese government. Tanaka was aided in his plan of infiltration by the press at home, which flayed the United States for meddling in the affairs of China and for refusing to recognize Japan's peculiar status on the continent.

In the meantime, the Tientsin group of military governors, encouraged by General Chang Hsun, entered the capital on July 1, 1917, and enthroned Pu Yi before a gathering of Manchu princes and Chinese sycophants. The police were ordered to have the shops and homes display the old imperial banners, not seen since February 12, 1912. An edict of restoration was printed in which the hand of Chang Hsun was discernable. He used outmoded expressions and referred to heavenly mandates, barely concealing the tyrannical aims of a soldier's dream of power.

Opposition was not silenced by these acts of the militarists. President Li Yuan-hung was able to reinstate Tuan Chi-jui in the premiership. Tuan took over command of the troops in the Tientsin area and called upon them, "pillars of the Republic of China," to rally to the defense of the land as he, "a feeble old soldier," would "follow on the back of my steed."

General Chang Hsun, surprised by this unexpected energy, evacuated Peking, announcing his determination to fight to the end. After a gesture of a foray, Chang's men retreated. The Republican armies entered the capital on July 12, and surrounded their demoralized enemy at the Temple of Heaven, outside the city. The cowed Chang ran into the ever-protecting Legation Quarter. Once again the factions representing constitutionalism gained a temporary victory.

Restored to office, Premier Tuan Chi-jui signed the declaration of war against Germany and Austria on August 14, 1917. For the first time in history, China relinquished traditional isolationism to enter into active military relations with the powers of the West. Before the end of the year, labor battalions sailed for France, Mesopotamia, and Africa. This labor supply made possible the release of Allied soldiers for combat duty.

JAPAN PLANS TO CONTROL A CONTINENT: THE "TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS"

The war in Europe had hardly begun when Japanese forces occupied the territory of the German leasehold at Kiaochow Bay, Shantung prov-

ince. China knew that entrance into this region was not a temporary maneuver but was a long-planned part of the political agenda aiming at subjection of the continent. Japanese leaders desired a weak China who would turn to them eventually for financial and military assistance.

Dr. Hioki, Japanese Minister in Peking, on January 18, 1915, handed to President Yüan Shih-k'ai the notorious "Twenty-one Demands," a list planned to satisfy the economic and nationalistic needs of Japan and bring China to serfdom.

The document, written on Imperial War Office stationery, with watermarks of machine guns and warships, stated that "the present gigantic struggle in Europe has no parallel in history. Not only will the equilibrium of Europe be affected and its effect felt all over the globe, but its results will create in the political and social world a new era. Therefore, whether or not the Imperial Japanese Government can settle the Far Eastern question and bring to realization our great Imperial policy depends on our being able skillfully to avail ourselves of the world's general trend of affairs so as to extend our influence and decide upon a course of action toward China which shall be practical in execution. . . . Now is the most opportune moment for Japan quickly to solve the Chinese question. Such an opportunity will not occur for hundreds of years to come. Not only is it Japan's divine duty to act now, but present conditions in China favour the execution of such a plan. We should by all means decide and act at once. . . ."

This preface was followed by five groups. Group I related to Shantung province. Japan demanded that China: (1) agree in advance to any understandings which later might be made between Japan and Germany regarding the disposition of German rights in Shantung; (2) to promise not to cede to a third power any land in, or along the coast of, Shantung; (3) to allow Japan to construct a railroad to connect Chefoo or Lungkow with the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway; and (4) to open "certain important cities and towns" in Shantung as commercial centers.

Group II dealt with South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia where "the Chinese government has always acknowledged the special position enjoyed by Japan." China was to agree to extend the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen and of the South Manchuria and Antung-Mukden railways to 99 years as well as Japanese control and administration of the Kirin-Changchun road for the same period. Japanese subjects were to be allowed to "reside and travel" and "engage in business and in manufacture of any kind whatsoever," and "lease or own land" in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. China was not to employ "political, financial, or military advisers or instructors" in these regions without the consent of Japan. China also was not to permit subjects of a third power to construct a railway in these areas, or raise a loan, or pledge local taxes for this purpose without the permission of Japan.

Group III covered the disposition of the Hanyehping Company at Hanyang, the largest iron mining and smelting enterprise in China. Japan demanded that at the opportune time, this company "shall be made a joint concern of the two nations."

Group IV asked that, "with the object of effectively preserving the territorial integrity of China," the government was not to cede or lease to a third power any harbor, bay, or island along the coast.

Group V was a general ultimatum. China was to employ "influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial, and military affairs." Japanese schools, churches, and hospitals in the interior were to be granted the right to own land. Japanese were to have the right to carry on Buddhist propaganda in China. In all large centers the police departments were to be "jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese" or "numerous Japanese were to be employed." China was to purchase from Japan "a fixed amount of munitions of war (say 50 per cent or more of what is needed by the Chinese government)," or a Sino-Japanese arsenal could be constructed in which Japanese technicians and materials were to be used. Japan was to be granted the "right of constructing a railway connecting Wuchang with Kiukiang and Nanchang, another line between Nanchang and Hangchow, and another line between Nanchang and Chaochow." Japan also requested that she should be consulted before China borrowed foreign capital "to work mines, build railways, and construct harbor works (including dockyards) in the province of Fukien."

The keystone to the Demands is found in Group V. Despite denials that there were four groups only, Group V being general objectives which Japan hoped China would endorse but would not force upon her, the entire course of action centered upon this startling section. Here the Japanese objective stood out: annexation of China.

The "Twenty-one Demands" were forgotten during the course of World War I. They came into prominence in the months of peace negotiations.

VERSAILLES AND THE HUMILIATION OF CHINA

The Peace Conference called to bring an end to war assembled at Versailles on January 18, 1919. During the ensuing preliminary discussions the participants were divided into "Principal Powers" and "Minor Nations." Among the nations of Asia, two only, Japan and China, were recognized completely by the Conference, Japan as a chief power and China as one in the second class.

Nine days after the sessions had convened, the Council of Ten was presented with the Japanese claims to Shantung province, bolstered by secret understandings concluded with the English, French, Russians, and Italians in February, 1917. Neither China nor the United States had been informed officially concerning the nature of these agreements until after the Conference had been called.

During the same session, Dr. Wellington Koo of the Chinese Delegation requested that his country's case be heard. After being given two hours' notice, Koo addressed the Council of Ten in one of the most brilliant talks given during the sittings of the Conference. The situation certainly was unusual: China discussed claims before a court, four mem-

bers of which had signed secret treaties with the fifth for the weakening of the petitioner.

The Chinese, on April 23, accepted a compromise proposal handed to the Council of Four, including the suggestion that German rights in Shantung be ceded to the Allied and Associated Powers, for eventual return to China; that Japan should evacuate Shantung and Kiaochow within 12 months after the conclusion of the Peace Conference; that China would compensate Japan for all military and naval operations against the Germans at Kiaochow, and that China would institute an international settlement and port at Tsingtao to exist as long as similar special interests continued. This solution was acceptable to the American, British, and French Delegations, but owing to the protests of the Japanese, the Council rejected it.

During the debates in April, Woodrow Wilson considered the Japanese claims. He made efforts to persuade the Japanese to regard the question from the ethical viewpoint, maintaining that all special privileges in China should be relinquished. The Japanese Delegation admitted the justice of this ideal but observed that England and France were not showing excessive enthusiasm for the making of a Utopian universe.

The Japanese on April 24, taking advantage of the difficulties Wilson was having with the Italians over the disposition of the Adriatic, demanded that there be a "definite settlement" of the Shantung question "with the least possible delay."

The American Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, approached the Japanese Delegation in a final plea to cede all Shantung rights to the Allied and Associated Powers. Failing in this, he discussed with Lloyd George the proposal that all nations relinquish special interests in China. He found no response to this departure from traditional imperialism. Then, on April 29, Japan agreed to return Shantung to China, holding only economic privileges.

Woodrow Wilson thus was forced to accept the reality of Japan upon the continent of Asia. He hoped that Tokyo would not travel alone on this road but would call upon the League of Nations if any questions arose over the character of the occupation. The harassed American poured out his feelings to Ray Stannard Baker, his official biographer. He was unable to sleep, thinking about Shantung and the settlement, all that could be expected of a "dirty past." He saw a League of Nations some day obtaining justice for China from all the powers. He feared a marching Japan seeking an alliance with Russia and Germany in order to recreate the iniquitous balance of power principle for international conduct. The American President knew the path taken was not liked in the United States, disappointed China, and encouraged Japan. And yet he strove for world order. The first step had been taken. The world was not ready for a second.

The Chinese met with Lord Balfour on May 1, 1919, and requested him to prepare a written statement of Japan's pledges. The Englishman verbally informed them of the settlement reached by the Council of Four.

The Chinese were led to believe that the clause inserted in the treaty was general in nature, to the effect that Germany relinquished all rights in Shantung to Japan, with the exception of certain economic privileges. The Chinese also understood that Japan had given assurances that in the exercise of these rights the principle of the Open Door would be respected, no monopoly was contemplated at the port of Tsingtao, and the peninsula was to be restored to China.

China at this time expressed her feelings to the Council of Four. "The declaration of war by China against Germany and Austria-Hungary on August 14, 1917, expressly abrogated all treaties, agreements and conventions between China and those Powers, a fact which was officially notified to, and taken cognizance of, by the Allied and Associated Powers. By this declaration, the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed in the Province of Shantung became null and void and China as the sovereign power in that province, became automatically revested in them. It is difficult to see on what grounds these rights can be taken from China and transferred to Japan. . . . If the Shantung peninsula is to be restored in full sovereignty, according to the proposed settlement, to China, the reason does not appear clear why recourse should be had to two steps instead of one, why the initial transfer should be made to Japan and then leave it to her to 'voluntarily' engage to restore it to China. . . . China, in coming to the Peace Conference, had relied on the Fourteen Points set forth by President Wilson. . . . She had relied on the spirit of honourable relationships between states which is to open a new era in the world and inaugurate the League of Nations. She has relied, above all, on the justice and equity of her case. The result to her has been a grievous disappointment."

The Chinese issued a second statement on May 7. They had learned that the clauses to be incorporated into the treaty relating to Shantung were worded "in the sweeping language of conquest." Japan now received everything which Germany once held by agreement "although China has the best title to these rights which are all in Chinese territory, not a word is said in the draft clauses as to what rights China may expect to recover for herself. It is left entirely to Japan to say what she will be pleased to return to China and what to retain for her own enjoyment. The important facts seem to be altogether ignored that Shantung is a Chinese Province."

Balfour replied to this note on May 9. He enclosed a draft of the Shantung provisions of the treaty and an ambiguous declaration made by one of the Japanese delegates, Baron Makino. Upon being pressed to give a more definite reply, Balfour wrote to the Chinese that the statements made thus far, including the comments of Baron Makino, were all that the Council of Four considered necessary to release at the time. Futile appeals then were made to President Wilson.

The Chinese informed the Conference on May 26 that the final draft of the treaty would be signed by them, with reservations concerning Shantung. For the next month, moves were taken to induce them to ac-

cept the settlement unconditionally. The Chinese Delegation released a statement on May 30. They viewed "with astonishment the settlement proposed by the Council of Three in regard to the Shantung question. China came to the Conference with confidence in the strong and lofty principles adopted by the Allied and Associated Powers as the basis of a just and permanent world peace. Great, therefore, will be the disappointment and disillusionment of the Chinese people over the proposed settlement. If there was reason for the Council to stand firm on the question of Fiume, there would seem all the more reason to uphold China's claim relating to Shantung, which involves the future welfare of 36,000,000 souls and the highest interests of peace in the Far East. . . . Shantung is China's holy land, packed with memories of Confucius and hallowed as the cradle of Chinese civilization. If it is the intention of the Council to restore it to China, it is difficult to see on what consideration of principle or expediency can be justified the transfer in the first instance to an alien power who then 'voluntarily' engages to hand it back to its rightful owner."

On the day set for the final ceremony (June 28, 1919), when the signatures were to be written upon the Treaty of Paris, China stated that "the Supreme Council of the Conference having ruled to admit no reservation of any kind, either in or outside the text of the Treaty, and having declined to accept before the signing of the Treaty every compromise compatible with their sense of right and justice, even a declaration to the effect that the signing of the Chinese Plenipotentiaries was to be understood as precluding China from demanding at a suitable moment the reconsideration of the Shantung question," the Chinese "do not feel warranted to sign the Treaty of Versailles today." The correspondence relating to the Chinese stand was returned by the secretariat general of the Peace Conference in such a way as to indicate that the reservations were not to be made a part of official records.

The clauses pertaining to the province of Shantung, as drafted largely by the Japanese, read:

"Article 156

"Germany renounces in favor of Japan all her rights, title, and privileges, particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines, and submarine cables, which she acquired in virtue of the treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

"All German rights in the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant and material, for the exploitation of the mines, are and remain acquired by Japan together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

"The German state submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo, with all the rights, privileges, and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and incumbrances.

"Article 157

"The movable and immovable property owned by the German state in the territory of Kiaochow, as well as all the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made, or of the expenses incurred by her, directly or indirectly, in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and incumbrances.

"Article 158

"Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present treaty the archives, registers, plans, title deeds, and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial, or other of the territory of Kiaochow.

"Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements, or agreements relating to the rights, title, or privileges referred to in the two preceding articles."

The evening of publication of the document ending World War I, the Chinese protested once more against the articles relating to their land. They "had no course open to them except to adhere to the path of duty to their country. Rather than accepting by their signature articles 156, 157, and 158 in the treaties against which their sense of right and justice militated, they refrained from signing the treaty altogether. . . . The Peace Conference having denied China justice in the settlement of the Shantung qustion and having today in effect prevented them from signing the treaty without their sacrificing their sense of right, justice, and patriotic duty, the Chinese Delegates submit their case to the impartial judgment of the world."

The date the Shantung clauses of the treaty were published in China (May 7, 1919) was proclaimed as National Humiliation Day by the government. The Chinese boycotted Japanese goods. Students were a power to reckon with, and politicians respectfully listened to their demands or received broken heads and pillaged offices as the price of indifference. China endorsed the comment of John Maynard Keynes, that the Treaty of Versailles was a "web of sophistry." Larger issues, however, were stirring, issues linking China to the course of world actions.[1]

Great Britain and France, by supporting Japan's claims without reservations, now had paid in full. It was taken for granted by the friends of China that these two governments would show a more liberal spirit toward China and join with the United States in upholding her territorial integrity and political sovereignty. But the steps in the years after Versailles were not in this direction. A new series of understandings of a regional character were being staked out, not written down in treaty but taken for granted by those powers maintaining empires.

The British spheres of influence embraced India, Persia, Arabia, Tibet,

[1] The war was over officially for China by the signing of the Treaty of St. Germain, September 10, 1919.

Burma, western Siam, the Chinese province of Szechuan, the coastal region of Kwangtung, the valley of the Yangtze River, Palestine, Asia Minor, and the Caucasus.

The French had pushed into Yünnan, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Western Kwangtung provinces, Indo-China, eastern Siam, and Syria.

The Japanese preserves were marked out in Eastern Siberia beyond Lake Baikal and all China except those portions held by England and France.

These groupings were not new except for the recognition of a Japanese sphere in Eastern Siberia, accepted by London and Paris in 1918. The Shantung awards signified to the Japanese that the old rules of grab yet were in force.

18 "New China" in the Making

THE AGRICULTURAL SCENE

The land area of China is immense. There are in the 28 provinces, excluding Mongolia and Tibet, 12,274,362,240 *mou* of land (*mou* equals one-sixth acre). Of this amount 5,494,174,770 *mou* are in the 18 provinces of China Proper and 6,780,187,470 *mou* are in the 10 frontier provinces. The area of cultivated land in 1937 was 14 per cent or about 1,600,000,000 *mou*. Sixty-eight per cent of this was planted in cereals. The average cultivated acreage per capita was 3.5 *mou*.

The organization of land ownership in China is complex. Out of the maze of descriptions and figures, it is determined that about 60,000,000 families in 1938 either owned or farmed the land. Out of the 1,600,000,000 *mou* of agricultural land, about 1,500,000,000 *mou* were privately owned, and about 100,000,000 *mou* were under either collective or common ownership.

The total population, excluding Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), is given by most authorities as more than 400,000,000 and less than 600,000,000. The rural population in 1938 was 489,000,000. Exact figures are unobtainable because there is no organization comparable to the United States Census Bureau. The birth rate is one of the highest in the world, being between 42 and 50 per thousand. The population increases at the rate of 3,700,000 annually.

Food problems are of primary importance. Investigations show that there is sufficient food for about 90 per cent of the population. The United States exports wheat and rice to China. This movement suggests that modern machinery could be applied to the best of Chinese lands. The supplanting of human labor, however, by machine labor will have more serious social and economic reverberations in China than in any other country in the world, unless industry absorbs the dispossessed agricultural workers.

Living standards of the Chinese are low. Rice, wheat, and vegetables are the chief foods. Meat and fish are eaten only on occasions by the majority. Eighty per cent of the people have a daily diet of a few bowls of rice or noodles and vegetables. Food facilities must be extended along modern lines in order to raise the economic level.

Manchuria is the only large region containing sufficient land for col-

onists. Northwestern China, with its fertile soil, has an inadequate rainfall and irrigation projects have been pushed to their fullest extent. The government was ready, in 1936, to launch a colonization program for the more aggressive of those living in the coastal provinces, where from 800 to 900 existed on every square mile. It was expected that many of these would move 1,500 miles west and north. The first center selected was in Inner Mongolia. Each group of 300 families was to be given 1,700 acres, to be tilled and shared by all. After the first harvest had been gathered and the homes made permanent 5,000 additional acres were to be divided among all family heads, thus giving each household 17 acres to be held as long as they were put to productive use. World War II interrupted this colonization plan.

The lot of the Chinese farmer during World War II was a tragic one. Faced with starvation in many provinces, knowing little of the causes of conflict, he suffered by the maneuvers of friend and foe. Defeated Chinese troops, bandits, deserters, roamed the countryside to eat the farmer's little store of grain, kill his stock, and molest his women. Faced with these losses, the farmers of China turned robbers themselves, in the traditional manner of Chinese farmers when war and famine and disease and flood desolated them. And yet, not long after the armies passed they drifted back to rebuild the mud hut, make a new plough and grain barrel, and once more turn over the good earth in the shadow of ancestral graves. The feelings of these farmers regarding war have not changed since the days of the first emperors. When one was asked if he hated the Japanese, he replied: "We hate all soldiers, Chinese and Japanese alike. We only want to be left alone and live and work in peace."

THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRY

China has been opposed to industrialization. Superstitions played their part in this antagonism and were used by the officials to fit in with the intrigues against modernization. Railroads and mines have been unexploited because of the Chinese fear of the mysterious workings of the spirits. Even when Chinese with vision opened up new enterprises, they were attacked. Before the first flour mill was put in operation in Wusih, Kiangsu province, in 1894, the governor was obliged to arrest scores of people and remove the mayor of the city. Mobs gathered, angered by the construction of a factory near a temple, which they feared would bring misfortune to the district.

The first silk mill constructed in Canton in 1866 was moved to Macao because the local silk producers were hostile to any change in the methods of manufacture. Antimachinery riots occurred in the same region as late as 1881. Martial law was declared and during the negotiations, a group of officials recommended government ownership of all new enterprises in order to prevent the accumulation of private fortunes by merchants and the consequent weakening of the workers.

Comparable conditions existed in many parts of China during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Through the indifference or hostility of the majority of Chinese business men and operators to modern techniques, the Japanese standardized silk factories drove them from the markets of the world before World War I, despite the requests from the Silk Association of America that a uniform method of silk reeling be adopted.

Chinese opinions on the industrial civilization of the West were clear-cut. The Chinese felt themselves to be superior and self-sufficient. Missions from Occidental lands, as from Oriental, were regarded as bearers of tribute. When the Westerners first entered the empire, there were differences between the interests of the various parts of China. The merchants of the coastal provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung desired commercial relations with the European merchants. An imperial law enforced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries forbade the travel of Chinese abroad, a regulation disregarded in Fukien province. Following the policy directed against the Arabs who were restricted to coastal settlements, the first whites were isolated until the strength of China was found wanting in the "Opium Wars."

The chief mistake made by the Chinese was their refusal to appreciate the fact that modern techniques had fashioned new means of transportation and new methods of coercion in the form of steam vessels and high-powered guns. These were made possible by the expansion of the Industrial Revolution which gave the West an advantage over China not apparent when both parts of the world were agricultural in economy and feudalistic in customs and thought.

The economic system of China had been one of self-sufficiency. This system made the people feel superior to those of the West. The vastness of the Chinese Empire made it unnecessary to depend upon the outside for varied foods. Europe, furthermore, had no better clothing than the Chinese cottons and silks and furs. The first Westerners who came to China in the middle of the sixteenth century had nothing valuable to offer for the commodities they were anxious to obtain, such as tea, silk, copper, chinaware, and lacquer.

The examination system also had its influence upon the Chinese attitude and policy relating to commercial relations and growth of industrialization. The efforts of the best minds being concentrated upon gaining office, the activities of merchants were scorned or ignored.

Any new industry started in China had to face competition from large and older industrial centers in the West. The need of the Western countries for exporting their industrial commodities likewise has been a barrier to any regular industrialization of China. Unlike other nations who protected themselves from the inroads of foreign goods by the erection of tariff walls, China was unable to follow this method of aiding domestic concerns. Before 1929, when China was given the right to control her tariffs, and beginning in 1842 with the Treaty of Nanking, import duties were fixed at about 5 per cent ad valorem. Foreign goods,

by the payment of an additional 2½ per cent, were exempted from domestic exactions and yet all Chinese articles were taxed by the government at every *likin* post (internal transit duties).

The Chinese currency has not been an aid to modern industry. Inflation has been common, and an unstable ratio of silver to gold has marked China's financial history. Declining silver prices have protected domestic enterprises and also have acted as brakes upon foreign importations, especially machinery needed for new factories.

Unlike other parts of the world where foreign trade stimulated local manufacturing, trade was restricted by the government. Early commerce was a monopoly of the *Co-hong,* a group of Cantonese merchants, who were under constant supervision of officials. The officials, being "scholars," dominated by the economic theories of the Legalists (4th cen. B.C.), considered all merchants as unimportant and therefore were opposed to the accumulation of large sums of wealth gained through business activities.

A lack of capital has prevented any extensive industrialization in the twentieth century. On many occasions factories have been constructed but no funds were made available for operation of the plants. Cotton mills in Shanghai and Tientsin were bought up by Japanese because Chinese owners had no operational funds.

Political and military chaos in China since 1800 has thwarted industrial life. It is true that China, awakened by foreign encroachments, built arsenals and shipyards but the passive Manchus were unable to direct any large commercial projects. The Japanese victory of 1895 convinced the Chinese that economic conservatism was bringing death to the land. The following years mark the small beginnings of industrialization.

The contemporary leaders of China visualize the country as being divided into six economic units: (1) Southern Manchuria (iron, steel mills, coal mines); (2) Yangtze Delta, the triangle of Shanghai, Nanking and Hangchow (cotton and silk centers, power houses, flour mills); (3) Eastern Hopei (coal, cement, cotton); (4) Eastern Shantung (coal and iron mines, textile mills, oil plants); (5) Hunan-Hupeh area (iron and steel works, tung oil, textiles); and (6) Pearl River Delta, the Canton-Kowloon area (silk and other light industries).

The National Resources Commission in 1936 planned a three-year program to concentrate the heavy industries in the provinces of Kiangsi, Hunan, and Hupeh. This plan was the first industrial blue-print drafted by the government for heavy industries. When the "China Incident" of 1937 forced the agenda off the scene, the Commission began to institute industrial plants in the interior. By the end of 1941, the Commission had constructed 71 units (29 factories, 22 mines, and 20 electrical plants).

China had 3,849 private factories in 1937. Of this number, about 1,290 were in Shanghai and 279 in the interior. After the Japanese advanced along the coast the Industrial and Mining Adjustment Commission aided about 600 private concerns to move their equipment into regions of safety. More than 120,000 tons of materials and machinery and 100,000 skilled workers were taken into western centers. By 1943, there were 87

metallurgical factories, 376 machine works, 44 electrical plants, 380 chemical works, 273 textile factories, 133 alcohol factories, 1,629 mining units, 122 iron-mining units, and 42 oil refineries in West China.

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee and Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang passed a resolution on September 11, 1934, regarding foreign investments in China. Restrictions on the proportion of foreign capital investments and joint activities were to be lifted, with the understanding that all boards of directors were to have Chinese chairmen. China is anxious to procure the services of foreign technicians and foreign capital. The plan also envisages about 30,000 engineers and other experts and 800,000 workers in factories and mines. The framers of the scheme, co-operating with the National Resources Commission of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, had 9,534 experts and 170,000 laborers in 1942, and sent abroad scores of others in order to study Western industrial conditions.

Seven industrial regions were mapped out in 1943 by governmental planners:

(1) Northeast Region. Provinces, Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang, and Jehol; Area, 1,247,256 square kilometers; Population, 28,542,000; Major products, wheat, kaoliang, soy beans, leather, timber, coal, iron, manganese, aluminum, gold, petroleum, salt.

(2) North China. Provinces, Chahar, Suiyuan, Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, and Honan; Area, 1,231,607 square kilometers; Population, 114,540,000; Major products, wheat, kaoliang, millet, corn, soy beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, cotton, hemp, sesame, tobacco, leather, coal, iron, aluminum, gold, salt.

(3) Northwest Region. Provinces, Ninghsia, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang; Area, 3,379,437 square kilometers; Population, 22,663,000; Major products, wheat, oats, kaoliang, millet, corn, sheep, wool, leather, coal, petroleum, salt.

(4) East China. Provinces, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei; Area, 353,650 square kilometers; Population, 80,949,000; Major products, rice, wheat, soy beans, peanuts, rape seeds, cotton, silk, tea, tobacco, tung oil, coal, iron, salt.

(5) Central China. Provinces, Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi; Area, 565,043 square kilometers; Population, 65,639,000; Major products, rice, wheat, barley, kaoliang, rape seeds, sugar cane, cotton, ramie, tea, tung oil, tobacco, coal, iron, manganese, tungsten, antimony, molybdenum, tin, lead, mercury, gold.

(6) South China. Provinces, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien; Area, 558,968 square kilometers; Population, 58,583,000; Major products, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, silk, tea, leather, coal, iron, manganese, tungsten, antimony, molybdenum, salt.

(7) Southwest Region. Provinces, Szechuan, Sikang, Kweichow, Yünnan; Area, 1,386,066 square kilometers; Population, 69,499,000; Major products, rice, wheat, barley, oats, kaoliang, corn, rape seeds, sugar, silk, tobacco, tung oil, sheep wool, leather, bristles, timber, coal, iron, nickel,


Scale of miles
0 100 200 300 400
Principal cities
U. S. S. R.
MONGOLIA
Urga
Manchuli
HEILUNGKIANG
Lungkiang
Harbin
KIRIN
Kirin
LIAONING
Mukden
Antung
Dairen
KOREA
Seoul
Weihaiwei
Tsingtao
Chefoo
Tsinan
SHANTUNG
CHAHAR
JEHOL
Chengteh
Kalgan
Peiping
Tientsin
HOPEH (CHIHLI)
SUIYUAN
Kweisui
Wanchuan
NINGSIA
Ningsia
SHANSI
Taiyuan
SHENSI
Changan
Sian
HONAN
Kaifeng
Suchow
ANHWEI
Nanking
Wuhu
Hwaining
KIANGSU
Shanghai
HUPEH
Ichang
Hankow
Wuchang
Tayeh
Hwangshih
Hangchow
CHEKIANG
Ningpo
Nanchang
Changsha
Shenchow
HUNAN
KIANGSI
Kian
Kanhsien
Tayu
FUKIEN
Amoy
Formosa
KWEICHOW
Kweiyang
Tungchwan
YUNNAN
Kunming
SZECHWAN
Chungking
Ipin
Chengtu
Tatsienlu
SIKANG
TSINGHAI
Sining
Lanchow
TIBET
Lhasa
NEPAL
INDIA
BURMA
FR. INDO-CHINA
SIAM
KWANGSI
Yungning
KWANGTUNG
Canton
Hong Kong
HAINAN
Principal Mineral Deposits of CHINA
Coal-bearing areas
Actively worked coal fields
Iron deposits
Tin mining areas
Copper mining areas or deposits
Tungsten mining areas
Sb Antimony mining areas
Au Gold mining areas
Mg Magnesite deposits
Oil shale
Petroleum refinery
Possible petroleum

copper, lead, zinc, aluminum, tin, mercury, gold, petroleum, salt, phosphorus.

The table on this page shows the goals which were considered possible in the years of postwar industrialization.

Commodity	Ten-Year Output	Tenth-Year Output
Steel	14,000,000 tons	5,000,000 tons
Coal	500,000,000 tons	100,000,000 tons
Gold	12,000,000 ozs.	2,500,000 ozs.
Cements	85,000,000 bbs.	20,000,000 bbs.
Steel plates	5,000,000 tons	1,000,000 tons
Cotton yarn	29,000,000 bales	5,000,000 bales
Railways	48,000 kilometers	
Rails	3,360,000 tons	
Locomotives	2,400	
Steamships	3,000,000 tons	

The Japanese invasion turned China away from feudalism toward modernism. Blocked along the coast, new ways to produce food and manufactured goods were found in the years of conflict. China saw a future in which the Chinese would control domestic markets. Lin Yu-tang spoke out for the "new" China when he proclaimed that "in an age of American machinery, German science, English cotton cloth, French perfumes, Russian cabarets, and Japanese bombing planes, the quicker she becomes a modern people with modern ideas, the sooner will come her salvation."

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENTS

The Chinese have had little experience with the management of large co-operative organizations until recent years. There were merchants', craftsmen's and provincial guilds, but members of these units usually came from the same region or the same family. These guilds were unable to gain many advantages from the officials representing the imperial court except to revolt when new taxes were decreed. As a result, Chinese guilds possessed none of the political power characteristic of comparable Western groups.

Credit societies began to develop rapidly in 1923 under the guidance of the China International Famine Relief Commission. Programs for co-operative education were published in the monthly magazine of this body, the *Co-operative News*. The National Flood Commission requested the Relief Commission to administer the Farm Rehabilitation funds in the Yangtze Valley most affected by the flood of 1931. The money repaid from these loans was used for co-operative societies in which commercial banks took an interest. By the end of 1933, there was a total of 6,834 co-

AN ESTIMATE OF CHINA'S POSTWAR IMPORTS

YEARLY VALUE IN U. S. THOUSAND DOLLARS

	China Proper	*Manchuria*	*Formosa*	*Total*
Capital Goods				
A. Machinery and tools	$ 67,200	20,000	3,000	90,200
B. Iron and steel	40,000	12,000	2,000	54,000
C. Nonferrous metals	6,000	1,000		7,000
D. Railway equipment	20,000			20,000
E. Automobiles and bicycles	14,000	10,000	2,000	26,000
F. Airplanes and ships	4,000			4,000
G. Timber	12,000	3,000	1,000	16,000
H. Cement and related products	2,000	500	1,000	3,500
TOTAL	$165,200	46,500	9,000	220,700
Producer's Goods				
A. Petroleum products	30,000	4,000	2,000	36,000
B. Dyes and paints	10,000	2,000	500	12,500
C. Chemicals and pharmaceuticals	16,000	4,000	14,000	34,000
D. Rubber and rubber goods	4,000			4,000
E. Coal and fuel	1,200			1,200
F. Wood, bamboo, and rattan	2,300			2,300
G. Raw cotton	10,000	5,000		15,000
H. Wool	3,000			3,000
TOTAL	76,500	15,000	16,500	108,000

operative bodies with a membership of 229,075. Eighty per cent of these were credit co-operatives.

When the Japanese moved into China in 1937 the need was felt for some kind of industrial co-operatives to supplant the destruction of factories in East China. China lost about 70 per cent of her industrial strength after the fall of Shanghai. In the spring of 1938, plans for the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives (C. I. C. or Indusco), were formulated. Three zones of industry were staked out: (1) in the rear where the heavy immobile industries were located; (2) a middle zone extending from Kansu in the northwest to Fukien in South China, decentralized because of bombings; and (3) the zone of "guerrilla industry," behind and near the fighting areas.

From these small beginnings, the industrial co-operatives spread. By the end of 1941, there were 1,737 societies with 23,088 members and a total investment of $2,500,000, silver. These organizations produced about $25,000,000 silver worth of goods monthly. There were about 900 on the staff of Indusco. The most prominent executive was the New Zealander, Rewi Alley, assisted by Chao Shu-I, the first organizer.

Consumer's Goods				
A. Food, beverages, and tobacco				
(1) Cereals and flour	27,000	13,000	2,000	42,000
(2) Sugar	5,000	1,000		6,000
(3) Tobacco	4,500	1,000	1,000	65,000
(4) Fishery and Sea Products	3,000	3,000	1,500	7,500
(5) Fruits, Seeds, and Vegetables	1,500	3,000	2,000	9,500
(6) Canned Goods and Animal Products	3,000			3,000
(7) Medicinal substances	2,000			2,000
(8) Wine and beverages	500	1,000	300	1,800
TOTAL	46,500	22,000	6,800	75,300
B. Other Consumer's Goods				
(1) Cotton piece goods and cotton yarn	25,000	15,000	5,000	45,000
(2) Woolen goods and yarn	4,000	3,000	100	7,100
(3) Rayon goods	5,000	4,000		9,000
(4) Flax, ramie, hemp, and jute products	5,000	5,000	1,500	11,500
(5) Paper and paper products	15,000	6,000	1,500	22,500
(6) Hides, leather, and other animal substances	1,000			1,000
(7) Glass and chinaware	1,000	800	300	2,100
(8) Fats, oils, and resin (including petroleum)	1,500			1,500
(9) Photographic goods	2,000	500		2,500
(10) Sundries	27,000	34,400	11,300	72,700
TOTAL	86,500	68,700	19,700	174,900
GRAND TOTAL	374,700	152,200	52,000	578,900

The co-operatives are among the most significant changes occurring in China in the twentieth century. Growth from 46,983 societies and 3,112,-067 members in 1937 to 154,378 societies and 9,373,676 members in 1941, is proof of their popularity. Through co-operatives China may be able to escape the evils of industrial centralization besetting the West.

CHINA'S FOREIGN TRADE

The foreign trade of China in 1929 averaged about $1,500,000,000, silver. Two-thirds of the total was divided between Japan ($500,000,000), the United States ($338,000,000) and the British Empire ($166,000,000). The United States held first place in exports in 1940, with a total of $565,669,000 worth of commodities sold. Hong Kong was in second place with $367,502,000 and Great Britain was third with $196,798,000. Japan was fourth with $126,408,000. In imports, Japan put on the Chinese mar-

kets $466,289,000 worth of goods, the United States, $435,486,000, and British India, $175,275,000.

In anticipating the postwar trade of China, the Chinese have made certain assumptions. First, the country being exhausted, there will be slight changes in the economic structure. Second, the Chinese finally are anxious to carry out programs of industrialization. Third, there are hopes that political unity soon will be achieved. With these three points in mind, estimates have been made showing the possible annual values of imports and exports for China Proper, Manchuria, and Formosa separately, as well as for China as a whole.

LABOR AND LABOR PROBLEMS

Most of the power-driven factories employing large numbers of workers before World War II, were located in the treaty ports of Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow, Tsingtao, and Canton. The most important establishments were cotton mills, silk filatures, chemical works, flour mills, cigarette, match, machine and electrical factories, and printing plants. Surveys made in 1936 show that 562,400 workers (46.7 per cent of all industrial labor), was concentrated in the province of Kiangsu, which included Shanghai. Of this number, 258,593 were women, and 36,901 were children under fourteen years of age. This estimate does not include mine workers. There were about 600,000 employed in coal mines and 100,000 in iron mines in 1936.

The working conditions within the factories of China have stirred the wrath of humanitarian observers. One of the most challenging reports was written in 1927 by Ronald Ross, who visited the Hankow region:

"Where Christianity and curiosity have brought a hundred foreigners into China, the cheapness of labor has brought thousands. The men who came because labor was cheap have brought a new era into China, the industrial era. China has changed in many ways since the first foreigner, seeking cheap labor, arrived in the country, but through all the changes wages have remained low. A man could be hired to do for ten cents a day in China what a man would not do for a dollar a day in the West. And it was easy labor to handle, ignorant, docile, subservient.

"Today, decades later, wages are still low, but labor is not so docile as it has been. There is a tendency to ask for a very few of the amenities of existence, a holiday a week, security of job, wages and hours that make life a little nearer the human, a little less the dog. . . .

"The laborer is not looking at a ledger that shows profits at the end of the year. He is looking at a ledger, which never shows a copper on the credit side, which, at best, can be made to balance, and whose items are, on one side, the hard realities of enough rice to keep alive, enough cotton to cover his back, enough silver pieces to pay a landlord so he can keep the roof of a hovel over his head. On the other side of the sheet, he puts his wages—ten cents, twenty cents, thirty cents, forty, fifty cents a day. Scarcely ever is it as much as a dollar. . . .

"The writer was guided rapidly through four mills. My impression at the end of it is that the industry of China is built up of the energy of pale-faced women and wistful-faced children. . . .

"I saw three other mills. The worst of the four was a Chinese silk mill. The silk factory was a horror. Babies huddled in baskets under the machines. Women and girls in long lines in a badly lighted, badly ventilated room with their hands in steaming water in which the cocoons are soaking. The air thick with moisture and the smells bad. Everywhere babies, and tiny children, too young to work. . . .

"This is factory life in Hankow. Talking to union leaders later, I was told, yes, these factories were organized; they were doing their best to get all the increases possible, to get shorter hours, regular holidays, decent working conditions. I mentioned to these leaders that to the managers of the factories, this union movement was viewed as a menace, dangerous, threatening, unreasonable.

"At the mention of the word unreasonable, the union leaders smiled. They were mill workers themselves. All their lives they have been wondering about 'unreasonableness.' They asked me about it. All their lives, they said, they had been looking for some 'reason' for their existence. So far, unless to starve that others might be clothed and fed, they had found none. Where, they asked, was the reason in this?

"It was a hard question to answer."

Before the advent of the Nationalist Government in 1927, all efforts for the organization of labor and demands for better working conditions were suppressed by the militarists. Some minor regulations, however, for factories and mines had been promulgated by the Peking Government. Social reformers were determined to translate these beginnings into more vigorous acts. They agitated for the abolition of the more glaring evils of the industrial system.

Legislation for arbitration of industrial disputes was passed by some of the provincial bodies after 1927. These measures were weakened when applied to the foreign concessions. A typical case is seen in the Factory Act passed by the Shanghai Municipal Council in June, 1936. This act was vetoed by the Shanghai Consular Body on the ground that it would mean "in effect the partial abrogation of the treaty privileges of nationals possessing extraterritorial rights." Thus China was prevented by the interests of imperialism from having adequate factory legislation for the protection of her workers laboring under foreign control.[1]

The course to be followed by the government in the days of post-war construction has not yet been staked out. Until such a time when

[1] Trade unionism is new in China. The Kuomintang in 1924 declared that unions were to be protected. A move was made in 1928 to place them under governmental control. The right to strike is restricted and no strikes are legal until conciliation and arbitration have been tried and two-thirds majority of the total members of the union have resolved to strike. There are constitutional guarantees for the right of association, included in the Provisional Constitution of 1931 and embodied in later enactments. (See "Trade Unionism in China since 1929," *International Labour Review*, November, 1933, 688–691.)

AN ESTIMATE OF CHINA'S POSTWAR EXPORTS

YEARLY VALUE IN U. S. THOUSAND DOLLARS

	China Proper	*Manchuria*	*Formosa*	*Total*
A. Agricultural products				
(1) Soybeans		45,000		45,000
(2) Wood oil	30,000			30,000
(3) Sugar			20,000	20,000
(4) Rice			20,000	20,000
(5) Tea	15,000		4,000	19,000
(6) Beancake	1,000	16,000		17,000
(7) Peanuts	3,000	3,000		6,000
(8) Fruits and nuts	2,000		3,700	5,700
(9) Cotton, raw	5,000			5,000
(10) Sesamum seed	3,000	2,000		5,000
(11) Other beans	1,000	3,000		4,000
(12) Medicinal plants	3,500			3,500
(13) Peanut oil	3,000			3,000
(14) Perilla oil		3,000		3,000
(15) Bean oil		3,000		3,000
(16) Corn		3,000		3,000
(17) Millet	50	3,000		3,050
(18) Vegetables	2,000		800	2,800
(19) Tea Oil	2,000			2,000
(20) Perilla seed		2,000		2,000
(21) Sorghum		2,000		2,000
(22) Cottonseed oil	1,200			1,200
(23) Bran and fodder	100	1,000		1,100
(24) Bamboo	1,000			1,000
(25) Ramie	1,000			1,000
(26) Hempseed		1,000		1,000
(27) Linseed	800			800
(28) Straw braid	700			700
(29) Castorseed		500		500
(30) Tobacco leaf	500			500
(31) Molasses			400	400
(32) Buckwheat		400		400
(33) Rapeseed	300			300
TOTAL	76,250	87,900	48,900	213,050
B. Forest and animal products				
(1) Furs and skins	12,000	3,000		15,000
(2) Egg products	10,000	[1]		10,000
(3) Silk, raw, wild, and waste	9,000	1,000		10,000
(4) Bristles	6,000	1,000		7,000
(5) Sheep wool	6,000	[2]		6,000
(6) Feathers	2,100			2,100
(7) Sausage casing	2,000			2,000
(8) Cattle hides	1,400			1,400
(9) Timber		300	1,000	1,300

	China Proper	Manchuria	Formosa	Total
(10) Camphor			1,200	1,200
(11) Camel wool	1,000			1,000
(12) Human hair and nets	1,000			1,000
(13) Camphor oil			500	500
(14) Hogs	500			500
(15) Meats	500			500
(16) Woodpulp		300		300
(17) Nutgalls	300			300
(18) Lard	250			250
TOTAL	52,050	5,600	2,700	60,350
C. Mineral products				
(1) Tin	800			800
(2) Coal	500	5,000	500	6,000
(3) Tungsten	4,000			4,000
(4) Antimony	3,500			3,500
(5) Magnesite		2,000		2,000
(6) Copper ores			2,000	2,000
(7) Salt	300	1,000		1,300
(8) Iron and steel		1,000		1,000
(9) Ammonia sulphate		1,000		1,000
TOTAL	16,300	10,000	2,500	28,800
D. Manufactured and handmade products				
(1) Linen goods	5,000			5,000
(2) Wool carpets and rugs	1,500			1,500
(3) Silk piece goods	1,200			1,200
(4) Silk pongees	1,000			1,000
(5) Cotton yarn	1,000			1,000
(6) Cotton and textile goods	1,000			1,000
(7) Curios and antiques	1,000			1,000
(8) Hats	500		400	900
(9) Alcohol			500	500
(10) Silk embroidery	500			500
(11) Mats	500			500
(12) Paper	500			500
(13) Chinaware	200			200
(14) Fireworks	100			100
TOTAL	14,000		900	14,900
E. Other Merchandise	20,000	10,000	5,000	35,000
GRAND TOTAL	178,600	113,500	60,000	352,100 [3]

[1] Included in sundries.
[2] Included in cotton piece goods.
[3] See *Contemporary China*, December 24, 1945. The values given in these tables were estimated on pre-1939 price levels. Postwar prices may be 30 per cent higher for each figure.

plans are made, the comments of J. J. Drouillard, an engineer for the State Emergency Relief of California, are appropriate: "I have just come from China, and they know how to handle labor over there—they starve 'em to death by the thousands."

COMMUNICATIONS

China has made slight progress in road building. The famous "Imperial Highways" actually were narrow-meandering footpaths. The best were wide enough for the crude and creaking "Peking carts." Travel within the land was not extensive. Provinces were independent entities, usually at war with their neighbors. Many of the large cities were connected by trails. After the Revolution of 1911, modern road construction began.

There were 718 miles of modern highway in 1921. There were 55,280 miles in 1933, although they were not to be compared with the smooth roads of the West. By this time, a journey by automobile from Shanghai to Changsha and return, including a two-day stop in the capitals of three provinces, took ten days—a trip of six months in 1899.

Highways were essential after the Japanese seized the railroads. The "Russian Road," through Kansu and Sinkiang, following the old "Silk Road," made possible contacts with the Soviet Union. A motor highway runs across Central Asia from the capital of Szechuan, Chengtu, to the Russian frontier town of Chuguchak. Supplies were delivered through Tibet over the long and difficult route beginning at Kalimpong, northern Bengal and Gangtok, in the State of Sikkim, crossing the Jelapha and the Nathula rivers and thence the climb to the Tibetan Plateau near Phari. From here it goes on to Lhasa, crossing the Tsangpo river. From Lhasa, it divides, one route following the China road (Gyalam) through Chamdo and Batang and the other the Changlam or northern route through Jyekundo. Both these roads average 12,000 feet in height and are exposed to the dry and cold winds of the Tibetan Plateau.

The Burma Road is the most publicized of all highways. After Canton fell to the Japanese, China lost her last valuable port for the entrance of war supplies. The removal of the government to Chungking left Chiang Kai-shek with avenues into the Soviet Union by way of the Turk-Sib Railway, to Haiphong in French Indo-China, and Rangoon in Burma. The Japanese blocked the southern route, making necessary a 2,100-mile line to Rangoon, by way of Kunming, Lashio, and Mandalay which had a railroad for about one quarter of the way. The Chinese began construction on this route in December, 1937, completing it in 1939. This work was a great feat, accomplished without modern machinery, utilizing unskilled native laborers, toiling through desolate and mountainous terrain. This road was very narrow in parts, allowing only one-way traffic. Chinese engineers in March, 1941, began surveys for a road from Ningyuan, across some of the world's highest mountains, to Sadiya, Assam, India. This

1,000-mile route connects the Upper Yangtze River with the railroad running north into India from Chittagong. The oil fields of Digboi, near Sadiya, make this road valuable for the entrance of supplies.

China made relatively rapid strides in railway building after 1876 when the Manchus reluctantly permitted foreigners to build 10 miles of narrow gauge track between Shanghai and Woosung for the operation of the awesome "iron carriages," only to be torn up and the rails shipped to Formosa. Between 1890 and 1915, foreign capitalists, supported by their governments, competed for railway concessions.[2] Since then, the Chinese Government gradually acquired these lines.

There were about 8,680 miles of railway in China in 1931. These extended mainly in the north and along the coast. They were managed without any system and were marked by inferior and inadequate equipment. World War II stimulated railway expansion and Chiang Kai-shek provided for the building of 5,270 miles of lines.

The new projects included: Northwest—Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsai, and Sinkiang; and Southwest—Szechuan, Sikang, Kweichow, Yünnan, and Kwangsi. These ten provinces contain 4,920,000 square miles and about 100,000,000 inhabitants. There were, in 1939, three lines in these provinces, the Sian-Paochi section of the Lung-Hai Railway, the Sian-Tungkwan section of the same line, and the Ko-Pi-Sheh Railway in Yünnan province, a total of 5,580 miles. The Haiphong-Yünnan Railway, under French management, and seized by the Japanese, will loom large in the days of reconstruction.

The Chengtu-Chungking Railway, 325 miles in length, was opened in 1939. The Szechuan-Yünnan Railway and the Yünnan-Burma Railway, 1,178 miles long, were not in complete operation in 1948. The Hunnan-Kwangsi Railway to the border of French Indo-China, 589 miles in length, was suspended when the Japanese entered the French colony. After these various lines are completed, the Northwest and the Southwest will be linked, with three routes leading to the coastal centers from Kunming to Rangoon, from Kunming to Haiphong, and from Luichow to Haiphong.

In the planning of the Chinese railroads, Kweiyang is to be a center for transportation. North, connections will be made with Chungking, thence to the Chentu-Chungking line, and westward to Kunming by way of the Kweichow-Yünnan line. East, the road will go to Chuchow on the Canton-Hankow Railway by way of the Kweichow-Hunan Railroad and southward to Liuchow by way of the Kweichow-Kwangsi line. The city of Lanchow will be one of the chief centers for the railway system.

The railway net in the Northwest will be completed with the construction of the Paochi-Lanchow sections of the Lung-Hai Railway together with a new road connecting Lanchow with Paotou on the Peking-Suiyuan Railway. A road will extend also west to Tihwa in the province

[2] Railways and date of construction are: Chinese Eastern (1902); Chiaochow-Tsinan (1904); Peking-Hankow (1905); Peking-Liaoning (1907); Nanking-Shanghai (1908); Peking-Suiyuan (1919); Shanghai-Hangchow (1919); Yunnan-Indo-China (1910); Lung-Hai (portion, 1910); Canton-Kowloon (1911); and Tientsin-Pukow (1912). An American engineering company completed in the summer of 1946 a survey of China's railways.

of Sinkiang, to connect with the Turk-Sib Railway in the Soviet Union. The Kan-Ching line will link Lanchow with Sining, and another route will be built to Chengtu.

Before the "China Incident" of 1937, about 50 per cent of the population of China lived upon the 689,000 square miles of the Yangtze Basin. The Yangtze River, called "The River," serves three purposes: to water the crops, to carry men, and to transport goods. Owing to the dearth of roads, the Yangtze has been used by the China Merchants' Steamship Navigation Company, the Nisshin Kisen Kaisha of Japan, the Sino-French Steamship Navigation Company, the British Jardine, Matheson and Company, and Butterfield and Squire, and the Dollar Line of America. Shanghai alone, before the "China Incident," had 14,000 departures yearly of inland vessels.

Junks carry up the river cotton goods, hardware, sugar, and Western goods, and bring downstream tea, silk, sesame oil, lacquer, barks, paper and straw rope, dried mushrooms, rapeseed, and peppers.

The Yangtze was the center for the strength of the foreign powers. The treaty ports of the river throbbed with commerce, dominated by the cities of Chinkiang, Chungking, Hankow, Ichang, Kiukiang, Kanking, Shasi, Wuhu, Yochow, and the great international mart, Shanghai. The power in control of the Yangtze controlled Central China. Great Britain held this position until Japan wrested out of British hands Shanghai and Nanking. China of the future plans to hold "The River" for the people of China.

The Hwang Ho or Yellow River, with its 2,700 miles, is the most dangerous of all Chinese waters. Starting in Tibet, at an altitude of 14,000 feet, the Hwang Ho courses through six provinces (Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, Hopei, Honan, and Shantung). Before the "China Incident," there were about 100,000,000 inhabitants in its basin.

Records show that the Hwang Ho has had 15 different channels, each change bringing destruction to the North China plain. It is well called "China's Sorrow."

The Emperor Yu in 2297 B.C., attempted to master this costly waterway. At that time the mouth was at the present site of Tientsin. Engineers in 1889 submitted a memorandum to the Chinese Government for river improvement. Many other advisers have recommended flood control works. UNRRA engineers worked to restore the Yellow River to its prewar channel.

AVIATION

Owing to a lack of railways in China, air transportation has made rapid progress. In 1929, there were 354 passengers transported by air; in 1933, there were 3,050 air passengers.

The China National Aviation Corporation, with 45 per cent of its stock in the hands of the Pan-American Airways, made a profit in 1934. Before

the "China Incident," lines were connected with Shanghai, Nanking, Kiukiang, and Hankow. French and British concerns had a route between Saigon and Singapore. A Russo-German enterprise linked China to the Soviet airways.

The Chinese Air Transport Company, a joint stock organization established under the agreement made between the Chinese Ministry of Communications and the American Air Transport Company, had in 1936 a capital stock of $10,000,000 silver. This company flew to the airports of all the leading cities of China. There was before World War II, the Europe-Asia Aviation Company, a joint stock corporation, created by the Chinese Ministry of Communications and the German Luft-Hansa Company for the purpose of carrying mail between Asia and Europe. This company was capitalized at $3,000,000 silver. Lines were operated from Shanghai to Europe by way of Nanking, Tientsin, Peip'ing, Manchuli, and Asiatic Russia. There was also a flight by way of the provincial cities of Kangsu and Sinkiang and Asiatic Russia.

BANKING AND FINANCE

China before 1934 was on the silver standard. The currency value was based upon the price of silver in world markets. The price of silver soared in 1934 and 1935, the precious metal was exported, and the currency was in a precarious state. In order to remedy this condition, the Minister of Finance, Dr. H. H. Kung, abolished the old silver standard and put the currency under the management of the government.

A Currency Board was created in 1935. This agency purchased silver bars and coins and controlled the reserves against all the hitherto legal tender notes in circulation. In order to strengthen the reserve, the government banks imported 338,000,000 *yuan* of silver, mainly from the United States. This transaction increased the power of the *yuan* at home and abroad. Through this procedure, China was able partly to finance the war with Japan.

The Anglo-Chinese Stabilization Fund was instituted in March, 1939, with a revolving fund of ten million pounds. This move was followed in April, 1941, by the American and British credits of $50,000,000 and five million pounds respectively. A Chinese Currency Stabilization Board came into action at this time to fix the rates of exchange of the *yuan* in relation to the dollar and the pound, to sell foreign exchange at fixed rates to those in import enterprises, and to buy foreign exchange at fixed rates from those in export activities.

In the long view the economic situation will be unstable until China utilizes the principle of credit and the technique of doing more business with less funds. When these lessons are learned, monetary experts believe that China will be on the road toward prosperity.

19 "New China" in the Making (continued)

JOURNALISM

Gazettes and news sheets were known in China in the seventh century A.D. The technique of Western journalism was introduced by the missionaries, William Milne in Malacca (1815), and K. F. A. Gutzlaff in Canton (1833). A Chinese-owned daily was published in Hong Kong in 1860 and continued until 1919. There were about 75 native newspapers and magazines in 1898. In 1913 there were 487. China had 1,137 periodicals in 1921. Of this number, 550 were daily newspapers. By 1926, the number had increased to 628 daily papers, 105 of these being published in Peking. There were 500 readers per 10,000 of the population, 5 per cent of the total inhabitants.

There were four weaknesses noticeable in Chinese news reporting. A plethora of political news, owing to the domination of the *Peking Gazette* (*Ching Pao*), which published official documents and decrees; a dearth of educated correspondents; a dullness in articles with the literary traditions supreme; and a lack of system and logic in the application of censorship. News printed in one region frequently was withheld from others. There have been cases of a premier's official announcements being censored in Shanghai and suppression of news of a high official's visit, after photographs and parades furnished publicity.

The Chinese press changed greatly during World War II. Papers were cut down to four pages and printed on native paper by means of wooden blocks. Many were written in dugouts. There were 724 newspapers in 21 provinces. Ninety-six of these were published by the army. Fourteen dailies circulated in Chungking, including the Soviet Embassy bulletin. *The National Herald,* formerly the *Hankow Herald,* was the only English-language daily published in the wartime capital.

The *Pi Pao,* wall paper, although not an innovation during war days, was popular with the people in rural areas and in those centers where printing facilities were inadequate. These papers were handwritten and pasted upon walls. They contained more illustrations and cartoons than regular papers. Patriotic societies made effective use of the *Pi Pao* for the dissemination of propaganda.

China had six leading papers and agencies in the capital during World War II. *The Central Daily News,* the official organ of the Kuomintang, was the most widely circulated newspaper in China with 50,000 copies

issued daily. It was read because of its timely and interesting makeup, artistic supplements, and reflection of governmental views. Three eminent scholars wrote the editorials. These included Tao Hsi-sheng, historian and sociologist, Hu Chiu-yuan, sociologist, and Wang Hsin-ming, author. These editorials were excellent literary compositions. Unlike party papers in the West, the *Central Daily News* rarely made any demands or predicted. It refrained from attacking any group, except an occasional criticism of the Communists.

Ta Kung Pao, the chief liberal newspaper, was known for its strong editorials and extensive coverage of both foreign and domestic news. With a circulation of 91,000 in the morning and 30,000 in the evening editions, it was the most respected newspaper in China. It was quoted more than any other paper by the foreign correspondents.

The fame of the paper's editorial comments reached its height in 1926 when Chang Chi-lun, a brilliant essayist, was made editor-in-chief. Despite the fact that the *Ta Kung Pao* reflected public opinion, it never curried the favor of the masses, and in 1931, the offices were bombed by a band of superpatriots. In May, 1941, it was awarded the "Medal of Honor for Distinguished Service in Journalism" by the Missouri School of Journalism.

The *Ta Kung Pao* followed three rules: "(1) Say nothing you do not understand; (2) Say nothing against reason; (3) Say nothing injurious to public well-being." It was a financial success and was one of the few Chinese papers able to carry on without subsidies from the government.

The *Hsin Hua Jih Pao,* organ of the Chinese Communist Party, was the first newspaper of that political faction to be circulated openly in the country. Established in Hankow in 1937, it experienced many a misfortune. One day after the appearance of the first edition, its offices were stormed. Twenty-five members of the staff, enroute to Chungking, were killed by Japanese bombs in 1938. The offices in Chungking were bombed twice. It was boycotted by newsboys in the pay of hostile interests and several times barred from the mails by the government.

During World War II, the *Hsin Hua Jih Pao* was the only symbol of national unity existing after the split of the Communist Party in 1941 from the Kuomintang. This newspaper gave complete stories on the constitutional movement and carried many editorials advocating general political reforms. The life of students and workers was given wider coverage than any other paper. The *Hsin Hua Jih Pao* was unusual in that it wrote the news in *paihua* or the spoken language in contrast to the other papers which employed the literary Chinese. The readers of this paper included students, clerks in government offices and business concerns and literate workers.

Sao Tang Pao or "sweep paper," was the only paper having a verb for a name. It was the official organ of the Chinese Army and was published by the Political Training Board of the National Military Council. It was placed under the direction of the state in 1945. This paper stationed war correspondents in every active theater and also had a representative in the

United States and Canada. The value of the *Sao Tang Pao* rested in its articles contributed by China's leading strategists.

A popular paper in China was the *Hsin Min Pao,* a tabloid sheet. It was the only Chinese-language newspaper that rewrote the news agencies' reports and presented them in less detailed form. All stories were written in a simple language, and the feature page was lively. It was one of the few papers having financial success.

The Central News Agency was the dynamo for all the papers in China. Unlike other news agencies, it transmitted news over a radio network under the management of its staff members. The entire organization in 1945 comprised more than 700 workers, including correspondents in Washington, New York, London, Moscow, Paris, New Delhi, Geneva, and Calcutta. The managing director of the Central News Agency in 1945 was T. T. Hsiao, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. The government subsidized this organization with about $40,000,000, silver, annually.

SOCIAL WORK AND SERVICES

The League of Nations was many things to many peoples. To the Russians, it was a bourgeois institution of affable debaters. To the Americans, it was an organ managed by European idealists or conspirators who wished to entangle the United States in the meshes of continental and world sanctions. To the Latin Americans, it was an organization making possible an opportunity for participation in world affairs without interference from Washington. By some Chinese, it was regarded as an impotent body because of Japanese aggressions in the face of its noble protests. To others in China, it meant the one way to salvage civilization.

China, by 1933, under League of Nations guidance, had put on paper legislation regarding hours of work, care of women with children, minimum age for industrial labor, and restriction of night work for children. Progress was slow, partly because of questions arising pertaining to collaboration between European and non-European states in League activities.

The co-ordination of modern health centers in China was accentuated by medical experts connected with the League of Nations. The value of their work is seen in the increase in anticholera vaccinations from 530,000 in 1930 to 1,062,000 in 1932. China was encouraged by this assistance. The Nanking government in 1934 appropriated $15,000,000, silver, for League labors, an amount three times as large as that given in 1933. In the last days of the League's work, China was the important field for services. League doctors were sent in 1938 to fight the epidemics of typhus and smallpox.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

For a decade after the Revolution of 1911, the youth of China fell under the spell of Westernism. And yet, with the disregard for the ancient

examination system as the basis for official advancements and emphasis upon science, the first Republican government, under Yüan Shih-k'ai, contained scholars of the imperial regime who were Confucianists. One of the first articles published by the newly created Ministry of Education suggested that sacrifices to Confucius be considered. A presidential decree of February 8, 1914, made known the governmental policy regarding the Confucian cult. This statement announced that the chief executive himself would offer sacrifices at the temple of Confucius in Peking.

Yüan Shih-k'ai was faced with the necessity of choosing between the conservatives who wished to have new China adopt Confucianism as a state religion and the radicals who were opposed to all religions. The left wing maintained that Confucianism was a vehicle of monarchy and had no place in a modern state that did not demand absolute obedience to a single ruler. Yüan Shih-k'ai compromised and issued an astute statement making clear that although the state ceremony was to be continued, it would not be called a religious act.

The *Peking Gazette* of June 23, 1914, contained a declaration by Yüan which pointed out that conditions ushered in by the Republic made it necessary to emphasize the Confucian principle of universal brotherhood instead of the concept formerly held regarding the duties of subject to ruler. Yüan's successor, President Hsu Shih-chang (1918–1922), a classical scholar, continued to employ Confucian rites. The cult, however, no longer possessed vitality, the revolution having destroyed the value of the old educational system and with it the veneration for the classics. Many temples were in decay. Others were repaired only to be used as workshops. Funds were obtained from the government for sacrifices, but renovation of buildings was left in the hands of indifferent individuals. In many parts of the land, the ceremonial musical instruments, dear to Confucius, were allowed to rot away.

After the Nationalists came into power in 1927, anti-Confucianism grew. Pictures of the sage were stoned. The new master, Sun Yat-sen, was elevated. The New Life Movement, however, sought to resuscitate Confucianism.

Christianity did not take hold of the hearts and lives of as many Chinese as the first missionaries anticipated. Zen Buddhism, by contrast, seems to be a soothing panacea for the masses who are bewildered by the materialism of the capitalistic age. These see the gentle Buddha leading them toward mind-control, industrious life for service instead of profit, love for all living things, the shackling of the baser instincts, the acceptance of *Dharma* and reincarnation, and belief in the eternal peacefulness of Nirvana.

Despite Western impacts, Buddhism has not suffered as much as Confucianism because of its strength among the people. Temples have been rebuilt. Societies for the propagation of Buddhism have been founded. Monks are active. Popular lectures have been given in all parts of the country.

A movement spread in 1934, carried on by bands of monks and nuns who left Shantung province in order to preach the "Great Event," the

coming of Han Chu, the Chinese savior, to earth, believed to be identical with Jesus Christ and Milofu ("the coming Buddha"). These groups, as disciplined as soldiers, announced that judgment and salvation were available for all who listened. With their beliefs and practices based upon the *Apocalypse* and Buddhistic sutras, they proclaimed the coming of the "hero on the white horse."

During World War II, half a million Buddhists engaged in relief work, giving first aid, nursing the sick and burying the dead. Some of this activity was carried on behind the Japanese lines.

It is not likely that any anti-Buddhistic propaganda can be made strong enough to crush these stirrings, any more than antireligious weapons will be capable of destroying organized Christianity. If in cities, the intellectual scoffed or remained indifferent to all formal religious institutions, in the rural regions neither rampant nationalism nor the introduction of the cult of Sun Yat-sen have succeeded in eradicating the ritual and thought linked to Buddhism.

Two forms of Taoism existed in China. One, the Southern, adhered to superstition; the other, the Northern, was of recent development, nearer to the meditative and speculative features of Lao Tzŭ.

The Southern school was the chief religious form embraced by the people, who worshipped also the god of Wealth, the goddess of Fecundity, the deity of Medicine, the god of Literary Achievement, the god of War (to insure peace), and scores of local gods. Primitive rituals were observed and phallic symbolism played a large part in the ceremonies.

The last head of the Southern organization was Chang Hsi-ling, by tradition the sixty-third direct descendant of the founder, whose headquarters were on Dragon Hill, Kiangsi, until the sect was broken up by the Nanking government in 1927. The ejected leader resided in Shanghai. He appeared at celebrations when called by those willing to pay well for services.

One of the most significant signs of vitality in Taoism was the College of Tao (Tao Yuan), a part of the Northern or "Dragon Gate" school of Taoism. The College was founded by an official from Shantung in 1911 who settled in Tsinan and, like Joseph Smith, the Morman, gained a wide following when he "discovered" a sacred book. Headquarters were moved to Peking in 1921, and by 1935 there were about three hundred branches in China, Japan and the islands of the Pacific.

One of the most unusual features of Taoism as seen in the College was the combination of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. The common origin and similar aims of the five beliefs were emphasized. The only supernatural element connected with Northern Taoism was the device for guidance determined by two writers who entered a trancelike state and penned words as the spirits moved them.

A branch of the College active in social work was the World Red Swastika Society, created in 1922. This organization was so powerful that the International Red Cross Society of China had difficulty in making headway. The body carried on philanthropic activities and also peace

propaganda. Some of its notable relief projects included famine assistance, maintenance of hospitals, old-age homes, loan bureaus, soup kitchens, clothing shops for the indigent, all undertaken without regard for political, religious, or racial differences.

THE PROGRESS OF CHRISTIAN LABORS

Article Six of the Provisional Republican Constitution and Article Twelve of the Permanent Constitution gave religious freedom to Christians. As a result of this policy of toleration, Christianity grew. The Catholics had 57 bishops, 1,071 Chinese priests, and 2,208,800 Chinese members in 1923. There were 1,750 Chinese priests and 3,500 native sisters in 1937. There were 2,623,560 Chinese adherents to Roman Catholicism in 1942. Native Christians in the Protestant sects numbered 618,601 in 1923. There were 488,539 in 1942.

The war with Japan put all Christians to the supreme test. Catholics and Protestants experienced every kind of suffering from the invader. Many of the Catholic institutions remained in the occupied regions, refusing to be blocked by Japanese incursions. The Protestants moved west to find strength through union of the many missionary schools.

An illustration of co-operation boding good for the future was seen in the trek of students from the coastal universities to the West China Union University, outside Chengtu. Most of the student bodies from Cheloo University in Shantung and the University of Nanking were located in this region. Cheloo University in exile included Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, the London Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The University of Nanking was composed of North Presbyterians, the North Methodist Episcopal, the North Baptist, and the United Church Missions. The West China University brought together the United Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal of America, the Baptists, the Friends' Service Council of England and America, and the Church Missionary Society.

Here and in other temporary educational havens, students were aflame with patriotism which naturally supplanted Christian love. One student expressed the feelings of many when he said: "I greatly honor Jesus and Christianity and later I will be a Christian, but now I can love only my country."

The fruits of Christian education in China were summed up in a statement of a graduate of Yenching University who estimated the results of his experiences:

"(1) A new understanding of patriotism. We in government schools bitterly criticized the Christian schools because they did not always parade in political demonstrations. We said they had been Americanized and were not patriots. But in Yenching, we learned that while parades are sometimes useful, it is higher patriotism to be hard at work in a classroom or laboratory preparing to serve your country than to be parading.

"(2) There is now in China a great deal of interest in village and rural reconstruction, social service for the masses. It is almost a fad. The difficulty is to get workers to stay by devotedly with such work when it is difficult or when there is opposition. We have learned that it is the Christian spirit which provides the willingness to work sacrificially for others and keep determinedly at it through everything. We know now that the best hope of the improvement of the masses in China is in the spirit of service and the power to serve which grows out of the Christian life."

The critics of Christianity once believed that Christians were justified only when they brought science. The war against Japan proved that this alien faith was able to point the way toward service and co-operation. If the spread of Christianity was not rapid, its enemies at least accepted it with more tolerance. They realized that it functioned in harmony with the Confucian and Taoistic and Buddhistic precepts of devotion to the family and charity and universal brotherhood, common to them all.

SECRET SOCIETIES AND RELIGIONS

Secret societies have played a large role in Chinese affairs. When society was stable, these groups were inactive, but when disorder was rampant, they flourished. The leaders, usually priests or prominent laymen, traveled to villages and cities and roused the people against the government with words of a religious nature. Most of these organizations possessed an economic philosophy of a simple wealth-sharing character and some engaged in Robin Hood exploits. The Taoist concept of helping the poor by robbing the rich was uppermost in the thoughts of many of the more respectable societies.

The majority of modern secret societies sprang from the White Lotus Sect (*Pai Lien Chao*). This body first rebelled against the Mongols and was one of the forces contributing to their overthrow. In spite of proscriptions during Manchu days, about 20 branches survived in the form of boxing societies.

Some of these units were organized as committees to protect themselves from bandit ravages. One powerful sect, the Triad Society, was implicated in eight upheavals in a period of one hundred and fifty years. The strife of this society flared up in New York and San Francisco in the so-called "tong" wars. The "Blue Shirts," Chiang Kai-shek's bodyguard, was the modernized version of the old Blue Society *(Ch'ing Pang)*, active in North China in the early nineteenth century.

Many of the organizations had Taoistic tendencies. Among these were the nudists or *Mo Mo Chiao*, the "Touch Society," which sat in the dark and applied mystical rituals, and the Society of Reason (*Chai Li Chiao*), opposed to the use of idols, tobacco, and drugs. This latter group sought to introduce Buddhism, Confucianism, and the Catholic Confessional along with the worship of animals. The *Tao Teh Hui* sect recited Confucian texts in order to insure health, wealth, and happiness.

Many of these secret societies were a power for good and worked to eradicate local tyranny.

SECULAR EDUCATION

Control over education by the government has existed since Han days. Until the Revolution of 1911–1912, the educational aim was to train servants capable of loyally administering the state, with moral principles predominant rather than utilization of factual knowledge. Recent aims were not dissimilar, although more democratic and more pragmatic; the production of good, loyal nationalists. Chiang Kai-shek, in a wartime address, speaking of national power declared: "I have often said that a modern nation derives its vitality from three things: education, economic strength, and military force. Education, the base of all enterprises, provides the central link between the other two factors. It follows that the aim of our education is economic development and enhancement of our military strength."

Students, especially those educated abroad, had a great influence. They advocated democracy, the extension of mass education, a free press, unification of the currency and the railway system, eradication of "spheres of influence" and abolition of extraterritoriality. They were active in teaching simplified Chinese, spread of public schools, opening of reading rooms, building of playgrounds, and social work among the industrial and agricultural workers.

The number of students educated abroad entering professional life increased after World War I. Of those who returned to China after residence in the United States, more than 50 per cent were teachers and only 10 per cent entered governmental services. These evinced a greater feeling of patriotism than any before them. Narrow provincialism was converted into broad nationalism, reaching its height during the "China Incident."

The conflict with Japan matured the educated youth of the land. Students were engaged in war work, awakening the people to undertake more concerted action against the enemy. For the first time, the "scholar" was not afraid to soil his hands in digging trenches, nursing the wounded, and firing a rifle. The students of China climbed out of their intellectual towers and entered the world of man struggling to be free.

THE MASS EDUCATION MOVEMENT

The mass education movement was born during the years of World War I. Dr. Y. C. James Yen, American-educated officer with the Chinese Labor Corps in France, was impressed by the fact that the Chinese under him were unable to read or write. Out of this condition, he evolved a crude

system of teaching characters rapidly.[1] With the lessons learned in France, Yen, in 1922, labored in Changsha, capital of Hunan province. By 1929, about 5,000,000 Chinese of all ages were engaged in study. A year earlier, the Nanking government had promulgated a decree ordering that 30 per cent of the educational budgets of each province should be expended upon this type of education.

The need for stamping out illiteracy is as urgent in China as in any country in the world. According to figures compiled by the Nanking government in 1935, China had a population of 436,094,953, among whom only 67,218,990 were educated. Statistics for 1938 showed that China's illiterates numbered 360,000,000. Since 1938, there have been 46,348,469 taught to read and write. Of this number, 44 per cent were children, and 25,200,000 were between the ages of 15 and 45.

China set out to eliminate illiteracy by 1946. In the campaign for mass education, the Ministry of Education purchased more than 2,500 radio receiving sets for use in schools, libraries, parks, and other public places. The ministry also utilized movies for social enlightenment. Moving picture teams toured the countryside and hung screens in temples and halls and projected films with dry-cell batteries. Such a program of education was carried out in 10 free provinces during World War II.

THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

The shackles binding women first were cut into by missionaries a century ago and thrown off when the Nationalist Government came into power. Chinese women now have equality with men in every walk of life. They are in the civil services, in every business and profession, in high governmental posts. Legalized concubinage was abolished in 1935, when it became against the law for a man to marry more than one woman at a time.

The middle-class girl of China sought marriage on her own terms. Independence changed her externally as well. She drove cars. She wore "Hollywood" style shoes. She displayed sheer hose. She rouged her lips. She wore her hair in the style of movie stars.

The "China Incident" brought out the women of China in an extraordinary manner. The deserted wife, the slave girl, the sing-song girl, the old concubines, all saw an opportunity to become free as never before in China's history. The Woman's Detachment of the Eighth Route Army, the Kwangsi Woman's Battalion, and the Chekiang Woman's Guerrilla Band fought and died as they warred against the Japanese.

Women worked in hospitals. The Children's Relief Association cared for war orphans. Girls traveled about carrying on propaganda activities

[1] There have been suggestions that the Chinese language be Latinized. The Chinese in the region of Vladivostok used this language in order to wipe out illiteracy. The Minister of Education in 1939 came out against its use. (For a defense of the change see Er Yeh, "The Mass Language Movement in China," *China Today*, August, 1935, 214–215.)

through dramatic clubs. One of the most famous was the "Chinese Greta Garbo," Chen Po-erh, who at night was a hospital attendant and during the day a movie actress, until taken captive by the enemy in 1939.

There were others of daring deeds. There was the "Chinese Joan of Arc," 60-year-old Madame Chao, commander of 200 men who fought along the Peking-Suiyuan Railroad. There was "Golden Flower," killed in 1938 but not until her band of lake pirates had brought to death many a Japanese. There was Kang Ke-ching, a peasant girl, wife of Chu Teh, commander of the Eighth Route Army, teacher of political science, and instructor in military science in the Women Vanguards of the Red Army. There was Madame Mao Tse-tung, wife of the Chief of the Chinese Soviet Military Council, who fought at the front, cared for the wounded, was herself a casualty of the "Long March," and bore five children in seven years. There was Ting Ling, one of the leading young writers of China who marched with China's Red Army.

THEATER AND MOVIES

A group of Chinese students residing in Tokyo presented in 1906 several European plays, including *La Tosca* and *La Dame aux Camelias.* They transferred their cast to Shanghai and began the modern Chinese theater. They were opposed by conservatives, hostile to Western drama, which undermined traditional Chinese music. Since the Revolution, however, some of this prejudice has been eliminated.

The new theatrical movement was directed by amateurs, led by the students of the Nankai Middle School of Tientsin, Fu Tan University, Shanghai, and the nonprofessional organizations such as the Shanghai Stage Society and the Little Theater Group of Peking. The China Traveling Dramatic Association has been successful since 1934.

The China Traveling Dramatic Association was the first organization to attempt to place the theater on a commercial basis. This association gave plays in 1934 in Nanking, Peip'ing, and Tientsin. When the actors appeared on college campuses, the students gave them room and meals as well as the gate receipts. The repertoire of this body was varied, including *The Death of a Famous Actor, The Collection of the Fishing Tax, Lady Windermere's Fan, The Miser, Le Cid,* and *Resurrection.*

Some actors were interested in a revival of the old dramatic plays (K'un-ch'ü), comparable to the Gilbert and Sullivan productions. A group in Peip'ing in 1925 composed new plays for their favorite actors. The music included popular tunes. These plays were successful and seen at their best as portrayed by Mei Lan-fang, who put supreme artistry into the classical theatrical conventions.

The creative arts usually are sterile in wartime, but in China during the Japanese invasion, the revolutionary aspects of the conflict and the fact that artists were released from the routine of making a living, contributed to a powerful dramatic life. The Chinese theater left the classics

to concentrate upon themes of social justice and national defense. Dynamic plays were given in the towns and villages of Free China, amateur and professional keeping aflame the light of an undefeated land.

It was not until 1933 that China began to free herself of foreign pictures. Encouraged by the International Institute of Educational Cinematography of the League of Nations, which used films as an aid to mass education, Chinese producers made pictures showing the social and economic problems of China. *Torrents* gives the story of the Yangtze Valley in flood; *Dawn in the City* presents callous machine-made Shanghai; *Toys* narrates the lot of the toymakers at the mercy of German and Japanese manufacturers; and *The Common Enemy* portrays the Japanese soldier. This type of movie and stories of family devotion were the most popular themes in local theaters.

Chinese censors were harsh judges. Under the control of the Ministries of the Interior and Education, all foreign and domestic films were reviewed. Prewar pictures containing slighting references to racial or national groups were banned or cut. Foreign films showing "loss of face" for the Chinese or emphasizing superstitions were prohibited.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Modern scientific researches started in 1912 when the Department of Mines expanded to include the Geological Survey. The investigations of this institution led to the discovery in 1927 of the "Peking Man." The Survey printed its first bulletin in 1920. It had surveyed most of China's coal deposits and rendered services to industrialists. By 1935, the Survey owned the best technical library in China.

Dr. Amadeus Grabau, a distinguished scientist, was made chief paleontologist to the Survey in 1920. Dr. Grabau trained native workers who published valuable monographs. The Survey instituted in 1930 a seismological station and undertook researches on soils and fuel problems. The labors of the organization were so outstanding that it was the only governmental body able to obtain support from private sources.

Other fields of science also were developed. The Academia Sinica was established in 1938 which controlled 10 research institutes in the physical and social sciences. Zoology and botany made progress through the Fan Memorial Institute of Biology in Peip'ing. The Institute of Astronomy at Nanking was one of the best in Eastern Asia. The Institutes of History and Philology made contributions to archeology.

The Institute of Industrial Chemistry and the National Agricultural Research Bureau were organized in 1932 and given 400 acres near Nanking. Investigations were made in agronomy and the prevention of animal diseases. The National Economic Council was established at the same time and worked in cholera prevention, utilization of soya-beans, and the effects of habit-forming drugs. Researches were undertaken by natives and Westerners at the Peip'ing Union Medical College and Henry Lister Institute, Shanghai.

The Government of China announced, in 1915, that modern medical policies were to be accepted. This decree, however, was more of a gesture than a reality. Except in the cities, there was no careful regulation of doctors. Anyone could open an office. Seventy per cent of Chinese practitioners were "quacks." These magicians were being eliminated gradually by the influence of Western institutions co-operating with native-trained students. Medical objectivity will not spread rapidly throughout China until more Chinese scientists labor in the field of research.[2]

Comparisons between China and the United States relating to expenditures for the natural sciences show the true conditions. Chinese scientific researches averaged before World War II about $2,000,000 annually. The United States spent about $750,000 every working day for industrial research alone, excluding the activities of universities, governmental agencies, and the many foundations.

THE "LITERARY REVOLUTION"

The "Literary Revolution" or renaissance, was the movement to destroy the ancient classical moulds and create a new vital literature. The pioneers in this movement were Hu Shih and Chen Tu-hsui, who wrote the first call to arms against the old forces. Hu Shih, at the time a student at Columbia University, threw down the gauntlet in challenge to classical traditions on January 1, 1917, in *La Jeunesse,* a radical monthly. Under the title of "Some Tentative Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature," he proclaimed: "Literature changes with time. Every age produces its own literature. . . . The men of the Tang Dynasty could not write the poetry of the Shang and Chou dynasties. . . . From the point of view of historical evolution, it is indisputable that popular (*Pai hua*) literature should be the proper literature of China at present and should be the necessary medium of the future literature."

Hu Shih maintained that the classical language of China, like that of Greece and Rome, was dead and therefore unable to keep alive contemporary thought. The people must be given a vital vehicle of expression instead of the sterile forms of the past. Inspired by the pronouncement, Chen Tu-hsui, editor of *La Jeunesse,* wrote a bolder call to action, "On a Revolution in Chinese Literature."

"I am willing to brave the enmity of all the pedantic scholars of the country, and hoist the great banner of the Army of the Revolution in Literature in support of my friend, Hu Shih. On this banner shall be written in big characters the three great principles of the Army of the Revolution:

[2] Dr. Co Tui, a member of the New York University School of Medicine, outlined a five-year plan for the training of Chinese doctors. According to Dr. Co, there were in 1946 only 12,000 doctors for a population of 450,000,000, compared with the same number in New York City for less than 8,000,000. He stated that China had one leading medical institution, Peip'ing Union Medical College, which graduated 200 doctors in 20 years. A new program aimed to establish medical centers in Shanghai and Canton in 1947 and eventually two additional schools in Western and Central China.

"1. To destroy the painted, powdered, and obsequious literature of the aristocratic few, and to create the plain, simple, and expressive literature of the people; 2. To destroy the stereotyped and monotonous literature of classicism, and to create the fresh and sincere literature of realism; 3. To destroy the pedantic, unintelligible, and obscurantist literature of the hermit and the recluse, and to create the plain-speaking and popular literature of the living society."

These manifestoes were followed by two other statements by Hu Shih, "On the Historico-evolutionary Conception of Literature" and "A Constructive Revolution in Chinese Literature." Other leading men of letters came to their support, including Liu Pan-nung ("My View on the Literary Reform"); Fu Szu-nien ("On the Unity of Spoken and Written Language"); Chien Hsuan-tung ("Problems of the Future Chinese Language"); and Chou Tso-jen ("Literature of the People").

Hu Shih made clear the fact that the literary revolution was not new but was the fifth renaissance in Chinese cultural history. "The rise of the great poets in the Tang Dynasty, the simultaneous movement for a new prose literature modeled after the style of the Classical periods, and the development of Zen Buddhism as a Chinese reformation of that Indian religion; these represented the First Chinese Renaissance. The great reform movements in the eleventh century, the subsequent development of a powerful secular neo-Confucianist philosophy which gradually overshadowed and finally replaced the medieval religions; all these important developments of the Sung Dynasty may be regarded as the Second Renaissance. The rise of the dramas in the thirteenth century, and the rise of the great novels in a later period, together with their frank glorification of love and the joy of life, may be called the Third Renaissance. And lastly, the revolt in the seventeenth century against the rational philosophy of the Sung and Ming dynasties, and the development of a new technique in classical scholarship in the last three hundred years with its philosophical and historical approach and its strict emphasis on the importance of documentary evidence; these, too, may be called the Fourth Renaissance."

Hu Shih believed that the four earlier innovations "suffered from one common defect, namely, the absence of a conscious recognition of their historical mission" and "remained natural processes of evolution. The renaissance movement of the last two decades differs from all the early movements in being a fully conscious and studied movement. Its leaders know what they want, and they know what they must destroy in order to achieve what they want. They want a new language, a new literature, a new outlook on life and society, and a new scholarship. They want a new language, not only as the effective medium for the development of the literature of a new China, but they want a literature that shall be written in the living tongue of a living people and shall be capable of expressing the real feelings, thoughts, inspirations, and aspirations of a growing nation. They want to instill into the people a new outlook on life which shall free them from the shackles of tradition and make them feel at home in the new world and its new civilization. They want a new

scholarship that shall not only enable us to understand intelligently the cultural heritage of the past but also prepare us for active participation in the work of research in the modern sciences. This, as I understand it, is the mission of the Chinese renaissance."

In the first years of the "literary revolution" the conservatives set out to destroy the radicals. Three powerful groups of traditionalists led the attacks. First among them was the "Tung-cheng School," represented by the well-known writers, Lin Shu, translator of 156 Occidental novels, and Yen Fu, introducer of Montesquieu, Huxley, Adam Smith, and J. S. Mill to the Chinese. Lin Shu declared that the revolutionists were destroying morality by tearing down customs and weaning people from the ways of Confucius and Mencius. The "Hsüeh-heng School" at Nanking, with the publication, *The Critical Review,* edited by Hu Hsien-su and Mei Kuang-ti, carried on the struggle. The "Chia-yin School" in Peking, directed by Chang Shih-chao, joined the classicists in their journal, *The Tiger.* These factions were unable to keep Chinese thinkers on the old path. The literary revolutionists had pointed the way toward new worlds and new experiences.

It was natural for the movement to swing far to the left. Many were alarmed. Many more were confused. A reasonable interpretation of the turmoil was given by that most successful of all Chinese writers, Lin Yu-tang, who in an address in New York in 1937 said:

"The chief literary trend since 1925 or 1926 is a movement toward leftist thought in general. This is a fact that you cannot shut your eyes to. Young China is turning Communistic for the very simple reason that all young people in the world are radical. In England there is a saying that the man who is not a Socialist before twenty is a fool, and if he remains a Socialist after twenty he is an idiot. In the long perspective, I am worried. For this movement . . . inspires, through social consciousness, a social responsibility. If the present generation are ultraradical, if later it gets wiser and less Communistic, that sense of social responsibility will remain. On the other hand, it has its drawbacks. It has made the young people impatient with views other than their own, with anything but the very latest word on the subject. They want to be as up-to-date as the American car owner. This has resulted in a lot of immature thinking, such as the social outlook upon literature, which in itself is all right, but which has been carried to ridiculous extremes, with such slogans as 'Propaganda is literature, and literature is propaganda.' "

GOVERNMENT AND LITERATURE

The crystallization of the young forces in literature occurred in 1930 when the Chinese League of Left Writers was formed. The most influential magazines published by this group were *Grass Sprouts* (*Meng Ya*) and *Pioneer* (*Tu Fang Tsae*). Five issues only of *Grass Sprouts* were put out before it was banned by the Kuomintang. Governmental persecution of all left-wingism drove the movements underground. At the same time,

Nanking attempted to counteract radical literature by embarking upon an official "literature policy." The Shanghai press in July, 1930, carried the "Manifesto of the Nationalist Literature Movement," which emphasized the fact that all world literature possessed nationalistic elements and the "nationalistic literature" of China should be encouraged in order to attain national independence, through the elimination of all imperialistic and feudalistic features. Left-wing literature should be opposed because it injured the national regime, with its class preconceptions.

This manifesto had little effect upon thinking China. The strife within the government was seen in the first fruits of its efforts, a monthly magazine, *Literature* (*Wen-I*), supported by the Propaganda Department of the Central Kuomintang Headquarters which carried none of the so-called "nationalistic literature" but was dominated by the futile "art for art's sake" theme.

The Kuomintang in 1931 published two magazines, one a monthly and one a weekly, both called *Vanguard* (*Chien Fen*) which featured "nationalistic literature." They were received with indifference. Their policy of justifying civil war plainly was an attempt to eradicate all radicalism.

During these years when the Nanking Government was placating Japan, the League of Left Writers began several publications. All had brief careers and carried on underground activities. The government continued to propagate its "party literature" which gradually took on a reactionary color.

The height of suppression of unorthodox writings began in 1934. Publishers encountered strong resistance. The Central Propaganda Department of the Kuomintang prohibited the sale of 149 books, including the works of Gorki, Upton Sinclair, Maeterlinck, and Strindberg.

The policy of China in regard to censorship will not be clear for several years. The writers are in the midst of as many tumultuous currents as their peers in the West. Mousheng Hsitien Lin, a member of the China Institute in America, thus laments the plight of the Chinese thinker:

"The Chinese intelligentsia, just as that of any other country, is like a nomadic horde wandering in the desert in a quest for oases. They are relatively a classless stratum, not too firmly attached to any particular constellation of interests. Among them one finds anarchists of the chair, communists of the manor, fat proletarians, as well as lean bourgeois. Their identification with one class or another seems accidental and unconscious rather than purposeful and rational. Once they manage to convince themselves that they are proletarian or bourgeois, they have no difficulty in creating or accepting a system of symbols and watchwords to fortify their position."

CHINA AND THE SHORT STORY

The development of the short story is new in China. Influenced by the West, leading writers now use this form of despised literature, formerly suitable only for wandering storytellers.

The greatest of all the short-story writers was Lu Hsün who died in 1935. His first short story appeared in 1913, *A Mad Man's Diary*, included in his first volume, *The War Cry*. Here he satirized the traditions, corruptions and superstitions of the Chinese. Lu Hsün came out as a foe of Confucianistic and Buddhistic culture in a manner inspired by the Russian writers, Chekov, Dostoievsky, and Tolstoy.

During the last years of his life, Lu Hsün devoted himself to collecting handicraft objects, in drawing and in painting. He felt himself too old to lead the young writers yet possessed the humility of great men in all walks of life when he said in 1935 that he was "crawling on all fours now. I still hope to learn, and finally to stand up."

More than any other of the literary artists of the century, Lu Hsün fitted into the description of a hermit, written by Han Yü (A.D. 768–824), one of the masters of prose, who yearned for a little house in the country where heights could be climbed and long views gazed upon, to end the day without a care, "not to be followed by chariots and uniforms . . . that is the manner of life of a great man whom his age does not know."

WARTIME LITERATURE

The war drove many of the conservative writers into the interior. Here they united with the Association of Left Wing Writers to fight the common enemy. Some of the leading Association members, Mao Tun, Juo Mo-jo, and Ting Ling, forgot their class preachings in the struggle for national existence and wrote hopefully in a simple manner.

The National Writers' Anti-Aggression Association in 1939 decided upon a "General Program for Literary Movement" with the following features: (1) liquidation of sectarianism and formalism; (2) strengthening of the progressive writers; (3) continuation of self-education by having writers live among the people and at the same time "engage in national salvation activities"; (4) "through literary writings, to reflect in bold light the life of the masses in the cause of the war of resistance, to set forth revolutionary heroism found in the struggle for national liberation and in a critical light to disclose all influences that hamper the prosecution of the war of resistance"; and (5) to encourage the writing of literature for children.

This emphasis upon nationalism, under war's demands, drove the writers from urban cafes and bars into the towns and villages free of Japanese soldiers. They were brought close to the people and discovered that Hong Kong and Shanghai were not the genuine centers of Chinese civilization. They realized the need for change in literary creations. Several stories of permanent value came out of this period; stories of peaceful peasants turned guerrillas or tales of revolts against local traitors. Here was *Spring Thunder* by Chen Sou-cho and Liu Chuan-teh; the *Red Turnip* by Yao Hsueh-ying, the most realistic of all pictures of a Chinese soldier; and *Yao Chu-lao* by Wu Chu-hsiang was popular as was Hsu

Ying's *Apple Hill,* unusual in that no female character appeared in the 200,000-word story.

Translations of Western works also were extensive. Best sellers, such as *Gone with the Wind* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* appeared as well as editions of Shakespeare, Dickens, Tolstoy, and novels by Soviet Union writers. Scientific books were read with increasing interest. Eighteen publishing houses between 1937 and 1943 printed 267 new books on scientific subjects.

The feelings of the common man were made articulate in unaffected manner by the poets. The so-called "Recitation Poems" of 1937 were the first stirrings in wartime. *My Home on the Amur River,* by Kao Lang became a model for this type of verse. After the emotional cries had died down, poems dealing with bombings and destruction, historical and epic creations appeared in 1940. A new approach to Chinese poetry was seen in Lao Shih's *North of Chienmenkwan,* a travelogue of more than ten thousand lines and Tsang Keh-chia's *Blossoms of an Old Tree,* an epic of a guerrilla fighter. The poets, however, had their differences. Realists, led by Ai Ching and T'ien Chien, denounced the subordination of poetry to the idle whims of the rich. The "New Moon School" of Imagists, expressed by Pien Chih-lin, active before World War II, attacked the realists for making poetry only for the vulgar masses. These factions sank their feuds during the conflict.

Painters also left their seclusion to aid in the war, headed by the poet-painter, Chang Shan-tze. His most famous creation is a mural of tigers, representing the 18 provinces of Free China.

The literary trend was summed up in 1942 by Chang Tao-fan, Minister of Information, who declared that writers should not be dependent upon the leisure classes but should have a political aim to serve all without distinction, as taught in the principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and reflect the Chinese concepts of love, equality, sacrifice, and service to the country.

THE "NEW LIFE MOVEMENT"

The "New Life Movement" was launched by Chiang Kai-shek in the spring of 1934 at a time when revolt was spreading and debates were rife among conservative, liberal, and radical. In order to meet the issues which were weakening the land, Chiang Kai-shek called for a return to the ancient heritages as expressed in the classical quotation: "Propriety, loyalty, integrity, and honor are the nation's four cardinal virtues; without these virtues, national existence can not be maintained."

Motivated by a mixture of puritanism rooted in the Confucian ethical system and the Protestant missionary teachings, the manners, styles, and dress of the Chinese were regulated. The peacetime agenda included seasonal objectives such as afforestation in the spring, health promotion in the summer, thrift and savings in the fall, and relief work in the winter.

During war days, the "New Life Movement" in Chungking conducted

a civic training corps, for a period of four months each year, for children between the ages of 10 and 14 who had not been in school. Based upon the Boy Scout program, there were uniforms of blue coat and gray pants for boys and blue coat and gray bloomers for girls. The day's routine ended with a flag-lowering ceremony at which these questions were intoned: "Have you forgotten who our enemy is?" "Have you forgotten our national danger?" "Have you forgotten our lost territory?" "Have you done anything wrong today?" "Do you remember today's lesson and work?" "Who is our National Leader?" The boys and girls were expected to adhere to eight rules of conduct: not to lie; to be courteous; not to curse; to be tidy; not to smoke; to work with one's hands; not to gamble; and to labor for the welfare of the country.

The "New Life Movement" war activities included the organization of war area service corps. These corps aided wounded soldiers and conducted "Offer-Gold-to-the-State" campaigns. Several million dollars were raised through their efforts. College students supported the movement by enlisting in the rural services to carry on instructions in efficient agricultural techniques and supervision of recreational programs.

What was the "New Life Movement" seeking to attain? Despite the excessive veneration of Confucius inherent in the work, the Movement attempted to improve farm production and complete the objectives started in the Revolution of 1911, that is, to raise the material level of the people, the ideal objective of so many revolutions.

The weakness of the Movement was analyzed by its strongest critics, the Communists, who thus commented upon it:

"According to official statements, the movement purports to introduce into daily practice the ancient ethical standards of orderly life, which, in the vulgarized version of Chiang Kai-shek, means *meticulousness in dress, sanitary food, clean housing, and polite and careful walking.* . . . The Nanking government made it obligatory on the part of all officials to become sponsors of the program. Magazine articles were published on the importance of keeping shirts buttoned. Ambitious magistrates made heroic attempts to exhibit their diligence and loyalty by appearing on the streets with brooms in their hands. Poverty-stricken peasants, who cannot even afford to buy rice, are fined for walking in public with bare arms. The police, detectives, and petty officials, are having a grand time being suddenly provided with a million excuses for extorting bribes from innocent people who are careless about their personal appearance. Thus Chiang Kai-shek introduces a new life into Kuomintang China, exhorting famine stricken masses to eat sanitary food, and punishing people with tattered clothes for not dressing properly. This is the Kuomintang's way of competing with the new life that has actually arisen in Soviet China."

And now, what does "new" China seek? China hopes some day to create a great nation which no longer will have to accede to every demand made by the great powers. China hopes some day to meet the world as an equal. But China has little faith in many of the Western policies and practices which are affecting all phases of her life.

20 Nationalism and Internationalism in China

RUSSIAN PLANS AND POLICIES

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics did not delay long in stretching friendly hands toward China. Lenin, in January, 1919, issued a decree placing all Chinese within Russia under the protection of the Soviet Union. A special department for propaganda in China was created. The recruiting of Chinese soldiers for the Red Army was initiated. A portrait of Lenin, in Oriental attire, was distributed among the Chinese on the borders. A Chinese newspaper, edited in Moscow, was distributed among the tribesmen of the East.

Formal collaboration between the Soviet Union and the Kuomintang was marked on January 26, 1923, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Adolf A. Joffe, Soviet agent in China and former envoy to Berlin, met in Shanghai. Joffe was replaced by Leo M. Karakhan in September, 1923. This clever Armenian reiterated the anti-imperialistic aims of his government and pledged continued co-operation. The same month, Michael Borodin, a veteran member of the Russian Communist Party, came to Canton to serve as adviser to the Kuomintang government.

The Cantonese revolutionary movement at this time was weak. The Kuomintang had failed to give the peasantry land and remedy the conditions of the proletariat. The factory workers saw no need to support a cause not their own. The army ranks were losing their radical fervor. Borodin suggested that the peasants confiscate the holdings of the landlords, collect all rents from land and distribute it among the most abject and grant an eight-hour day and minimum wages. The Russian also allayed the fears of the petty bourgeoisie in a manifesto telling them that prosperity for the masses meant prosperity for them. These measures were incorporated into the platform of the first Kuomintang Congress in its sessions in January, 1924.

It was natural that the first victims of these policies were the British, possessors of the largest and richest concessions. They had resided long in China. They were numerous. Anti-British feeling was a century old in Canton. The British and their Chinese agents, the compradores, were alarmed by the radicalism of the Kuomintang. They raised a volunteer force only to be defeated in October, 1924, by the Kuomintang artillery. The remnants fled to their stronghold, Hong Kong.

The debacle of the capitalistic faction gave the Kuomintang great

prestige. Timid Chinese merchants looked upon it with respect. Labor leaders were encouraged to organize unions. Spokesmen of the peasantry demanded more land. Victory appeared imminent when the Kuomintang Army of Canton defeated the Yünnanese provincial forces in June, 1925, to the satisfaction of Michael Borodin and his friends, who felt confident that the national revolution soon would win over the northern cities held by the militarists.

Political chaos reached its height in 1925. The end of the corrupt northern politicians and the war lords was near. General Wu Pei-fu was a fugitive. The ruler of Kiangsu province, Chi Hsieh-yuan, had fled. Tsao Kun, President through bribery, was a prisoner in Peking, petitioning for fuel with which to cook his food. The Christian general, Feng Yu-hsiang, supported by $3,000,000 Russian dollars in 1924, was in the ascendancy and hostile to his old master, General Wu Pei-fu. The Manchurian ex-bandit, Chang Tso-lin, sitting in Mukden, hoped to exterminate them all. Chiang Kai-shek was eager to start his armies north and destroy these cliques, but Borodin temporarily persuaded him that punishment of the northern enemies should wait upon consolidation in the south.

In the summer of 1925 violence flared up in Shanghai. A Western police force, in the International Settlement, on May 30, killed 12 Chinese demonstrators. This act intensified the hatred against foreigners. Four Chinese students were killed during outbreaks in a Japanese spinning mill on June 1. In the street fighting, the police used fire hoses, and the rioters hurled paving stones. The police, upon orders to fire upon the workers and students, discharged their rifles in the air. These disloyal guards were withdrawn, and the city was placed under foreign patrols, including an American cavalry unit and armored cars. The Shanghai Municipal Council decreed a state of emergency. Ninety per cent of the Chinese business houses put up their shutters. The local authorities charged Russian agents with fomenting the disorder.

The strike leaders, on June 2, appealed for a general antiforeign uprising. Street orators urged the 30,000 strikers to beat down all whites found in their path. Students threatened the farmers who brought food to the city. Posters were carried reading, "Assassinate Foreign Police" and "Assassinate All Foreigners Connected With The Law Courts." The Red Trade Union International, the economic branch of the Third International, sent a telegram of encouragement and 30,000 rubles for the relief of the strikers. American firms were untouched although Japanese and British merchants were ruined by the efficient boycott.

Civil war broke out in Canton on June 6 when General Yang Hsi-min, commander of the Yünnanese army in control of the city, attacked the Kuomintang troops stationed on the island of Honan, in the suburbs. The 10,000 Kuomintang were part of the military organization in South China which had created an independent regime in Canton under the direction of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. At his death, this faction broke up into left and right wings. The Cantonese radicals sought co-operation with the Soviet Union and severance of all relations with the Peking government.

They denied they were communistic, yet at the same time alarmed many of the conservatives by their promises of extensive reform among the workers and peasants.

The Yünnanese troops were allied to the right wing. Most of the Cantonese linked up with the Russians. This strife in the south had its effects in the north. A break between Feng Yu-hsiang and Chang Tso-lin occurred. A victory for the radicals at Canton would force Chang Tso-lin, the anti-Russian, to fight Feng Yu-hsiang, the pro-Russian. Cantonese affairs were pushed into the background by the Shanghai strike, which by June 5 had been quelled by foreign arms and was now concerned with economic pressure against the Westerners.

During these days of conflict a strike was called in Canton to protest the Shanghai incident of May 30. A large demonstration passed the British and French concessions on the island of Shameen on June 23. Despite the fact that the Chinese did not enter the concessions, Anglo-French soldiers and police fired upon the marchers, killing 37 and wounding about 400. The "Massacre of Shameen" whipped Cantonese frenzy into rage against the British in Hong Kong. For 16 months (June, 1925–October, 1926), thousands of workers supported the picket lines. Hong Kong trade died from the blows delivered by organizers from the Sailors' Union and the Chinese Communist Party, financed by funds given by rich Chinese overseas and by T. V. Soong, Kwangtung Minister of Finance, who furnished $15,000, silver, daily to the cause. Michael Borodin interpreted the struggle as one between the British Empire and the city of Canton.

The vigor of this mass movement was regarded with mixed feelings by Borodin and his Chinese colleagues. The Trotsky faction in the Kremlin in March, 1926, sent secret instructions to China to make no alliance with the bourgeoisie. General Wu Pei-fu's march into the south was endangering Kuomintang positions. Hostility, however, between the bourgeoisie and the Communists in Kwangtung would spell defeat for both factions and a return of the war lords to the region. Determined to avoid failure by broadening the revolutionary channels, Borodin decided to launch the "Northern Expedition" and traveled to Peking to negotiate with Feng Yu-hsiang.

During the absence of Borodin, General Chiang Kai-shek struck against the Russians in Canton. He made himself master on March 20, 1926, by becoming Chairman of the Central Executive Committee and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang. He held also command of the armies and with their support, he moved north.

Two months later, Chiang reinforced his position. During the May session of the Central Executive Committee the Kuomintang adopted his resolution that Communists could not "entertain any doubt on, or criticize Dr. Sun or his principles." The Communists were forced to hand over to the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang a list of members in their party and were debarred from high posts in governmental departments. Communistic membership in the municipal, provincial, and central party committees was limited to one-third of the total. No member of the

Kuomintang, furthermore, was permitted to join the Communist Party. Borodin, as a reward for tolerating the creation of the Chiang dictatorship, was placated when Chiang "expelled" from office some of his right-wing adherents.

After gaining control of Canton, Chiang Kai-shek started north in July, 1926. He was supported by Russian arms, Russian advisers, and a Russian slogan calling for a 25 per cent reduction in land rents and improved labor conditions. Mass movements increased the Kuomintang strength in Kiangsi, Hunan, and Hupeh provinces. Workers from the Hankow and Shanghai areas joined the armies. Chiang gained mastery of the Yangtze Valley in September. Kiukiang was taken on November 5 to make the Kuomintang supreme in South China.

The leftist faction, Borodin, Eugene Chen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, Su Chen, Minister of Justice, and Madame Sun Yat-sen, widow of Dr. Sun, planned to make Hankow the center of the new government. Here ties with the proletariat could be forged. Chiang Kai-shek, however, feared he would be too far distant from the Shanghai bankers, who gave him support, and refused to leave his headquarters at Nanchang.

Chiang Kai-shek, on January 3, 1927, demanded that the Hankow leaders meet him at Nanchang. They refused to listen to this order, having no desire to separate themselves from the support of the workers in order to seek alliance with the Shanghai bourgeoisie. The Hankow faction now plotted against Chiang, accusing him of being a war lord, a friend of the imperialists, a tool of moneylenders and merchants.

Hankow, ruled by the radicals of the Kuomintang, was faced with defeat if it admitted the authority of Chiang Kai-shek or failed to conquer the northern militarists. After it was decided to move against Nanking in June, 1927, the Hankow regime met its great disappointment. Borodin resigned on July 20. Moscow recognized the fact that China was not ready for any extreme socio-political changes other than a democratic, nationalistic, anti-imperialistic revolution.

The last hours of the Russian period were written in blood. The Canton uprising began on December 11, 1927, to be crushed after 50 hours of violence, costing the lives of 5,700 workers at the hands of well-armed Kuomintang troops. The conservative forces were powerful. There was lack of a definite revolutionary policy. There was failure to connect with large masses of the peasantry and prepare them for the struggles against reaction. There was no destruction of the old political administration. And finally, there was a general inferiority of military judgment on the part of the Communists, despite the capable leadership furnished by the Russians.

The left-wing Kuomintang's bright beginnings were no more. Madame Sun Yat-sen and Eugene Chen fled to Moscow. Others drifted to Paris or Shanghai. Yet the struggle between the conservatives and the radicals did not cease. It became one of the most acute of domestic issues as the Communists created their centers in Central and Southern China over an

area of about two hundred thousand square miles containing a population of some fifty millions.

A DECADE OF RULE IN NANKING (1928–1938)

Constitutional Development and Local Government

The settlement of the National Government (Kuomintang) in Nanking in 1928 was a step in the direction of constitutionalism. For almost a quarter of a century there had been moves to attain a constitution. Five volumes on this subject had been published: the "Outline of 1905," the "Nineteen Articles of 1911," the "Provisional Compact of 1912," the "Tientan Draft of 1913," and the "Tsao Kun Constitution of 1923." The Chinese, however, were inexperienced in the handling of political powers. Civil wars were constant. War lords destroyed all legal props.

The first stage of the National Government's constitutional aim centered in political tutelage. Political tutelage functioned in order to give the people training in the exercise of political powers until that time when genuine constitutional government and democracy could be extended. The generations of monarchial rule had left the people politically ignorant. Yet, if political powers were given without a period of training, dishonest factions would deceive the people. It was considered necessary for the Kuomintang to guard the people and educate them for constitutionalism by laying the basis for democratic institutions during the years of tutelage.

The five governmental administrative powers were exercised through the five Yuan: the Executive, the Legislative, the Judicial, the Examination, and the Control. The Presidents and Vice-Presidents of these five Yuan, according to the Organic Law of 1928, were at the same time councillors of the National Government. They formed a "National Council" for consideration of state affairs and settlement of all problems arising between the different Yuan. The President of the National Government was Chairman of the Council and also Commander in Chief of the armed forces.

The Organic Law was changed several times. Chiang Kai-shek, President of the National Government, in 1930, was made concurrently President of the Executive Yuan. The authority of this Yuan was increased and that of the President of the National Government was decreased. One year later, two more modifications were made. The Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Yuan had been elected by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. It was decided that they should be "appointed by the National Government." The Cabinet Ministers also were appointed at the nomination of the President. In this manner the powers of the President were strengthened. This official was made nominal ruler as head of the State and given administrative authority as President of the Executive Yuan

A Provisional Constitution was adopted by the National People's Convention in May, 1931. It was a relatively democratic document drawn up by representatives of the Kuomintang and professional groups. It listed all the essential governmental plans to be carried out in the period of tutelage, thus resembling the Constitution of the Soviet Union.

After the Provisional Constitution was promulgated the National Government ordered the Legislative Yuan to write a *Draft Permanent Constitution* (*Hsien fa Ts'ao an*). After five years of revisions under the supervision of the jurist, Dr. John C. H. Wu, the draft was published on May 5, 1936. The *Draft Constitution,* based upon the Three People's Principles, was to be adopted by the People's Congress, one year after the end of World War II.[1]

One of the most important aspects of China's constitutional development was the inclusion in the *Draft* of detailed social and economic clauses, relating to education, protection of the aged and disabled, co-operation between labor and capital, rural reconstruction and co-operative enterprises, land ownership, exploitation of the natural resources, and regulation of capital industries (Chaps. 8–9 of *Draft Constitution*). These points were given prominence owing to the fact that Dr. Sun's principle of the livelihood of the people, founded upon regulation of capital and equalization of land holdings, was considered essential for general prosperity. The Chinese constitution, however, was not a radical one. Private ownership of land was recognized (Art. 131 of *Draft Constitution*), as well as individual initiative in industry, trade, and agriculture (Arts. 136–137 of *Draft Constitution*). The provisions merely nationalized some of the large concerns, which if left to control of acquisitive individualism, would be injurious to public welfare.

The landlords of China occupied key positions in local governments. Landlords were rent collectors, merchants, moneylenders and administrative officials. This landlord class was the source of the scholar-officials of imperial years and after 1912 held a dominant place in a growing industrial society, with its dependence upon banking organizations and modern armies. It was linked closely to the central Government. Many of the leading political figures of the National Government were connected with the grain trade, distilling enterprises, moneylending, and wholesale concerns. The same individuals also were in the new activities connected with the textile and industrial mills and the modern banks.

These advocates of a new national order had interests in local affairs. It was in the local county (*hsien*) government that moves towards excessive modernization were blocked. County magistrates were appointed by provincial authorities and usually were related to the officer in control of the provincial military. They managed the country and the local gentry and the political leaders through agents dependent upon them. The county magistrate, therefore, had to placate his superior who had given him the post and also act in harmony with local groups. It has been stated fre-

[1] The new constitution was to have been promulgated on December 25, 1947. The Legislative yuan voted, however, to postpone its complete functioning until 1948.

quently by Chinese writers that local government in reality was merely a paper regime, and the best county magistrates were those who did no evil.

Below the county was the district (*ch'u*), with from three to ten units in each county. The district head customarily was appointed by the county magistrate. In some provinces the district heads possessed military and legal authority and the power of taxation which lead to unconcealed extortion.

Below the district were two small units, the *pao-chia* and the so-called "village government." The *pao-chia,* an ancient institution, was revived by the government of Chiang Kai-shek in order to prevent the growth of communism. In this system there were, on an average, ten households (*hu*) forming the *chia.* The chiefs of this organization were selected by the household heads. Ten *chia* composed a *pao,* under an elected head. The heads of both units were required to be wealthy peasants or landlords. The *pao* was under the authority of the district, which held it responsible for order and tax collections. Funds passing through the offices of the *pao* made it difficult to prove rapacity.

Every county in China dominated by the Kuomintang, had gentry composed of men of wealth and education who controlled all phases of local affairs. They were the farmers with large holdings or the landlords who monopolized the high interest loan business and at the same time held political office.

Authority often was abused by the gentry. The district leaders and the provincial militia together levied high and unequal assessments. Military requisitions in some provinces gave opportunities for these individuals to control the enterprises furnishing supplies to the armies. The National Government attempted unsuccessfully and, for the most part, halfheartedly, to eliminate the system of tax-farming. Most of the tax collectors, however, were these "rotten gentry" who, having contracted the right to collect the taxes, frequently raised the rate during the periods of payments. Supported by the county police, they were able to exact huge sums from the peasantry. When the officers who collected taxes also were the legal administrators, the evil effects of extortion were palpable.

The discouraging feature of local government in Kuomintang China was the fact that centralization was not weakening the influence of the gentry, who merely stepped from local privileges into the wider and more lucrative fields reserved for the national government.[2]

The Development of Nanking's Power

The death of Hu Han-min, able Kuomintang leader in Canton on May 13, 1936, removed a formidable obstacle to Nanking in the province of Kwangtung. The military of this region surrendered in July. Kwangsi province, however, refused to acknowledge Chiang Kai-shek's govern-

[2] Democratic functions of self-government in the lower branches of the administration have confused many foreign observers. Actually, the administration of the village was undemocratic, the small number of rich families carrying out the orders of the district (*ch'u*) magistrates.

ment. The recalcitrance of Kwangsi began in 1929 when the war lords held the provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung. The chief militarists were General Li Tsung-jen and General Pai Chung-hsi. Pai was a Mohammedan whose grandfather had been ordered to Kwangsi as a garrison commander by the Manchus. Chiang Kai-shek sent his troops against them and in a decisive campaign took the province of Hupeh from the authority of Kwangsi. Soon afterwards, the Cantonese drove the Kwangsi forces out of the province of Kwangtung. In September, 1929, Kwangsi invaded Kwangtung. This dispute was not settled until Nanking came to the support of Kwangtung.

Disturbances were inevitable when two ambitious generals like Li and Pai found themselves confined in the poor province of Kwangsi, although their position was improved after they allied themselves in 1932 to Canton against Nanking. Kwangsi was modernized with revenue obtained from the Yünnan opium traffic, taxed in transit through the areas of their control. In 1935, however, during the campaigns against the Communists, Chiang Kai-shek gained mastery over the province of Kweichow and partly over Yünnan. The opium traffic was then diverted to a northward direction, with the resulting loss of funds in Kwangsi. The two generals opposed Nanking when they realized that the newly constructed Canton-Hankow Railway would make it possible for Chiang Kai-shek to operate in the southwest and bring this section into his camp.

At this time the province of Kwangtung was held by Marshal Chen Chi-tang who had no liking for Chiang Kai-shek but did not display the uncompromising hostility of Generals Li and Pai. Chen gave lip service to Nanking in return for a monthly grant of $700,000, silver, and appeared to have no great yearnings to exercise authority beyond the confines of his province.

Hu Han-min, on his deathbed, was supposed to have emulated his master, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, by leaving a "political will," urging war against Japan, a dictatorship, and communism. This "will" evidently was forged by the leaders of Kwangsi in order to bring about the downfall of Chiang Kai-shek. The Southwest, however, accepted the "will" and stirred the people to resist the Japanese.

The aims of the Southwest faction were clarified in the meeting in Canton on May 24, 1936, when officials of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, and Nanking attended the funeral of Hu Han-min. During the sessions, General Pai Chung-hsi urged the elimination of Chiang Kai-shek and attacked one of the speakers who had suggested co-operation with Nanking against Japan. General Pai proposed the creation of a semi-independent South China Confederation under Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan and son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Marshal Chen Chi-tang remained an interested observer of these plots against Nanking, not wishing to break openly with Chiang Kai-shek although later he employed his forces against the Central Government in fear that Kwangsi would be invaded again by Kwangtung. It was clear that the anti-Japanese character of this military faction was in reality a weapon pointed against Chiang Kai-shek.

The Southwest Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and

the Southwest Political Council issued a manifesto on June 2, 1936, demanding an immediate declaration of war against Japan. If this were not done, the Southwest would force Chiang Kai-shek to do its bidding. An "Anti-Japanese National Salvation Army" was formed, under the command of Marshal Chen Chi-tang and General Li Tsung-jen. General Pai Chung-hsi said at the time that "we would rather die free men than live as slaves under Japanese domination."

Large numbers of Southern forces moved into Hunan in June, 1936. Chiang Kai-shek, unable to persuade his rivals in the Southwest that a war against Japan at this time was suicidal, sent troops into Hunan to block the Southerners. The support expected from the military of Kwangsi and Kwangtung was not forthcoming, and the Northern generals, Sung Che-yuan and Han Fu-chu, refused to participate in the campaigns. Nanking demanded (June 18) an immediate cessation of all military movements until the Central Executive Committee could deal with the situation. The troops of Kwangtung retired to their borders. The forces of Kwangsi also halted, realizing that success was impossible in the face of Nanking's determination and the indifferent assistance from the other provinces.

Victory for Nanking was temporary. Kwangsi soldiers moved north to engage Central Government troops. Marshal Chen Chi-tang also took a stand against Nanking. The Southwest Political Council and the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee (June 22) composed a five-point agenda of national policy which was sent to Nanking. This document called for severance of diplomatic relations with Japan; abrogation of the "unequal" agreements signed with Japan after the move into Manchuria in September, 1931; [3] the application of force to prevent an increase of Japanese troops in Peking and Tientsin, in violation of the Boxer Protocol; a revival of the mass movements against Japan; and war against Japan under the leadership of Nanking. As a further show of independence Canton seized the national salt revenues. The Southwest leaders, realizing that public opinion questioned their patriotism, began anew their fulminations against the Japanese, only to lose many supporters when they combined this propaganda with imprecations against Chiang Kai-shek.

During these weeks when the Southwest was preparing to fight the Central Government at the same time covering its aims by anti-Japanese sentiments, Nanking carried on a campaign of its own to show the treachery of the opposition to the higher objectives of common unity and a common front to foreign encroachments. Nanking offered $50,000, silver, to any aviator who would desert the cause of the Southwest and bring his plane with him to serve Nanking. Nine Cantonese and 12 Kwangsi pilots left their provincial masters. Two Cantonese generals fell victims to the "silver bullets."

At the meeting of the Central Executive Committee in July, the Cantonese delegates were disregarded. Steps were taken against the South-

[3] See Chapter 25.

west by rejecting the five-point program, abolishing the Southwest Kuomintang Central Executive Committee and the Southwest Political Council, and dismissing Marshal Chen Chi-tang from his position as Director of Peace Preservation in Kwangtung. This latter post was given to Chen's assistant, General Yu Han-mou, who had allied himself with Nanking. The instigators of the revolt, Generals Li Tsung-jen and Pai Chung-hsi, were reappointed as Director and Vice-Director of Peace Preservation in Kwangsi and relegated to the National Defense Commission, Nanking not feeling strong enough to eliminate completely the two militarists from the scene.

The Southwest defied these changes made by Nanking. The rebellious generals attempted to win popular support by bringing back before the eyes of the people the popular Nineteenth Route Army which had faced the Japanese at Shanghai in 1931. The aggressive stand of Kwangtung soon was undermined, however, and the province came under the control of Chiang Kai-shek. The presence of Nationalist armies, acute financial distress, fear of Kwangsi taking advantage of civil war to pounce upon her territory, and the flight of General Chen Chi-tang to Hong Kong, with $100,000,000, silver loot, all brought Kwangtung to terms.

The province of Kwangsi despite great odds, persisted in refusing to accept Nanking. Generals Pai and Li moved their armies to the borders of Kwangtung and Hunan and spurned the appointments preferred them by Chiang Kai-shek. Nanking placed twelve divisions against them and on August 11, 1936, Chiang Kai-shek arrived by plane at Canton to issue an ultimatum that Pai and Li would have to accept his conditions or suffer war within their province.

And thus, to the disappointment of more than the Japanese, Chiang Kai-shek was unifying South China in a manner not marked before in modern times. This was done by using conciliatory measures with Pai and Li, backed by superior military strength. These war lords of Kwangsi were left in power but lost prestige. The China of Chiang Kai-shek was in the making.

THE GROWTH OF AUTOCRATIC AUTHORITY

On November 16, 1937 the Chinese Government moved to Hankow in the face of Japanese advances out of Shanghai. Six months later, April 2, 1938, Chiang Kai-shek was made *Tsung ts'ai* ("Central Executive"), a title held formerly only by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Within a year, the Chinese again were forced to set up a new capital, selecting Chungking, 1,200 miles inland. From this center in Free China, on November 20, 1938, civil and military power was concentrated in the hands of Generalissimo Chiang through action of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, which named him President of the Executive Yuan, an office added to his positions as chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council, commander in chief of the Chinese Armies, and premier of China.

Chiang Kai-shek formally received total authority in a resolution adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang on December 22, 1942. The Generalissimo was named President of the National Government on September 13, 1943, succeeding Lin Sen in this office.[4] In a speech on October 10, when the oath of office was given, he declared that China would achieve a constitutional regime at an early date. In line with this promise, the "Committee for the Establishment of Constitutional Government" was inaugurated on November 12, the birthday anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Constitutional questions were uppermost in the sessions of the Kuomintang. On New Year's Day 1944, the "Committee for the Establishment of Constitutional Government" began the study of the 1936 Draft Constitution and sounded out public opinion. The Minister of Information stated on February 9, 1944, that:

"I. The Draft Constitution of 1936 was based upon the fundamentals of the Three People's Principles, upon our historical background, and upon the experience acquired in our Revolution. Without them there would have been no National Revolution, and without them the Chinese Republic would not have been born. For this reason the first article of the Draft Constitution provides that the Chinese Republic is to be a democratic nation based upon the Three People's Principles, to be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. This provision is unalterable and will be forever defended by the Kuomintang. . . .

II. . . . .

III. All Chinese citizens, including the members of all parties, are absolutely free to discuss and express their opinions upon various problems concerning the Constitution. . . .

IV. The realization of constitutional government is the essential task of the Kuomintang in the consummation of its mission of National Revolution and Reconstruction. . . . The Constitution is to be put into effect as soon as the obstacles in the way of our Revolution have been removed. . . .

V. The power of government is to be handed over to the people immediately when the Constitution is put into effect. All citizens who do not act against our national Three People's Principles will be accorded the right of organizing, according to law, political parties which are to have equal status with all other parties including the Kuomintang."

In these days of discussions and proclamations, Chungking was warned by high officials to advance more rapidly along democratic paths. Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, emphasized (April, 1944) the fact that England and the United States were skeptical of China's desire to achieve democracy and that the Kuomintang was organized not "from the bottom to the top," in the words of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but in the reverse.

[4] Lin Sen, President from 1932 until his death in 1943, had little influence on political life, serving only in a ceremonial capacity. He was in the Senate of the first Parliament of 1912. He was elected in 1924 to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. He enjoyed local fame as a scholar and artist. In his will he bequeathed $500,000, silver, for the extension of scientific education by the training of Chinese students abroad.

Dr. Sun Fo was outspoken in declaring that the Kuomintang, less than 1 per cent of the population, regarded itself "as if we were the sovereign power in the state" against which no criticism could be made. Democracy, therefore, was handicapped. All classes were ignorant of electoral procedures. After 16 years of political tutelage not a single member of a *hsien* (county) council or a single *hsien* administrator had been elected to office by the people.

Some liberal leaders believed that suppression of the press and other undemocratic measures, such as hesitancy to reform the land tenure system and benefit 70 per cent of China's millions who were tenant farmers, should be changed at once. These viewed the young educated Chinese as being capable of assuming responsible leadership. Many of them were not within the Kuomintang circle, including members of the Communist Party and some of the minor factions, such as the National Salvationists, Young China Party, and the National Socialist Party.

The Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang pledged itself on May 26, 1944, to promote the people's participation in government in order to "lay a solid foundation for a full constitutional regime." Chiang Kai-shek in his 1944 New Year's message promised a constitutional government through the convocation of a People's Congress in 1945. He added the reservation, however, that the enemy had to be conquered at the same time. This statement was modified on March 1, 1945, by his announcement that a national assembly to include all parties would be called on November 12, 1945, in order to consider the constitution. Chiang Kai-shek implied that complete achievement of this aim would rest upon acceptance by the Communists of incorporation into the National Government.

THE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL

Soon after the war with Japan broke out on July 7, 1937, an advisory council of 24 members was created under the direction of the Supreme National Defense Council. This council, composed of leaders from all parties, met twice weekly. During the Kuomintang National Emergency Conference held in Hankow in March, 1938, a People's Political Conference was outlined. The new organization conducted its first sessions in July, 1938.

The People's Political Council contained 240 members, 164 of whom were elected by provincial or municipal councils. The Communists had six delegates. This body was divided into four groups. Group A councillors (90) were apportioned as follows: four each from the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, Kiangsi, Hupeh, Hunan, Szechuan, Hopei, Shantung, Honan, and Kwangtung (total of 44); three each from the provinces of Shansi, Shensi, Fukien, Kwangsi, Yünnan, and Kweichow (total of 18); two each from the provinces of Kansu, Chahar, Suiyuan, Liaoning, Kirin, Sinkiang, and from the municipalities of Shanghai,

Nanking, Peip'ing, and Chungking (total of 20); and one each from Chinghai, Sikang, Ninghsia, Heilungkiang, Jehol, and the municipalities of Tientsin, Tsingtao, and Sian (total of 8). These members were chosen from among those who had served in governmental agencies, public bodies and private institutions for more than three years.

Group B councillors were six in number. Four were from Mongolia and two were from Tibet. These were chosen from the same categories as Group A or were experts on the political and social conditions of these regions.

There were six councillors in Group C. These were chosen from among those Chinese who had lived abroad for more than three years or were recognized as authorities on the affairs of their compatriots overseas.

The People's Political Council was born of war demands yet had the spirit of a democratic organization in view of the fact that it was an organ of public expression.

21 Nationalism and Internationalism in China (continued)

KUOMINTANG AND KUNG-CH'AN-TANG[1]

The Communist movement in China was organized in 1920 through the formation of the Chinese Communist Party. By 1932 it held control over portions of the fertile and populous provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Anhwei, Fukien, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi, where Soviet units were created upon Russian models. Communism was nurtured by the peculiar political, economic, and social conditions within the country.

The constant strife of war lords had destroyed farms and wrecked industries. These militarists, in order to obtain funds for their private armies and private purses, taxed ruthlessly. Thousands were reduced to the level of beggars. These unfortunates were attracted by the glow of radical slogans.

Since the opening of China to foreign trade, living costs had increased because of the introduction of Western goods. The small industries of agricultural communities, such as sericulture, cotton-spinning, and tea culture, declined. Between 1914 and 1918, untilled lands increased by 490,000,000 *mou* and farm families declined by 6,000,000. In 1918–1919, peasant-owners were reduced from 53 per cent to 49 per cent, and tenant farmers rose from 26 to 32 per cent. Thus middle-class farmers became poor peasants and poor peasants became poorer proletarians. These masses, unable to find work in the cities, turned to banditry, vagabondage, and the bright future for the disinherited as proclaimed by the Communists.

The social factors also were important in the formation of radicalism. Chinese society was mainly medieval. The Communists considered the family and clan system to be useless. They were opposed also to the political and economic control exercised by the large proprietors, the custom of having rent paid in commodities, and the abject status of women. They were determined to eradicate these ancient traditions.

In the winter of 1930, plans were made to redistribute the land and form additional soviet units in Southern Kiangsi province. At this time the Kiangsi Provincial Soviet was born and grew with peasant support. The regulations of the Communist Army appealed to a people accus-

[1] *Kuomintang*—"Nationalists or Nation's People's Party"; *Kung-Ch'an-tang*—"Share-property Party"

tomed to obnoxious war lords. There was to be no confiscations from the poorer peasants. There was to be immediate delivery to the local regime of all goods taken from the landlords. Additional rules were laid down in order to gain the good will of the peasantry. Doors were to be replaced after being used as beds; all straw matting was to be returned; the people were to be aided in finding lost articles; all damaged property was to be repaired; payment was to be made for all commodities purchased; and cleanliness was to be insisted upon at all times.

Early in 1931, Nanking began an offensive against the Communist Armies. Chiang Kai-shek was alarmed after some of his "mobile army" had joined their ranks. The Communist areas were encircled by about 100,000 troops. Five Nanking units were met by about 40,000 Communists and defeated. A second offensive was launched by Nanking in May, 1931, with about 200,000 men, divided into seven armies. The Communists drew them deep into their territory and fell upon them in a number of powerful attacks. Chiang Kai-shek, in June, seeing the defeat of his best troops, personally took over the command of 300,000, aided by his most capable generals. In the hope of wiping out the enemy in rapid "mopping-ups" of all strongholds, Chiang Kai-shek moved in forced marches only to be defeated once more.

Nanking opened a fourth campaign against the Communists in April, 1933. This too ended in heavy losses for the government. In the fifth and final campaign, Chiang Kai-shek collected about one million men and upon the advice of his German staff, adopted new tactics in the form of blockhouses and fortifications, comparable to the methods used in North America against the Indians. The armies of Nanking blockaded the Communist centers and moved forward, constructing roads, forts, and trenches, keeping the main army free, advancing only behind the forts, and protected by planes, artillery, and machine-guns. The onslaughts forced the Communists to change the scene of operations from Kiangsi to the Northwest.

The Communist Army of 30,000 began its historic "Long March" of 2,500 miles in October, 1934, through territory held by warlike aborigines, over high mountains, across deep rivers, into the cold and heat and wind, harassed by half of the soldiery loyal to Nanking and menaced by the war lords of Kwangtung, Hunan, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Yünnan, Sikang, Szechuan, Kansu, and Shensi. The ragged, unbeaten army reached Shensi in October, 1935 and established a base.

The Communists, in 1935, presented peace terms to Nanking. They offered to cease the emphasis upon class warfare in their propaganda, subordinate the Communist Army to the command of Chiang Kai-shek, and obey the Central Government, provided the one-party system of the Kuomintang was abolished and representative government instituted. Nanking remained indifferent to these terms until December, 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek, preparing for the sixth campaign, was arrested in Sianfu by his Deputy Commander in Chief of Communist Suppression, Chang Hsüeh-liang.

Marshal Chang Hsüeh-liang gathered together anti-Japanese leaders and persuaded the imprisoned Chiang Kai-shek to abstain from fighting the Communists and co-operate with them against the Japanese He was released only after he had agreed to a document drawn up by Madame Sun Yat-sen and signed by Madame Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, her brother, and witnessed by Chiang's adviser, the Australian, W. H. Donald. The eight-point pledge included: (1) Chiang Kai-shek was to be freed and the safety of his captor, Chang Hsüeh-liang, was to be guaranteed. (2) Anti-Japanese policies were to be formulated by seeking understandings with the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and France. (3) Cessation of the punitive campaigns against the Communist Army without implications of co-operation from them. (4) The Central Bank of China to furnish the army of Chang Hsüeh-liang with 10,000,000 silver dollars. (5) Reorganization of the Nanking Government along more democratic lines and the dismissal of all pro-Japanese factions. (6) Release of six prominent Communists jailed in Shanghai by Nanking. (7) Chang Hsüeh-liang to promise not to divulge the nature of the diary written by Chiang Kai-shek during his captivity. (8) Cessation of all retaliatory measures against Chang Hsüeh-liang.

And so Chiang Kai-shek agreed to the terms of his jailors who promised his safe return to Nanking. The diary of the Chinese leader, however, contains no reference to this fact.[2]

The Communists, six weeks after the outbreak of war with Japan (September 22, 1937), published a manifesto. "(1) The Communist party shall strive for the realization of Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, which answer the present-day needs of China. (2) It shall abandon the policy of armed insurrection against the Kuomintang regime, the policy of red propaganda, and the policy of land confiscation. (3) It shall abolish the soviet government and institute a system of democracy, so that the nation may be politically united. (4) It shall abolish the red army as such, and allow it to be incorporated into the national army and placed under the command of the National Military Council. The red army, thus recognized, shall await orders to proceed to fight on any front."

Chiang Kai-shek replied to this statement on the following day. "The National Government will grant any citizen, whatever his past may be, an opportunity to serve the country, if he believes in the Three Principles of the People and devotes himself to the cause of national salvation. The Government will welcome the co-operation of any political party which is sincere in serving the country and is willing to fight under the banner of national revolution and resistance. We hope that the Communist Party, having abandoned its former dogmas, having realized the supreme importance of national independence and welfare, will sincerely carry out the points stated in its manifesto."

[2] Chang Hsüeh-liang was given a 10-year sentence and "pardoned." Actually, he was imprisoned until 1945. For parts of Chiang's diary, see New York *Times*, April 21–25, 1937

THE UNCOMPROMISING CONFLICT

The Communist Army had been reorganized in 1937 as the Eighteenth Group Army under the National (Kuomintang) Military Council. This Army was to have three divisions of 15,000 men each and be detailed in Northern Shansi (Second War Zone). The new Fourth Army was organized in 1938. The 13,000 men of this Army were expected to operate along the Yangtze River between Nanking and Wuhu (Third War Zone). In the first year of the war against Japan, these two armies supported the National Government. They fought more than 600 engagements and held 50,000 Japanese immobile in the Shanghai theater. Both armies increased their rosters in 1939 and moved into new theaters without the approval of the Kuomintang. They penetrated into Shensi, Hopei, Honan, Shantung, northern Kiangsu, and Anhwei.

The Communists claimed in 1940 that the Eighteenth Group Army numbered 500,000 and the new Fourth Army 100,000. These forces clashed with Kuomintang troops in Kansu province. The Communists were accused of interfering with the campaigns against Japan. The Kuomintang took the position that these were petty tiffs. Instructions were sent to the officials in the affected regions not to worry unduly concerning the activities of the Communists. Dr. Wang Shih-chih, Minister of Information, declared in April, 1940, that "neither the Communists nor the Kuomintang desire any break in the united front. We do not feel that the Communists represent any real menace to us. . . . Their military strength is really poor. At the beginning of the war the Communists had three divisions of something over 10,000 each, say 40,000 altogether. They were badly equipped. . . .

"Troops of the Central Government in Shansi, Shensi, and Kansu are not only superior in strength but unassigned and are kept as reserves, so they could if necessary be ordered to keep the Communists under control; therefore, the Communists do not desire to make a break. Nor does the Government wish to show disunity. But it insists the Communists must obey orders and not have free action as they have shown during recent months when they moved without orders from the supreme military authorities.

"The Communists want pay on a basis of 200,000 men. The Government insists that no money paid over for troops maintenance is to go for political use. In the past it has been alleged that some Government money has been used for propaganda work. The Reds want more than the proposed six divisions, and they also want to see their administrative area in North Shansi given legal recognition and a few districts added. The Government will not consider the second point. . . ."

Outside aid in 1940 and 1941 through loans from England and the United States and the temporary opening of the Burma Road enabled Chiang Kai-shek to take a more aggressive stand. The government reduced the size of the branch office of the Eighth Group Army at Kweilin, capital of Kwangsi province, and restricted the Communist paper, the

New China Daily, cutting it from four to two pages. In an address of March 6, 1941, at the session of the People's Political Council, the Generalissimo proclaimed unity as the first objective and warned the Communists that they would be suppressed if they insisted upon a "special status" and "special privileges" in the Council.

The Communist problem was uppermost in the mind of Chiang Kai-shek when he appeared before the Eleventh Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang on September 13, 1943. He gave these bodies his instructions:

"I am of the opinion that first of all we should clearly recognize that the Chinese Communist problem is a purely political problem and should be solved by political means. . . . We should make it clear that the Central Government does not have any particular demand to make on the Chinese Communist Party but hopes that it will abandon its policy of forcibly occupying our national territory and give up its past tactics of assaulting National troops in various sectors, thus obstructing the prosecution of the war. . . . If the Chinese Communist Party can prove its good faith by making good its promises the Central Government, taking note of its sincerity and loyalty, . . . will once more treat it with sympathy and consideration so that we may accomplish hand in hand the great task of reconstruction."

The Kuomintang, in June, 1944, addressed a note to the Communist representative in Chungking. It included the stipulations that the Eighteenth Group Army and its units should be reorganized into four armies consisting of 10 divisions; the newly organized army should be given military funds in the same way as the National Armies of the Kuomintang; the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border area should be determined by a Kuomintang-Communist commission; "all administrative organs set up by the Communists in other places shall be taken over by the provincial governments concerned," and "the Communist party shall once more express its sincerity to carry out its four pledges (to support the Three Principles of the People, to abandon the policy of armed insurrection and the policy of red propaganda, to abolish the Soviet system of government, and to abolish the red army as such)."

During the first two weeks of February, 1945, the Kuomintang and the Communists, assisted by the United States Ambassador to China, Major General Patrick J. Hurley, engaged in conversations.[3] The Communists rejected the four-point settlement offered that (1) the Kuomintang recognize the Chinese Communist Party as a legal party; (2) the inclusion of leading Communists in the National Military Council; (3) Communists

[3] The United States on February 15, 1945, announced its position. Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer, United States Commander in China, stated that he had no authority to render military support to the guerrillas or the Communists. All American officers detailed in China were required to sign a statement that they would not give any assistance to groups or persons not affiliated with the Chungking government. Two years later American armed forces withdrew from China, the last marines leaving in May, 1947.

and other political parties to be represented in the Executive Yuan in order to form a wartime Cabinet, and (4) the creation of a committee of three to consider the reorganization of the Communist Army, with an American army officer as chairman.

The Communist version of the break emphasized the fact that Chungking refused to grant them any genuine power in the government and disregarded their chief aim, namely, curtailment of the personal rule of Chiang Kai-shek and institution of an organization comparable to the United States Congress.

The Sixth Kuomintang National Congress (May 5–21, 1945) adopted a resolution introduced by Chiang Kai-shek that the National Assembly should be convened on November 12, 1945, in order to promulgate a constitution. A resolution was passed on May 17 regarding the Communist problem. "In September, 1937, the Chinese Communist Party announced its four pledges to support the National Government and obey Government orders. Despite these pledges, the Chinese Communist Party has persisted in armed insubordination and refused to carry out the military and administrative orders of the National Government. However, our party, as is generally known at home and abroad, has maintained a policy of forbearance and spared no efforts to preserve unity. . . . We hold that the settlement of all questions can be reached through discussion as long as they do not adversely affect the progress of our war against aggression or endanger the state. An amicable settlement will be to the interest of the nation. We urge all our Chinese comrades to give their support to this policy." [4]

Chiang Kai-shek in August, 1945, asked Mao Tse-tung, Communist leader, to meet him in Chungking in order to discuss peace terms.

Conversations between Kuomintang and Communist representatives were carried on for 40 days. Some conclusions were reached on October 10, 1945: (1) Under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, political democratization, nationalization of armies, and recognition of the legal equality of all political parties would be carried out. (2) A Political Consultative Council, composed of representatives of all parties and nonpartisan leaders, was to be created in order to discuss the problems relating to the achievement of national unity and the calling of a National Assembly. (3) The Communists proposed that 20 divisions of Communists troops be recognized by Chungking. (A Military Committee of three, one each from the National Military Council, the Ministry of War, and the Communist Eighth Group Army, was to be created to formulate plans for the nationalization of Communist forces.) (4) The Communists suggested that the governors of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Regime, Jehol, Chahar, Hopei, and Shantung, and the deputy governors of Shansi and Suiyuan, should be named by the Communist Party.

[4] For the Communists in 1944–1945, see Harrison Forman, *Report from Red China*, (1945), 86–104, a favorable study. For an adverse report, see Cormac Shanahan, *China Monthly*, June, 1945, reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, July 13, 1945, A3713–3715.

This agreement hardly had been made public when the Communists took independent military action. By October 28, 1945, civil war had spread into 11 provinces, with the Communist armies blocking the Kuomintang's advances into Manchuria, although by the middle of November, Kuomintang forces held Nankow Pass, 35 miles north of Peip'ing.

Liu Shao-chi, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, on December 1, 1945, stated that no plans for a separate government were being planned and also pointed out that: (1) the Communist Party's agenda included development along democratic capitalistic lines, through co-ordination of State, private and co-operative concerns; (2) the type of Communism functioning in the Soviet Union was not to be, for the time being, introduced into China; and (3) the program of the Chinese Communists was similar to the political and economic aims of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. Chou En-lai, Communist leader, on December 20, proposed an unconditional truce between the factions during the sessions of the People's Consultation Council and the meeting with General George C. Marshall, who had supplanted Patrick J. Hurley as the American envoy to China. Peace talks, however, were postponed after the Communists refused to make a written statement in regard to the resumption of negotiations. Both factions agreed to refer all questions to General Marshall in January, 1946. Two significant steps were taken on January 10, one announcing an armistice between the Kuomintang and Communist forces and the other inaugurating the Political Consultation Conference during which Chiang Kai-shek stated the government planned to: (1) guarantee the freedom of person, of conscience, of speech, of assembly, and of publication; (2) promote local self-government by conducting popular elections from the lowest level upwards; and (3) release all political prisoners, excepting traitors. This armistice was concluded between General Chang Chun, representative of the Kuomintang and General Chou En-lai, representative of the Communist Party, with General George C. Marshall serving as mediator.

The delegates of all factions of the People's Consultation Council, meeting in Chungking, agreed on January 15, 1946, that: (1) Chiang Kai-shek should retain authority as head of the new coalition government; (2) the right to strike was recognized; (3) the release of all political prisoners; (4) abolition of the one-party (Kuomintang) rule; (5) unification of the armed forces and acceptance into the National Army of all anti-Japanese troops; (6) abolition of conscription and unnecessary taxes and stabilization of the currency; (7) extension of educational facilities; and (8) adherence to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam conferences.

During the sessions of the Council, Kuomintang and Communists charged each other with violating the terms of the armistice. *The Emancipation Daily News,* Communist paper in Yenan, on January 21, accused the government of the desire to appoint only a few outsiders in order to maintain Kuomintang rule. This paper asked for equality of all parties,

a "shake-up" of the government, and provisions to be made to prevent one party from having more than one third of the official posts.

The Political Consultation Conference reached a deadlock on the question of membership and authority of the State Council. The Kuomintang insisted that at least one half of the seats should be under their control. The Communists refused to accept more than one-third Kuomintang membership, with other parties having one-third and nonparty members one-third. The Kuomintang, furthermore, wanted Chiang Kai-shek to have full emergency powers without any curbs by the State Council. The Communists were anxious to have the Generalissimo's acts subject to ratification by the Council, and also have this body appoint high governmental officials. The Kuomintang sought to have the Central Executive Committee—dominated by them through Chiang Kai-shek—have this authority. In brief, the Kuomintang desired to continue the "period of tutelage"; the Communists desired a liberalization and extension of democratic power and thereby gain a position for themselves.

The scene brightened on January 31, 1946. At that time the Political Consultation Conference approved unanimously the framework of the new coalition government, after Chiang Kai-shek had closed the session with promises that immediate freedom would be given to all political parties. General Chou En-lai also promised co-operation in carrying out the decrees of the body "in all parts of China."

Optimism ran high in view of the fact that the Political Consultation Conference had drawn up a program for "peaceful national reconstruction." The main features of the program were

"I. General Principles

(1) The principles of San Min Chu I will be regarded as the highest guiding principles for national reconstruction.

(2) All forces of the nation will unite under the guidance of President Chiang Kai-shek in order to construct a new China, unified, free, and democratic.

(3) It is recognized that the democratization of politics, the nationalization of troops, and the equality and legality of all political parties, as advocated by President Chiang, are necessary paths leading to peaceful national reconstruction.

(4) Political disputes must be settled by political means in order to maintain peaceful national development.

"II. The Rights of the People

(1) The freedoms of person, thought, religion, belief, speech, the press, assembly, association, residence, and correspondence should be guaranteed to the people. . . .

(2) Any organization or individual other than judicial organs and the police should be strictly forbidden to arrest, try, and punish the people.

(3) The political, social, educational, and economic equality of women should be guaranteed.

"III. Political Problems

(1) All national measures of the moment should take into consideration the proper interests of the people of all localities, classes, and professions, and allow of their equitable development. . . .

(3) A sound system of civil service should be established. Competent individuals should be protected. . . .

(6) Local self-government should be actively pushed forth, and popular elections beginning from the lower administrative units and gradually ascending to the highest unit should be carried out. . . ."

This agreement at once encountered opposition within the Kuomintang. Many of this party were determined not to compromise with the Communists. In February, 1946, mobs attacked Communists and others who supported the coalition regime. The Communist *New China Daily News* office in Chungking was wrecked, and some of its staff were beaten. Communist members of the Armistice Commission detailed in Peip'ing were mistreated. The opposition of the reactionary wing of the Kuomintang did not prevent the formal signing on February 25, 1946, by Kuomintang and Communist representatives and General George C. Marshall, of the military agreement for inclusion of the Communist forces into the National Army.[5]

Relations were strained in March, when General Chou En-lai declared that the Kuomintang was persisting in preserving one-party rule. The Communists announced their plan to boycott the People's Political Council because the Kuomintang had the majority of votes in that body. The Kuomintang leaders had proposed changes in the type of permanent constitution to be introduced into China. They advocated a system in which the president would have direct control over the provinces. The Communists and their adherents, including the Democratic League, held out for a president with limited powers and a system of provincial autonomy.

Bitter debates marked the talks during April, 1946. On April 7, the Communist paper in Yenan, *The Emancipation Daily News,* carried a strong personal attack against Chiang Kai-shek, accusing him of persisting in maintaining autocratic rule by refusing to accept the agreement reached for co-operation of the factions by the Political Consultation Conference. Foreign observers, in their accounts, had told of political prisoners kept in jail, the arrest of many others, the use of the secret political police to coerce the opposition and the refusal to grant civil liberties, as promised, in many of the provinces.

These charges were answered on April 23 by the governmental spokesman, Dr. K. C. Wu. He denied that the government was not adhering to the guarantees for civil liberties and that elections could be held only after all parties had agreed upon the terms of the constitution. He main-

[5] This agreement provided for 60 divisions, with each limited to 14,000 men, a reduction of ground forces from 3,000,000 to 840,000. General Chen Cheng, Minister of War, in March, 1946, asked for a standing army of 150 divisions.

tained also that the Communists hesitated to enter the coalition regime because they were planning to create an independent state in Manchuria.

Civil war was extended in the provinces of Hupeh, Shansi, and Kiangsu in the spring of 1946. In order to counteract some of the violence, the government on May 15 named two nonparty members to the Cabinet. The administration continued to be controlled by the Kuomintang. The official paper of the Kuomintang, *The Central Daily News,* called on May 18 for "an end to the Communist rebels" because no more concessions could be made. The situation was so tense that General Marshall on May 30, in a Memorial Day speech at Nanking's foreign cemetery, called upon the factions to cease fighting in order to avert "even a greater calamity" than World War II.

General Marshall in June, 1946, worked out a plan for a Kuomintang-Communist truce. This was accepted by Chiang Kai-shek who ordered "all advances, attacks, and pursuits" to cease for 15 days. On June 11, the truce was called off in Manchuria, and fighting was resumed. On June 15, a new 15-day armistice was signed by Chiang Kai-shek and General Chou En-lai, Communist delegate in Nanking, in order to check the war in Manchuria. General Chou, on June 20, asked that the armistice be prolonged and Chiang Kai-shek agreed for an extension until June 30.

The tension was high in July, 1946. General Lin Piao, Communist leader in the northeast, made it clear that if peace did not materialize, the Communists planned to gain control of Manchuria and all China north of the Yellow River. The Supreme National Defense Council on July 3 voted to call the National Assembly on November 12, 1946, in order to adopt the Constitution and end the one-party rule of the Kuomintang.[6] The Communists were ready to evacuate their military from the provinces but refused to relinquish political control over these regions. Armed conflict spread. The Communists struck against Tsingtao and concentrated troops near Tientsin.

Nanking, where the government had returned in May, rejected the Communist proposal for cessation of hostilities. In defense of this stand, it declared that it was not ready to make commitments without first solving the problem of Manchuria, the nationalization of all the armies and the reopening of communications.

On the first anniversary of Japan's surrender, August 14, 1946, Chiang Kai-shek issued a statement promising to end the one-party rule of the Kuomintang and initiate a constitutional government provided the Communists withdrew from the regions where they "threaten peace and obstruct communications."

For the first time in 18 years of strife, the Communists in August openly declared war on the Kuomintang by ordering the mobilization of 130,000,000 adherents claimed to be linked to their cause. Communist troops were beaten along the Lunghai railway in central China. The Kuomin-

[6] The National Assembly consisted of 2,050 delegates; 1,200 elected on a vocational and geographic basis; 150 from Manchuria and Formosa; 700 were divided among the Kuomintang (220), Communists (190), Democratic League (120), Youth Party (100), and nonpartisan (70).

tang captured Changteh, capital of Jehol province, on August 30 and the Communist gained a victory at Tatung, railway junction in north Shensi.

The Kuomintang intensified its drive against the centers held by the Communists in September, 1946, after the latter refused to evacuate its soldiers and governmental agents from the regions held in China proper and Manchuria. Huayin, chief Communist garrison in north Kiangsu, was taken by the Kuomintang. On September 19, General Chou En-lai left Nanking, with charges that Kuomintang-American co-operation was bringing on a war between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Minister of Information, Peng Hsueh-pei, asked the Communists to link themselves with the Kuomintang "in a democratic effort to unite China" or at least enter the government as an opposition party. The Communists demanded that General Marshall convene the committee working for peace, otherwise they would take "their own steps." General Chou was confident the Communists would be able to fight for 20 years against Chiang Kai-shek who had no intention of seeking a peaceful settlement.

Chiang Kai-shek in October, 1946, against the advice of General Marshall and the American Ambassador, Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, who saw the move would end all possible harmony, pushed three armies toward Kalgan, main Communist center in Chahar province, Inner Mongolia. At the same time the Kuomintang issued a statement declaring it was ready to initiate a truce provided the Communists started placing their troops under the command of the National Army and also name their delegates to the State Council and the National Assembly.[7] In an address commemorating the 35th anniversary of the revolution (October 9), Chiang Kai-shek accused the Communists of plotting to divide China into rival camps. The troops of the Kuomintang entered Kalgan on October 11, to mark the beginning of a "total national split," as General Chou warned if Chiang Kai-shek persisted on conducting military campaigns in Manchuria.[8]

THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE?

The rapidly spreading civil war led Dr. J. Leighton Stuart to issue a warning on October 8, 1946. He called for "another internal revolution," to be led by Chiang Kai-shek, against the "narrowly partisan or selfishly unscrupulous or ignorantly reactionary forces" among the Chinese. On the day that General George C. Marshall was named Secretary of State [January 7, 1947], he released a statement declaring that the salvation of China "would be the assumption of leadership by the liberals

[7] Chiang Kai-shek had agreed to give the Communists eight seats and the Democratic League four seats in the 40-man Council. The Communists insisted that 14 seats be given to them, the Democratic League, and the smaller parties. Chiang was re-elected President for a three-year term on October 10, 1946. On December 25, 1946, the National Assembly approved the new permanent constitution.

[8] It was admitted on December 16, 1947, by a Nanking military official that the Communists had achieved a "dangerous" numerical superiority in combat forces since 1945. See New York *Times*, December 17, 1947.

in the government and in the minority groups." He maintained that "the greatest obstacle to peace has been the complete, almost overwhelming suspicion with which the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang regard each other." He deplored also "the dominating influence of the military" which accentuated the "weakness of civil government." These words appeared to be directed against both factions, although the references to "reactionary forces" and the "military" were intended for the extreme right-wing members of the Kuomintang.

These die-hards refused to negotiate with the Communists on terms of equality. These ultraconservatives among the bankers, industrialists, landowners, and soldiers considered it necessary to maintain the supremacy of the army and restrict the liberties of the people. They advocated the conscription of labor. They supported the "Blue Shirts," Chiang Kai-shek's bodyguard, who served as agents in the suppression of strikes, the spying among army officers and the "removal" of politicians distasteful to the government. These saw no harm in the continuation of concentration camps. They encouraged the "New Life Movement," carefully implanted in order to cultivate the glories of the golden age as compensation for dearth of advantages in the present.[9]

The small and powerful factions plotted to hold Chiang Kai-shek as their own. These among the Kuomintang, fearful of losing authority, hoped to destroy every party within the land and embark upon the seas of totalitarianism. The warriors of mediaeval minds adhered to Chiang Kai-shek as they would to any military dictator. They saw him as a war lord and not as builder of a China endowed with a constitution.

Lenin once observed that regardless of China's future, no power on earth could bring back the old system of serfdom. Here was found the key to the strength of the Communists in their advocacy of land distribution in a country mainly agrarian. The realization that this policy would be extended by the Communist Army accounted for its support by many of the peasants. In acceptance of this ideology, the people became interested in other facets of Communist philosophy. The family was supplanted by the nation among vast numbers and gave the Communist Army a greater role in contrast to the provincialism of the war lords. Against avaricious armies of local generals was placed the Communist Army, which desired to be known as the defender of the people instead of their oppressor. The Communists, through the Communist Army, aimed to achieve centralization. They looked with disfavor upon the foreign support furnished Chiang Kai-shek whose regime they believed would collapse without it.

Impartial observers admitted that the Communists had not created a perfect organization. It was obsessed by overplanning. Soviet groups confused the masses by the bewildering array of Red Guards, Children's

[9] An opinion of Chiang Kai-shek's not known generally is found in his *China's Destiny*, published in Chinese in March, 1943. He held the foreign powers responsible for most of China's ills, including militarism, prostitution, smuggling, gangsterism, and the pernicious influence of Western education. Through these evils the Generalissimo maintained that China was a weakling, despised by the world.

Bands, the Youth's Vanguard, the Judicial Board, the Women's Association, the Nursing Group, the Laundry Group, the Purgation Committee, the Education Board, the Cultural Committee, and scores of other committees and commissions. The Communists antagonized many by drafting and by excessive levies of grain. The eradication of traditional beliefs, furthermore, was not followed in many areas by the planting of new concepts. And yet, the Communists were a powerful social stimulant and a challenge to all efforts made to return to the old days of privilege.

22 The Expansion of Japan—the Defense of Security

INSULAR GAINS

Political strength having been reached, after decades of turmoil, it was natural for the Japanese to recall memories of their daring ancestors who had sailed to distant shores. The blood was stirred by long, untold stories of pirates who had terrorized the Korean and Chinese coasts in the fourteenth century; of adventurers in the South Seas; of the brave settlers in the Philippines; and of the doughty warriors who had defied Cambodian and Siamese. Feelings of shame swept over the patriots of Japan when they remembered the barriers erected against overseas ventures in the seventeenth century. They quoted the lament of a Japanese living in Annam, Indo-China, in 1676, who had sought wealth abroad only to see "here are only two Japanese left; all the others are dead, and our situation indeed so pitiful and helpless as to call for all your sympathy."

The pride in ancient achievements soon was translated into an intense desire to recapture some of the greatness too long buried beneath conservatism and fear of the unknown. Public opinion agitated for inclusion under Japanese hegemony of the Ryukyu Islands, of Sakhalin, of Yezo (Hokkaido), of the Kurile Islands, of the Bonin group, of the Pescadores, of Formosa, and of Korea.

Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands were centers of friction between Japan and Russia in 1790. Bloody encounters marked the history of these outlying posts. An agreement was made in 1875 giving Japan the Kuriles and Sakhalin to Russia. The island of Yezo attracted the attention of the Russians in the eighteenth century. Japan regarded with alarm the Russian plans to colonize and convert the region into a Muscovite possession. The Japanese formally claimed ownership of Yezo in 1799 and administered the rich area as a governmental department until 1882 when it was divided into the three prefectures of Hakodate, Nemuro, and Sapporo.

The Ogasawara Islands, 480 miles south of Yokohama, were the fief of a *daimyō* in 1593. They were named Munin or Bonin "no man's land" in 1675. Captain Coffin of the United States Navy visited here in 1823. Four years later, an English officer, Beechy, landed. Commodore Perry in 1854 planned to utilize the Bonin Islands as a jumping-off place for entrance into Japan proper. The Japanese government annexed the islands in 1878.

Formosa (Taiwan) long had been the headquarters for headhunters who massacred all unfortunate enough to be driven upon the shores of this island. The Japanese entered in 1871 after the crew of a junk had been murdered. The Chinese, possessing sovereignty over Formosa, protested against Japanese interference, and only after the English had offered their good services in arbitration of the controversy was the Formosan incident settled with the payment of an indemnity. The Treaty of Shimonoseki following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, included the provision that China cede Formosa to Japan, thus bringing the empire one step nearer the continent. This treaty also handed over to Japan the Pescadores.

The Ryukyu Islands were known to the Japanese as early as 1165 when a brother of the ruler Yoritomo married a princess of the region. The Chinese in 1372 relinquished all claims to the islands and in 1609 the Japanese entered. The Ryukyus, however, were in an anomalous position, paying an annual tribute to both China and Japan. The Formosan incident in 1871 made it necessary to clear up this vague status and the following year the king was given a Japanese title. The islands were placed under the administration of the Home Department in 1874, and in 1879 the king formally handed over all authority to Japan.

KOREA, "LAND OF THE MORNING CALM"

Japan had regarded Korea as a barrier to expansion. This country, according to legend, was conquered by the Empress Jingo A.D. 200. Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1592 sent an expedition to the land, which returned battered in defeat. Through the years tribes from the north came through Korea to the islands occupied by the Japanese. The Mongols menaced them as they advanced over northern soil. Korea, to the Japanese, always had either plotted against them or given support to these nomads from the Asiatic continent.

It was realized that self-preservation must be obtained, either by maintaining Korean independence or by incorporating the country under Japanese authority. Diplomatic and military tactics, therefore, aimed at the removal of a traditional weakness.

For centuries Korea had sent envoys and gifts to the Chinese court. Except for these annual missions, there was no connection between China and Korea. The Peking government, until about 1870, exercised no control over the country, and the people did not regard the Chinese as having any right to interfere in their affairs. The Japanese, however, had no indifferent opinions regarding Korea. If Korea fell into Russian hands, land forces could join the Russian navy at Fusan, and St. Petersburg would have no difficulty in marching towards Japan on one side and threatening China on the other. The Japanese had been concerned over Russia's expansion since 1856, when her sway over North China had been extended and parts of Central Asia had come under her control.

A Russian vessel arrived at Tsushima, an island in the Korean strait, in February, 1861. A party landed and made camp under pretext of repairing the ship. The Japanese saw in this move Russian desire to gain a strategic hold. They were convinced that control over Korea was essential for security.

Japan began to play an active part in Korea after the United States had failed to gain an understanding with the suspicious authorities of this kingdom. A Japanese vessel in 1875 was fired upon by a Korean battery, and in retaliation a fort was captured and a village was burned. Japan in 1876 recognized the independence of Korea in return for the opening of some ports for commercial purposes. The Japanese concluded a more specific understanding in 1879, including the opening of Gensan, the preparation of grounds for settlements, and the erection of docks and customhouses.

The coming of the Westerners and Japanese in the nineteenth century had brought radical changes to Korea. With the penetration of new ideas, exclusiveness was disappearing, and Koreans were allowed to travel outside the kingdom. Commercial contacts with China had been stopped at the border and passes were needed to journey even this far, death resulting if a native dared to step beyond. Shanhaikwan was the limit to travel in 1881, unless a Korean was attached to an embassy. China, blind to Japanese interests in Korea, discouraged Korean entrance on the ground that trade was not reciprocal, that Korean ginseng, gold dust, tiger skins, sable skins, and human hair, were not considered a balance for foreign piece goods, native silks, precious stones, foreign dyes, and opium.

The Korean government, too, despite its vision of the benefits to be derived from a limited acceptance of modernism, restrained natural economic growth. The West was favored as a wedge to break up the deeply rooted traditions, yet exploitation of Korean resources was unthinkable. Gold, for instance, was buried in the mountains of the north, but the government forbade its extraction, discouraging mining enterprises in fear of exciting foreign greed and also envisaging revolts if large numbers of workers lived far from the eyes of the military garrison in the capital.

The government of Korea, in the second half of the 19th century, was in the hands of the Min family, represented by a popular king and queen. The liberal faction was led by Min Yong Ik and a small band of nobles who were determined to introduce Western ideas. They were opposed by the fanatical Tai-wen-kün, ex-regent and father of the king. The Min party was afraid of Russia and was responsible for the treaty with the United States, the Shufeldt Agreement of May, 1882. Tai-wen-kün was opposed to all treaties, seeing in them the means to bring Christianity into the land. Tai-wen-kün, taking advantage of a discontented garrison, in July, 1882, led them in revolt against the Mins and seized the government. Many of the Mins were killed and the queen would have been poisoned but for a maid, impersonating her mistress, who took the drug, allowing the queen to escape. The progressive leader, Min Yong Ik, disguised as a Buddhist monk, fled to Japan. For the first time in a century,

Chinese troops marched upon Korean soil to punish Tai-wen-kün, although the general in command of the expedition feared the people would rise against him.

When news of the revolt reached Japan, two Korean noblemen studying in Tokyo, feeling that the disturbance endangered their plans for independence by playing into the hands of the Chinese, urged the use of Japanese forces in order to restore peace. Another Korean, Cho Yong Ha, a noted Chinese scholar, favored the country of his intellectual pursuits, and returned with some reinforcements from Peking. The Chinese constructed camps within the palace walls for the 3,000 members of the contingent and also built forts in order to block Japanese advances. A Chinese commissioner in October, 1883, signed an agreement whereby Korea was made dependent upon China, with Min support.

The Korean government created four regiments of native soldiery to replace that "loaned" by China, under officers educated in Japan. The Progressive Party labored to gain power, and under the direction of the king and Min Yong Ik, laid out an agenda for the introduction of Western ideas. Conditions seemed to favor these innovations, when Min Yong Ik began to evince Chinese tendencies. He originated the policy of changing the national dress to conform to certain Chinese fashions. By the fall of 1884, he had deserted the progressives, associated with Chinese, and refused to meet Westerners. Chinese now entered the country without passports. The Korean Foreign Office was accused of being completely under the domination of Peking.

The progressives of Korea realized that unless intervention occurred, the country would be in the hands of the Chinese. They feared for their lives after the Chinese gained supremacy. The funds marked for the various reforms were diverted by the pro-Chinese Mins and used to pay Chinese instructors and equip Korean soldiers with the view of incorporating them into the Manchu army. The Min leaders held rich estates and resided in large homes at the capital, surrounded by staffs of servants and bodyguards. The progressives were supported by a few nobles, some low-ranking officials, and members of the middle class.

The storm burst forth on December 5, 1884. There was an attempted assassination of Min Yong Ik. The plot was instigated by students from the southern provinces, enraged by the subservience of the former liberal to Chinese influences, and supported by the vice-president of the Korean Foreign Office, the postmaster general, and the brother-in-law of the king. Mobs also milled about the streets, crying "Down with the Japanese"; "Death to the Japanese." Several Japanese were killed, and Japanese property was destroyed.

The Japanese were able without difficulty to end the disorder. They signed a convention with Korea on January 9, 1885, (Convention of Tientsin), which contained provisions for a special ambassador; an apology to be sent by the Korean sovereign to the Japanese emperor; the erection of a new legation; and additional grounds to be set aside for the residence of the Japanese guards who were to be detailed until peace was

restored. An agreement between China and Japan was published on May 29 which stated that "China shall withdraw her troops now stationed in Korea, and that Japan shall withdraw hers stationed therein for the protection of her legation" within four months. Both nations were to request the King of Korea to raise an armed force to be trained by a power other than the signatories, and in "case any disturbance of a grave nature" occurred in the kingdom, necessitating the use of foreign troops, each promised that no steps would be taken without informing the other and "after the matter is settled they shall withdraw their troops and not further station them there." And yet, no one pretended that the future was clear. China and Japan were sparring. Both desired Korea but the time was not auspicious for a resort to arms. It took the rebellion of the Tong Haks to precipitate war.

The Tong Haks ("Men of the Eastern Religion"), was founded in 1859 by one Ch'e Cheng-woo, who sought to synthesize the good elements of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. The Tong Haks distributed violent proclamations throughout the country calling attention to the "Japanese and foreign rebels and thieves" in the "very bowels of our land." An especially hostile manifesto was issued in 1893, which was addressed to the Japanese consulate, reminding the "invaders" that the Koreans once had beaten them and warning them to "be off as quickly as possible to your lands." Bands collected to drill and parade with banners carrying the slogans; "Down with the Japanese and foreigners! May the right flourish!"

In response to an appeal to China from the king, 1,500 troops were sent in June, 1894, after Peking had informed the Japanese that they would be evacuated at the cessation of disorder. In answer to the Chinese, Japanese soldiers reached Seoul to guard the 15,000 Japanese residing in Korea. Then 3,000 Japanese landed at Chemulpo and erected batteries at the foreign settlement, without sanction of the powers. The king, terrified at the increasing number of alien troops in his realm, begged the Chinese to leave. China refused to move as long as the Japanese remained. The Japanese, on their side, stood adamant until China gave guarantees that she would not interfere in Korean affairs, except as provided for in the convention of 1885.

Soon, however, the insurrection of the Tong Haks had been forgotten in the growing animosity between China and Japan.

CHINA AND JAPAN AT WAR (1894–1895)

The Japanese military and naval units sent to Korea in the early summer of 1894 were placed under Baron Oshima, Japanese minister at Seoul, who was instructed by Baron Mutsu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, "to use any pretext to commence positive action." Korea signed a treaty with Japan on July 25, 1894, agreeing to help oust the Chinese and work

for independence. Japan formally declared war upon China on August 1, after the sinking of the chartered steamer *Kaoshing*. At the same time, the emperor of China issued a decree, explaining the causes of conflict. Korea was considered a "tributary kingdom of China," a status "known to Japan and foreign powers alike," and Japan was held responsible for the impending struggle.

The Japanese won rapid victories, proving their superiority to the Chinese in training and equipment. The emperor of the proud Middle Kingdom saw his armies in retreat in March, 1895. Port Arthur had been captured. Wei-hai-wei had capitulated. Pingyang and Yalu were written down as shining exploits for the Japanese. China could fight no more against the "little men from over the seas."

The political work was as efficiently undertaken as the military. Japan forced Korea on August 17, 1894, to abrogate all treaties entered into with China. A new convention was concluded (August 26) "to maintain the independence of Korea on a firm footing and to promote the respective interests of both Japan and Korea by expelling Chinese soldiers from Korean territory." An oath was taken by the king of Korea on January 7, 1895, in which he promised to "give up all idea of subjection to China"; to send abroad the most promising of his subjects to be educated "in art, literature, and science," and to select army officers from the military schools of Japan. The Japanese advanced one step nearer placing Korea under their tutelage in February, when the government was loaned 3,000,000 yen.

The Japanese army and navy heads insisted that they enter Peking in order to humiliate completely the Chinese. Instead of this drastic step, a compromise peace was signed on April 17, 1895 (Treaty of Shimonoseki), whereby China recognized Korean independence; ceded Formosa, the Pescadores, and the entire Liaotung peninsula; paid an indemnity of $150,000,000, silver; gave Japan a new commercial treaty including most-favored-nation consideration; opened seven additional ports; granted Japan the right to navigate the Upper Yangtze River; and gave the right to Japan to erect warehouses and to carry on industrial and commercial enterprises in any part of the Chinese empire.

China had kept the foreign powers informed regarding the course of these treaty negotiations. England, turning in the direction of Tokyo and interested in the commercial gains to be obtained from the new situation in Eastern Asia, merely expressed vague apprehension over the Japanese presence in Port Arthur and Korea. Russia, by contrast, was anxious to exercise a protectorate over Korea and acquire some of Manchuria but, powerless to gain these attractive ends, suggested to the powers that they send a joint note to Tokyo, making it clear, in a friendly manner, that control of Port Arthur would estrange China and disturb the peace of the Pacific. Germany and France held similar views.

Six days after the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the Russians, Germans, and French sent a protest to Japan. "The possession of the

Peninsula of Liaotung, claimed by Japan, would be a constant menace to the capital of China, would at the same time render illusory the independence of China, and would henceforth be a perpetual obstacle to the peace of the Far East." The Germans delivered an additional objection containing threatening language, which drew Japanese ire away from Paris and St. Petersburg.

After days of strain, the Japanese military and naval chiefs confessed their inability to act in the face of the triple threat and on May 1, Tokyo agreed to relinquish all the peninsula, excepting the region about Port Arthur. Russia refused to accept this solution and on May 5, Japan capitulated, requesting that a larger indemnity be granted. With Russian men-of-war in the harbor of Chefoo, a milder treaty was concluded on May 8.

THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 brought the question of Eastern Asia to the front of diplomatic attention. Between 1895 and 1905, the Western powers were obliged to devote more and more time to the affairs of the Pacific. The tripartite intervention was the first step in the process of "cutting the melon."

The powers were concerned over the debacle of China. The United States was about to propose, acting on the advice of Great Britain, the Open Door policy. France was consolidating herself in Indo-China and obtaining railway and mining concessions in south China. Germany believed that Russia would have to be weakened before she could gain. One way to accomplish this purpose was to set Russia against Japan. In line with this scheme, the German ruler, William II, wrote his cousin, the tzar of Russia, Nicholas II, that he would work to "keep Europe quiet, and also guard the rear of Russia so that nobody shall hamper your action towards the Far East." It was clear that the aim of Russia was "to cultivate the Asian continent and to defend Europe from the inroads of the Great Yellow Race."

Russia played for large stakes in China. Plans had been made prior to the Sino-Japanese War to institute a Russian bank, free from the control of British, German, and French financiers. This organization materialized in December, 1895, as the Russo-Chinese Bank, whose charter was held by the Committee of the Siberian Railway, but whose actual control was in the hands of the Russian imperial treasury.

The second triumph for St. Petersburg was the Sino-Russian agreement of June 3, 1896. A railway was to be constructed by the Russo-Chinese Bank. China also obtained a defensive alliance for 15 years against a possible Japanese move in Russian areas of Eastern Asia, "or the territory of China or that of Korea," with support of a reciprocal nature and no peace terms without the consent of the other. In case of conflict, Chinese ports were to be used by Russian vessels.

Russian efforts did not stop with this understanding. Applying threats and emphasis of the menace of an Anglo-Japanese attack, a more concrete agreement was signed on September 8, 1896, in which the Russo-Chinese (Russo-Asiatic) Bank and the government of China stipulated that the Bank was to initiate a Chinese Eastern Railway Company, with a Chinese as president. China was to aid in obtaining labor and materials without an increase in costs; the new company was to possess administrative rights over the lands adjacent to the line; all goods carried to be subject to the Chinese Customs levies, less one third; the Company to be given the right to fix rates and have exclusive operating privileges for 80 years, with China having the right to purchase the road at the end of 36 years, by paying the capital, debts, and interest of the enterprise.

The Russians failed in their grandiose project to gain further concessions by having a line of communication extending to the Yellow Sea, yet the Bank had the economic edge, with French support. England and Germany, watching from the outside, could only encourage Russia to move more rapidly into Eastern Asia and hope that this "bear who walked like a man" soon would be bagged by the Japanese hunter.

After Japan's victory over China, with the powers controlling naval and military establishments near this conquering empire, the holding of Korea alone was not sufficient. The territorial control of China was considered the best measure for protection. Viscount Ishii expressed this course of action as "the teeth are exposed to the cold when the lips are gone, so would Japan be exposed to tragic developments if China's territory were lost." With the eastward march of the West, Japanese leaders realized that it would not be long before China would be lost to them if they did not move and move quickly. Count Okuma turned prophet, and said that the people of Asia were looking into days ahead in which the powers of Europe were degenerating. Japan, then, will "see their constitutions shattered and their empires in ruin." Count Tadasu Hayashi wrote in his private memoirs that it was no surprise to him that Japan was obliged to hand back to China the Liaotung peninsula. He advised his countrymen to be calm and to consolidate the home defences, "watching and waiting for the opportunity which must one day surely come in the Orient."

Some Western observers also saw Japan, standing tense in the emotionalism of victory, able eventually to gain a position in which the 450,000,000 Chinese would be exploited as slaves. The rapid industrial development between 1880 and 1885 seemed to justify this vision, so terrifying to Occidental conservatives. Intellectuals, too, turned their thoughts to the yellow men. A sensational essay, *The Law of Civilization and Decay,* by Brooks Adams, written in 1895, struck a note on the significance of cheap Asiatic labor and competition with Western manufacturers.

During this period of predictions, an unexpected diplomatic event occurred—the largest empire befriended the smallest empire.

ENGLAND FINDS A NEW COMPANION— THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

It did not take the pragmatic English long to see that China was in no position to defeat Japan. London was prepared to change from a staunch pro-Chinese stand to one contemplating a "new order" in the Pacific. It was felt in some high circles that the weakness of the Chinese Empire was leading to chaos affecting the entire East. The London *Times* of September 24, 1894, declared that fundamentally Great Britain and Japan had no quarrel and furthermore, "there are some interests which may prove of the highest importance that are common to both nations. . . . Despite her pledge to China not to occupy Korea, Russia still hankers after the possession of a secure and open harbour on the Pacific. . . . But neither Great Britain nor Japan could look upon its fulfillment without concern. To Japan's future development as a maritime state, no more dangerous blow could be inflicted. To ourselves it would be a cause of considerable cost and anxiety." The same thought was expressed with more frankness by the *St. James Gazette* (March 18, 1895), which editorialized that "Japan, for many years to come, will do us no harm. We need not object to her naval strength in the Pacific. No doubt she would menace and alarm Russia; but that is no affair of ours. Let Japan and Russia fight it out if they please. For ourselves, if Japan acts as a counterpoise to the formidable Empire which is stretching one of its long arms round Northern Asia, we are no losers, and if Japan throws open the gigantic territories of China to foreign trade, we of all peoples, in the world, would most gain by it, in spite of the competition of Yokohama and Tokio."

There had been some serious conversations regarding an alliance of the English, the Germans, and the Japanese for a settlement of the affairs of Eastern Asia. Such an entente was supported by the Japanese minister at London, Count Hayashi, but hostility between Germany and England was too intense to permit fruition of this plan. During the months that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was in the process of formation, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Delcassé, in quest of an understanding with Russia and Japan, supported the schemes of St. Petersburg in the Pacific, expecting that any French pressure would prevent a Russo-Japanese war as well as keep England from finding soldiers in Japan for her imperialistic designs. Lord Lansdowne, Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Her Britannic Majesty's government, had come to believe that merely because a policy of isolation had benefited the empire in the past was no reason why the future would be equally unruffled along the same path.

The first Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed on January 30, 1902, by Lord Lansdowne and Count Hayashi for a term of five years. It stipulated that Japan had "special interests" in Korea, and England similar concerns in China. Each pledged itself "to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power, or by disturbances arising in China or

Korea, and necessitating the intervention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects." If either power became involved with another nation, neutrality was to be observed by the other. If, in the event of conflict, other powers should join, each would come to the assistance of the other, and, whenever, "in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, the above-mentioned interests are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly."

When the terms of the new friendship were made known to the English public, they were surprised and confused. A possible link with Russia had been intimated in the press, but no one outside governmental circles took seriously any relations with Japan of such a close nature. Debates in the House of Lords waxed strong between those who advocated isolation, led by Sir Austen Chamberlain, and those who saw wars in the offing, headed by Lord Lansdowne.

Sentiments in Japan also were divided. One faction desired harmony with St. Petersburg. Another clique sought the support of London. Two of the influential Elder Statesmen, Marquis Ito and Marquis Inouye, agitated for Russian connections, but the pro-English won with the argument that conversations with Downing Street had entered the formal stage and had been given official sanction.

The next move was one of the most momentous ever taken by Japan, casting a long shadow over the Pacific. When the firing ceased, Russia was beaten, and Japan was spurred on to climb higher pinnacles along the tortuous trail of imperial greatness.

23 The Expansion of Japan—the Russo-Japanese War

PRELIMINARIES TO BATTLE

St. Petersburg recognized the fact that victory over China was only the beginning of Japanese penetration into that land southeast of Russia, which held fascination for militarist and romanticist. Russia felt confident, however, that a weapon had been obtained with which to defeat the soldiers from the island empire. The Trans-Siberian Railroad was the answer to the problem of defense. Until the time this line was completed, it was essential to come to an understanding regarding Korea. Some of the Japanese leaders, too, among them Marshal Yamagata, believed in a conciliatory policy until the army and navy were strengthened. The marshal was sent to attend the coronation celebration of Nicholas II, with instructions to propose that Korea be divided into two parts, one for each power. Russia spurned this offer on the ground that Korean independence and integrity had been recognized.

Some diplomatic fruits were gathered during the tzar's debut. The "Moscow Protocol," or Lobanov-Yamagata Agreement was signed on June 9, 1896, in which both nations pledged themselves to aid the King of Korea in his reforms of the army, police, and treasury. A secret provision made it clear that if intervention were necessary, the contracting parties would stake out their respective spheres of activity.

During other conversations, the Russians promised the King of Korea to furnish him with a guard and loans, thus violating the spirit of the understanding. In line with the offers made without the knowledge of the Japanese, Russian officers and a financial expert were sent to Seoul in 1896. A Russian was given the timber concession in North Korea, the "Yalu Concession." All seemed well for Russia.

The Japanese realized that the Russians would have to be blocked if they wished to remain on the continent. The empire set about to prepare for a greater and more dangerous antagonist than the Manchus. The Imperial Army was increased in 1895 from 170,000 to 600,000. The military expenditures, eleven million yen in 1895, increased to sixty millions in 1900. The navy was quadrupled in these years.

The Russian reply to these Japanese maneuvers is found in a note sent on April 5, 1903, by the Imperial Legation at Peking to the Chinese Foreign Office; "Russia and China for more than two hundred years had

with each other relations that have always been distinguished by their very friendly character, and this very naturally. Two neighboring people having a common frontier more than 5,000 versts in length and many common affairs and interests may easily come to an understanding about everything. The interference of strangers in these mutual relations only spoils them and impedes the settlement of affairs. It is for this reason that Russia, highly prizing friendly relations with China, considers it her duty to guard them from alien interference.

"This applies particularly to Manchuria. Russia has sacrificed thousands of lives and millions of treasure for the pacification of this country and for the restoration in it of lawful Chinese authority quite apart from the millions that have been expended in the construction of a great railway for the common benefit of all nations. Other powers have not expended on the pacification of Manchuria a single ruble or a single soldier. It would seem, therefore, full just that Russia should have the right to safeguard her interests, bought at so high a price, in that country without awaking the jealousy of other powers. . . .

"In order that she may be thus assured the Chinese government must give to Russia the following pledges:

"1. That the restored territories, in particular Niuchwang and localities on the Liao Ho, shall not be transferred to another power. . . .

"2. That the organization at present existing in Mongolia shall not be disturbed. . . .

"3. That the Chinese Government will not make a decision with regard to the opening of foreign trade of any new places in Manchuria and of the admission to them of consuls, without previous communication with the imperial administration.

"4. That if China should have recourse to inviting foreigners for the management of any branch of her administration, the authority of such foreigners shall not extend to the affairs of North China, where Russian interests predominate. . . .

"Finally, it is understood that all rights acquired in Manchuria by Russian subjects or establishments during the occupation shall remain in full force after the departure of troops."

The Japanese hoped the Manchurian problem could be solved by direct negotiations with St. Petersburg. The Chinese, supported by Japan, on June 18, informed Russia that the demands could not be conceded. Japan then suggested on August 12, 1903, that the territorial integrity and independence of China and Korea, and adherence to the Open Door, be recognized; that Russia be given paramount interests in Manchuria and Japan in Korea; that Japan alone have the right to come to the aid of Korea if necessary; and that the Manchurian and Korean railway systems be connected. Instead of carrying on talks in regard to possible delimitations, an issue was made by the Russians that Japanese interests in Korea would have to be curtailed. The military and naval factions sur-

rounding the ineffectual Nicholas II prevented the sane statesmen in Russia from seeking a peaceful way of life between the rival nations.

The advisers of the emperor of Japan also turned from a cautious stand to one of alertness. The Council of Ministers and the Privy Council agreed that if a favorable reply was not given by Russia by the end of 1903, an ultimatum would be justified.

RUSSIA AGAINST JAPAN

Negotiations were carried on until February 6, 1904. Then an offensive started on February 8 when the Russian fleet at Port Arthur was blockaded by Japanese naval superiority. Formal war was declared by both governments on February 10. The Japanese, under General Kuroki, occupied Korea without opposition.

The political moves were as rapid as the military. A treaty was signed with Korea on February 23, 1904, in which that kingdom was made a protectorate in return for guarantees of territorial and administrative integrity. A second agreement was concluded on August 22, whereby the Korean government engaged a financial expert and a diplomatic adviser, recommended by the Japanese. This understanding also declared that the "Korean Government shall consult the Japanese Government before concluding treaties and conventions with foreign powers, and also in dealing with other important diplomatic affairs, such as grants of concessions or contracts with foreigners."

The army continued to gain. General Kuroki defeated the Russians at the Yalu River on May 1, 1904. General Oku subdued his opponents at Kinchau and Nanshan in the same month. Dalny was occupied on May 30. The soldiers of Marshal Oyama routed the Russians at Liaoyang (August 25–September 5), forcing General Kuropatkin to withdraw to Mukden.

The occupation of Mukden before the declaration of war had infuriated the Japanese more than any other move of the Russians. General Kuropatkin, although defeated, was able to entrench himself in this city and optimistically informed the Minister of War that he could carry on an offensive and drive the Japanese from Manchuria. Once more the Russians erred. Five Japanese armies under Marshal Oyama defeated Kuropatkin in the costly and decisive battle of Mukden (February 20–March 9, 1905), in which 700,000 men struggled on an 80-mile front, ending in a Russian loss of about 90,000 officers and men.

Port Arthur is engraved deep in military history. The exploits of the Russians under the incompetent Stoessel and the Japanese under the able Nogi are discussed frequently by strategists. Here, day after day, the Japanese shelled the Russian positions in a manner comparable to the fire directed upon Verdun in World War I. The first Japanese assault was a failure. General Nogi lost his engineers when they attempted to tunnel and deposit dynamite. The Russians countermined and blew up

hundreds of the advancing Japanese. Nogi thereupon aimed to destroy the Russian vessels in the harbor, but they moved out of range. He then brought his men against the Russian sailors in the trenches about Port Arthur to fight and die in close combat with a bravery in both armies which called forth the admiration of a watching world.

The Japanese were weakening rapidly, but the Russians were in a worse plight. The Russian supplies of ammunition ran low, the gunners using unexploded Japanese shells and old Chinese armament. The hospitals within the fort overflowed with the sick and wounded and dying. Unable to wait longer, knowing the Black Sea Fleet was approaching, Nogi launched his blows against 203 Meter Hill. From October 1 until December 6, he hit the blood-soaked mound to annihilate the Russians. The finale left the Russian squadron at the mercy of the victors. The gunners with heavy howitzers sank the First Pacific Squadron of the Russian Navy to end the dreams of Nicholas II for Muscovite mastery in Asia. Port Arthur surrendered on January 2, 1905, with 41,000 men and 500 guns.

The onslaughts in Manchuria and the capitulation of Port Arthur did not end Russian ignominy. To these was added the Battle of Tsushima Straits.

The tale of the Russian Baltic Fleet, beginning on October 22, 1904, when it steamed under command of Admiral Rozdestvensky toward Japanese waters, reads like a thriller in the pages of pulp fiction. The first blunder was made in the North Sea after some British trawlers were fired upon and two fishermen were killed. The squadron was held at Vigo, northwest Spain, during the sessions of an international commission which decided on February 25, 1905, that the Russians were not justified in ordering the attack. The excuse given that an enemy torpedo had been sighted was not accepted, and an indemnity of £65,000 was paid.

For six months the Baltic vessels sailed under heated skies, the crews packed in close quarters getting nearer to a foe. Then, instead of making for Vladivostok around the eastern coast of Japan, the admiral set the course for Tsushima Straits, to run into the destruction waiting for him at the hands of Admiral Togo's gunners. The sailors of the tzar knew they were steering into death. They had heard of the political upheaval in the Revolution of 1905 at home. Admiral Rozdestvensky told his men on Easter Sunday that they were fighting for a Russia they would not recognize if they survived the inferno before them. Upon one occasion he boarded a vessel showing signs of mutiny and quietly said that "we are all in the same hell. Only a scoundrel would refuse to do his duty here. I am doing mine."

Admiral Togo hoisted the battle slogan on the morning of May 27, 1905; "On this one action hangs the future of our Empire. Do your best." The Russians were battered through May 29, until 32 ships were sunk and 5,000 men were drowned. The Japanese rate of fire was three times that of the enemy.

The Russians met the end with quiet heroism. There was Ensign

Kursel of the *Suvorov,* refusing to leave the sinking flagship, with the comment, "I shall stay by the ship," when offered a chance to seek safety on a destroyer. There was Admiral Nebogatov leaving the coning tower to get a better view on the open bridge. There was Chief Surgeon Markarov talking to the wounded in the sickbay, "keep calm, boys. It's all right," as a shell shook them. There was Lieutenant Giers, of the *Orel,* burned and dying, reporting as if on parade, before collapsing.[1]

The Japanese were eager to push their armies into Manchuria and send the navy to blockade Vladivostok. The morale was high after victories, but funds were depleted and England refused to advance further credit, fearing that her hardy ally was too successful. The President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, also hoped to see the end of a bitter struggle, but like the English, was alarmed by Japanese progress.

The first step taken to bring the belligerents to terms occurred early in 1905. Cecil Spring-Rice, Councillor to the British Embassy in St. Petersburg, was invited to come to Washington and present his views on Russian conditions. Baron Rosen was made Russian representative in the United States in May, 1905. The Russian diplomat requested that Roosevelt intercede with Japan regarding the invasion of the island of Sakhalin, at a time when Tokyo had consented to carry on peace negotiations. President Roosevelt believed that a speedy peace was the only way Russia could prevent the loss of Vladivostok and possibly Eastern Siberia as far inland as Lake Baikal.

The first official move was made on June 8, 1905. An identical note was sent to St. Petersburg and Tokyo, in which the President of the United States "must endeavor to see if it is not possible to bring an end to the terrible and lamentable conflict now being waged. With both Russia and Japan the United States had inherited ties of friendship and good will. . . . While the President does not feel that any intermediary should be called in in respect to peace negotiations themselves, he is entirely willing to do what he properly can if the two powers concerned feel that his services will be of aid in arranging the preliminaries as to the time and place of meeting. . . ."

Russia was waiting for these words and agreed to a conference provided that neither a war indemnity nor any cession of territory was made the basis for conversations. Some of the more patriotic Japanese considered the peace was premature. They clamored for the armies to march to Lake Baikal and occupy the entire island of Sakhalin. Yet, from the beginning of the Rooseveltian overtures, General Kodama, chief of staff of the Manchurian Army, worked for concord and believed that negotiations were too slow. The Minister of Navy, Admiral Count Gombei Yamamoto, also urged that the firing cease.

The peace treaty (Peace of Portsmouth) between Russia and Japan was ratified on August 23, 1905. Russia recognized Japan's "predominant

[1] See A. Novikoff-Priboy, *Tsushima,* (1937), for a dramatic story of the battle. The tzar called his brave sailors "cowards" and saw no reason why the survivors should not remain as prisoners in Japan.

political, military, and economic interests" in Korea, and agreed not to interfere in any measures taken by Japan in that country. The signatory Powers agreed to evacuate Manchuria, with the exception of the territory "over which the lease of the peninsula of Liaotung extends." Russia declared that it "had no territorial advantages or preferential or exclusive concessions" in Manchuria of such a nature as to injure China's sovereignty. Russia ceded to Japan, "with the consent of the government of China," the lease of Port Arthur, Talien, and the adjacent territories. Russia and Japan agreed to "operate their respective railroads in Manchuria for commercial and industrial purposes exclusively." Russia ceded to Japan, "in perpetuity and full sovereignty," the southern part of Sakhalin Island.

The Russians at the time and many Japanese later, admired Theodore Roosevelt's acumen for bringing the warring nations to the council table. The destiny of Japan was clear to all observers. The Russo-Japanese War had cost Japan 120,000 in casualties and 2,000,000,000 in yen. The sacrifice had brought under the banner of the Rising Sun not Manchuria but only Korea. The plains of Manchuria were a shrine where Japanese prayed sanctification might come some day. That day came in 1931. Then, the armies of the emperor marched on the continent, to take the first step leading to World War II.

THE SEQUEL TO CONQUEST— JAPAN GAINS STRENGTH

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was modified during the sessions of the Portsmouth Peace Conference. The chief motive actuating Japanese suggestions that changes be made two years before the Alliance was to be renewed officially, was the desire to gain a pact with England regarding Korea before the war with Russia was settled by formal treaty.

This new compact favored Japan to such an extent that England insisted that she receive something more tangible than protection of interests in China. Accordingly, defense of the Indian frontier was added. The second Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was to remain in force for 10 years, was signed on August 12, 1905. The main provisions included:

"Article III. Japan possessing paramount political, military, and economic interests in Korea, Great Britain recognizes the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Korea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.

"Article IV. Great Britain having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognizes her right to take such measures in the proximity of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions."

The Treaty of Portsmouth gave Japan control over Korea, already

recognized by the second Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The foreign relations of the little kingdom were handed over to the Japanese Foreign Office through a convention signed on November 17, 1905. The following month the United States acknowledged Japanese hegemony by withdrawing the American Legation from Seoul. When the king abdicated in favor of his son, Tokyo obtained a protectorate over the country (July 25, 1907), which was annexed formally on July 22, 1910.

Between the Russo-Japanese War and World War I, Japan was able to gain influence in Manchuria through the extension of railway privileges, recognized in a number of agreements signed with China. The Hsinmintun-Mukden Railway was returned to China (April 15, 1907) for a compensation of 1,660,000 yen. China promised at the time to borrow one half the sum needed for a line between Changchun and Kirin from the South Manchuria Railway Company. The Antung-Mukden road was completed by Japan in 1911. The "Five Manchurian and Mongolian Railways Loan Agreement" was concluded on October 15, 1913. By these understandings, feeders were built in the direction of the South Manchuria Railway in order to exploit Inner Mongolia.

Railway rights were consolidated by several mining agreements reached in 1909 and 1910. Lumbering concessions were made definite in 1908. Cable and telegraph lines were determined the same year. The Customs Administration of South Manchuria was modified in order to benefit Japanese commodities in 1907.

Japan won a victory over the United States on July 4, 1910, through an agreement signed with Russia. E. H. Harriman, the American financier, dreamed of linking the globe in a single system of communications. Part of this scheme included control of the Manchurian railways. A preliminary agenda was worked out in 1907, whereby American interests were to loan China $20,000,000 and open a bank in Manchuria. The death of Harriman in 1909 ended this ambitious plan, to the relief of Japan. The same year, Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State, suggested the "Knox Neutralization Plan" for the railroads of Manchuria. The Japanese, seeing this move merely as a means to aid American investors, acted quickly. Tokyo sought out St. Petersburg and evolved the Motono-Iswolsky Agreement in 1910, "with a view to the improvement of their respective lines of railroad in Manchuria." The two nations also agreed to respect the status quo of Manchuria and "to consult each other in case any event of such a nature as to menace the above-mentioned status quo should be brought about."

Another diplomatic triumph was achieved by the Japanese on July 13, 1911. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was renewed for 10 years, without any references being made to Korea. Neither Great Britain nor Japan was to enter any war against a nation with whom they had a general arbitration understanding. The third Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed under circumstances different from those existing earlier. In 1902, Russia and Japan were enemies. In 1911, Germany and England were in hostile camps.

The continuation of the convention with Great Britain brought into the

open the ambitions of Japan. In order to prepare for that time when the empire could shine with more splendor, a large naval program was begun in February, 1912, calling for the construction of eight battleships of the dreadnought type and eight cruisers. By the summer of 1914, Japan was ready to render to good account her obligations to England and gain greater prestige as a world power.

24 Expansion of Japan—from World War I to Seizure of Manchuria

The day Germany declared a state of hostilities existed with France, Japan offered to come to England's aid, but London hesitated at this time to accept the support. The Foreign Office realized that Australia and New Zealand would be concerned if Japan supplanted the Germans in Eastern Asia. Strong interests in London saw no advantages to be gained if Japan took over German positions in Shantung province.

The British government on August 6, 1914, instructed Australia and New Zealand to take over the German islands in the Pacific. The following day London requested Japan, functioning under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, to "hunt out and destroy the armed German merchant cruisers" in these waters. Japan refused to undertake this duty unless England acceded to her demands, which included an offensive against the Germans in Tsingtao. England hesitated to extend operations to China. Japan adhered to the position that maneuvers would have to include the mainland.

The Japanese sent an ultimatum to Berlin on August 15, demanding that the German fleet leave the waters of Eastern Asia and hand over Kiaochow, "with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China." On the same day, the premier, Count Okuma, declared that "Japan's proximity to China breeds many absurd rumors, but I declare that Japan acts with a clear conscience, in conformity with justice, and in perfect accord with her ally. Japan has no territorial ambition, and hopes to stand as the protector of peace in the Orient."

Germany disregarded the Japanese ultimatum and on August 23, 1914, war was declared. The Japanese moved into Kiaochow. The main forces of the First and Second Fleets were sent to Tsingtao and aided in the capture of the German positions on November 7, 1914, which involved the loss of a cruiser, five gunboats, and two destroyers. A British battleship and a destroyer were placed under Japanese command at this so-called Battle of Kiaochow.

The Japanese Navy was used to protect sea-borne commerce from the southern part of the Eastern Sea to the China Sea, later extending to the Philippine Islands. A revolt broke out among the Indian troops stationed at Singapore in February, 1915, and some Japanese marines were sent, who supported the British in quelling the disturbance. The German *Emden* appeared in the Indian Ocean in September, 1914. The Japanese aided in hunting down this raider. Japanese ships also served as convoys for Australian and New Zealand forces.

Early in 1914 a part of the German fleet was operating off the coast of North America and near Hawaii. A division of the Japanese Fleet was used to safeguard Allied trade in these areas as well as to search for German vessels. Japanese ships were sent to the South Seas to protect the Australian trade routes and patrol for enemy craft. Several Japanese men-of-war also were detailed to insure the safety of commerce along the western coast of the United States.

The Japanese sent a squadron in October, 1914, to destroy the German fleet in the South Seas. Japanese sailors landed at Jaluit Island, headquarters of the German government in the Marshall Archipelago, annexed by Berlin in 1886. This base was razed. When the Australians organized an expedition to occupy this island group, riots broke out in Tokyo in protest against relinquishment of any land taken by Japanese forces. As a result, the Japanese remained until formally vindicated by the Treaty of Versailles.

ALLIED INTERVENTION IN SIBERIA

The overthrow of the Tzarist government in 1917 and the spread of Bolshevism into Siberia seemed to offer the Japanese the opportunity to drive Russia from northern Manchuria and Outer Mongolia, gain mastery of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and obtain most of Siberia as a sphere of interest.

There were also military conditions within Siberia which led to intervention. About 50,000 Czecho-Slovakian troops who had capitulated to the Russians rather than fight for Austria, had been reformed by Russia to oppose the Germans. These troops in April, 1918, moved into Siberia en route to the United States and thence to the Western Front. Hostility arose between these forces and the Bolsheviks. Siberian Bolsheviks attacked them at Irkutsk and other centers, although about 10,000 reached Vladivostok where they were welcomed by the Eastern Soviet officials. On June 28, 1918, at the suggestion of the Allies, the Czecho-Slovakians captured Vladivostok and overthrew the local Soviet regime. Two weeks later, they began to retrace their steps across Siberia in order to attack the Russians.

Japan at this time planned to intervene. The Russian general, Horvath, director of the Chinese Eastern Railway, was hopeful of creating an anti-Bolshevik government. After failing to reach an understanding with Horvath, Japan negotiated with Cossack parties. Among these was Ataman (Chief) Semenov, who at the time was separating the eastern and western Bolsheviks at Chita and Ataman Kalmikov who controlled Harbarovsk.

The United States in July, 1918, suggested to Japan that a joint expedition into Siberia be formed in order to protect the Czecho-Slovakians from attacks from the Bolsheviks. They were expected also to guard military supply depots, and encourage "any efforts at self-government

or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance." Tokyo replied to the American proposal that the Japanese government reaffirmed their "avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference in her internal politics. They further declared that upon the realization of the objects above indicated (relief of the Czecho-Slovakian troops) they will immediately withdraw all Japanese troops from Russian territory." A statement also was made that the intervening powers would not send more than 7,000 troops each in order to guard military stores at Vladivostok and offer protection to the Czecho-Slovakians.

The first contingent of Allies, the British, landed at Vladivostok on August 3, 1918. On August 12, a Japanese battalion appeared, the vanguard of 72,000 who occupied Vladivostok, Chita and Manchouli, under the command of General Otani, a member of the Japanese Supreme Military Council.

The promises given for co-operation between the Allies were forgotten. Strained relations marked the plans especially dealing with control of railways. Japan was determined to have complete supervision of the Chinese Eastern Railway. An Inter-Allied Railway Commission was set up to operate and protect this route, but Ataman Semenov at Chita, on Japanese orders and supplied by Japan with material, disregarded all directives in regard to the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The United States announced on January 12, 1920, its intention of withdrawing all forces from Siberia. By April 1, all had been evacuated, as were the British, French, Italian, and Chinese contingents. Japan, on March 31, declared it was impossible to leave "immediately," although denials were made of any political aims in Siberia.

Japan now consolidated her position in eastern Siberia. Taking advantage of the confusion within Russia, the Japanese in April, 1920, extracted an agreement from Moscow which strengthened the hold of Tokyo in the Maritime Province. Japan, in July, declared that portions of Sakhalin province would be occupied until a suitable Russian government was formed. These moves were made in direct violation of the agreement made with the United States that neither would "use the joint expedition or any incidents which might arise out of it as an occasion to occupy territory, even temporarily, or to assume military or administrative control over the people of Siberia."

There was widespread opposition in Tokyo to the Siberian policy of the militarists. Protests also came from the United States. Washington, on May 31, 1921, sent a note to Tokyo stating that the American government could "neither now nor hereafter recognize as valid any claims or titles arising out of the present occupation or control, and that it cannot acquiesce in any action taken by the Government of Japan which might impair existing treaty rights or the political or territorial integrity of Russia." President Harding in July invited Japan to participate in a conference to be convened in Washington for the purpose of discussing armament limitations and the problems which had arisen in Eastern

Asia. This call to action induced the Japanese and Russians to enter into negotiations.

A meeting occurred on August 21, 1921, at Dairen between the Japanese agent at Vladivostok and M. Yourin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian dominated "Far Eastern Republic." This conference reached no concrete conclusions owing to the harsh economic and military demands made by the Japanese. Before the meetings of the Washington Conference, Japan attempted to settle the Siberian problem in order to present prior claims before that body. Baron Shidehara, Japanese Ambassador in Washington, emphasized the difficult position of his country. He pointed out the need for the protection of Japanese in Siberia and owing to "geographical propinquity, the general situation in the districts around Vladivostok and Nikolsk is bound to affect the security of the Korean frontier."

Secretary of State Hughes replied to Baron Shidehara. He stated that the United States had not approved the seizure of territory in Siberia and hoped that "Japan will find it possible to carry out within the near future her expressed intention of terminating finally the Siberian expedition, and of restoring Sakhalin to the Russian people."

During the sessions of the Washington Conference, ending in February, 1922, it was brought out that Japan's position in Siberia was not condoned. Public opinion at home also continued to be opposed to the occupation and before the end of the year all Japanese troops in Siberia were withdrawn.

Japan lost from this venture upon the continent. There were 1,475 killed and about 10,000 wounded. The intervention cost the empire 700,000,000 yen.

JAPAN AT VERSAILLES

Japan was a member of that group including Great Britain, France, and Russia, who on September 4, 1914, put forth the "London Declaration" which pledged them not to make separate terms with the enemy and also to consult each other regarding all peace propositions. During the first months of the conflict, England and Japan discussed the disposition of German property in Shantung and the Pacific. Before Japan undertook an active role against the German submarine dangers in the Mediterranean, Great Britain promised (February 16, 1917) that Japanese claims to German possessions would be supported. France, Russia, and Italy made the same promises. The United States was the only one of the "Big Four" with whom such committments had not been made, although the Japanese rightfully considered that the American government had recognized their "special interests" in Eastern Asia in the Lansing-Ishii Agreement of November, 1917.

The war was ended on November 11, 1918, by the signing of the Armistice. The Allied and Associated Powers soon sent delegations to

Paris to determine the peace settlement. The Peace Conference sat in formal sessions from May 7 until June 28, 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles was signed.

The Japanese selected Marquis Kinmochi Saionji, Elder Statesman and ex-Premier, as head of their mission. The marquis was assisted by Viscount Chinda Sutemi, ambassador at London, Baron Makino Shinken, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs, Matsui Keishiro, ambassador to France, and Ijuin Kanetomo, ambassador to Italy. These diplomats had been instructed to demand absolute recognition of Japan's position in Eastern Asia by having the Conference accept the transfer to Japan of all German holdings in Shantung, and control of the defeated power's islands in the Pacific Ocean north of the equator.

During the February meetings of the League of Nations Commission, Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda had many talks with Colonel House, the confidant of Woodrow Wilson, regarding the racial question which was uppermost in the thoughts of the Japanese. House suggested that they prepare two resolutions, one that they were anxious to see materialize and another that they would accept as a compromise. In view of the strained position, Chinda declared that he would present a resolution which he knew would not be accepted, but which would serve at least as a defense when he returned home with empty hands. The text of the Japanese clause stated that "the equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord, as soon as possible, to all alien nationals of States members of the League, equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction, either in law or fact, on account of their race or nationality."

When the voting on the amendments to the League covenant was carried on (April 10) the Japanese introduced their statement to be added to the Preamble "by the endorsement of the principle of the equality of nations and the just treatment of their nationals." [1] Woodrow Wilson was willing to accept this amendment, but Colonel House brought to his attention the fact that the English and Australians were under instructions to reject it. The American delegates also feared that there would be future demands for Japanese immigration.

The most important claim, next to racial equality, pushed by the Japanese in these dramatic days was that relating to the province of Shantung. After many debates, Articles 156, 157, and 158 of the Treaty transferred all German rights to Japan. In return, the Japanese promised "to hand back the Shantung Peninsula in full sovereignty to China, retaining only the economic privileges granted to Germany and the right to establish a settlement under the usual conditions at Tsingtao."

[1] Even though Japan sought racial equality in 1919, at home it evinced discriminations. Chinese and other Asiatic workers were excluded from free competition with the Japanese. There were immigration restrictions to favor the Japanese in Korea and Formosa. National pride was the motivating force behind the demands for admission into the countries of the West. The question was raised for the benefit of the Pan-Asian movement and also as a sop to public opinion if other important measures were decided against Japan.

The Japanese demand for retention of the German islands met an unexpected snag. Lloyd George, to Japanese anger, suggested that all the German islands in the Pacific be "ceded to the League of Nations" and administered under a mandate. Woodrow Wilson supported the Englishman and was willing to have the Japanese exercise this mandate, excepting the island of Yap, which was to be given an international status Accordingly, all German islands in the Pacific Ocean north of the equator were handed over to Japan, to be supervised and administered according to the mandate system.

JAPAN AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH SEAS

The mandate system was instituted at the Paris Peace Conference. "Class C" mandates included the islands of the Pacific, "to be administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards . . . in the interests of the indigenous population." This type of control was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

In the mandates the administrative and legislative prerogatives of the mandatory power were restricted. Each was pledged to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress" of the natives. The arms and munitions trade was controlled. Religious freedom and missionary activities were guaranteed. The slave trade was prohibited as well as forced labor, "except for essential public works and services, and then only for adequate remuneration." Intoxicating liquors were not to be given to the natives. No military training was allowed except for police and local defense. No fortifications in the form of military or naval bases were permitted. A report was obliged to be submitted annually concerning the mandate to the Council of the League of Nations.

There were 1,483 islands in the South Seas Mandate of the Japanese. These included 14 in the Marianas (Ladrone), 577 in the Carolines, and 32 in the Marshalls. The total area was 829.7 square miles. The largest islands were Ponape (144.7 square miles) and Babeldaob, main island of Palau (142.8 square miles). These possessions (Micronesia) were scattered over about two and one-half million square miles, five-sixth's the size of the United States.

The natural resources of the islands were not extensive. There were 1,085 species of plants, few of which possessed value. The only important mineral was phosphate. The chief agricultural products were rice, pineapples, sugar cane, and cotton. The islands' marine products, mainly bonito, were valued at about 5,000,000 yen annually. Other articles obtained from the sea were sharks, horse-mackerel, sardines, pearl shell, and takasegai shells.

The forests of the islands were chiefly coco-palm plantations. Copra was the largest export, amounting to 10,000 tons a year. Papain, used in medicine, was found in this area. Japan supplied the United States with

10,720 pounds of this ingredient out of a total importation of 130,000 pounds in the first half of 1939.

Agriculture employed about 9,000 Japanese and more than 20,000 natives. Farming methods were primitive, although productivity was greater than that of the farm lands of Japan Proper. In addition to the products already mentioned, the islands yielded corn, coffee, tobacco, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, bananas, and oranges. A government subsidy was granted to aid in the improvement of the quality of vegetables, coffee, and pineapples. Coffee and pineapples were produced upon a commercial basis. The Marianas, until the coming of the Japanese considered of no value, contained sugar-cane cultivations. The islands of Saipan, Tinian, and Rota produced ten million yens' worth of sugar yearly.

The Japanese experimented with all kinds of plants. The government station at Ponape successfully introduced chestnuts from Polynesia, gooseberries from Java, cashew nuts from India, nutmeg, cloves, and pomegranate from the Celebes, alligator pears from Hawaii, coffee from Arabia, and oranges from California. A total of 238 different fruits, vegetables, trees, and grains were imported and were put through the experimental tests of acclimatization.

THE NATIVES UNDER JAPANESE RULE

Two dominant tribes were found on the islands, the Chamorros and the Kanakas. These groups were a mixture of Polynesian, Melanesian, and Malayan. The Kanakas, "lazy beggars" before the coming of the "inevitable white man," commented Jack London, were strong and active folk who delighted in the simplicity of life without exertion.

The mark of the Spanish regime was found in the Marianas, especially at Guam, where the government centralized all administrative functions. The Spanish introduced cattle, horses, pigs, poultry, cultivated coffee, Indian corn, tobacco, tapioca. The chief aim of Spain was not economic welfare but conversion of the inhabitants to the Christian faith.

The German masters who came later, believed that exploitation of the land was the primary objective. In order to achieve this purpose, the natives were made dependent, diseases were eradicated, schools were built, and the German language taught.

The Japanese followed the German procedure. They maintained peace, introduced more efficient exploitation of the natural resources, created financial independence in the region, encouraged immigration of Japanese, extended the educational system, and erected hospitals. The Japanese population of the South Sea Islands was 56,496 in 1936 and 73,028 in 1939. The native population was about 50,000. The Japanese government before 1940 did not actually prohibit aliens from entering the islands but discouraged travel by emphasizing the fact that the climate was not salubrious and modern conveniences were lacking.

The Japanese were careful not to destroy too many of the local traditions in their efforts to "civilize" this obscure part of the Pacific. The policy followed at Yap was typical. Here slaves, probably the descendants of warriors brought to the island, lived in their own separate villages. They were called to labor in "free" villages at the command of the "king." The Japanese wisely preserved the functioning of these "kings," 12 in all on Yap Island.

The Japanese attempted to counteract native depopulation by construction of hospitals. More than 300 medical centers were set up where first aid was taught and village chiefs were instructed how to apply simple remedies to their people. The hospitals also gave medical education to selected girls from the local schools. The Japanese supervised the erection of sanitary tanks for the holding of untainted water and inspectors made regular visits to the villages in order to acquaint the inhabitants with the rudiments of hygiene, by means of lectures, lantern slides, and "movies."

The Japanese South Seas Bureau encouraged western missionaries. They were freed from taxation and were given reduced rates upon all Japanese subsidized shipping lines. Ground was given to mission stations free of rent and the work was supported by grants. The natives were taught to write their own simple language, by the missionaries, but the Japanese introduced their vehicle of expression.

The Japanese believed that education and religion were the two most efficacious methods to bring about development of the natives. The South Seas Bureau claimed that, by 1931, more than 50 per cent of the youth were in school. The curriculum included ethics, the Japanese language, mathematics, geography, natural science, drawing, music, physical training, manual training, and agriculture. Emphasis was placed upon the language of the rulers and on ethics in order to inculcate loyalty to the emperor. Girls were given special instructions in the art of housekeeping. Higher education was neglected, however, the males being trained for physical labor, and the females were prepared to cook, to sew, to breed.

THE ISLANDS ENTER WORLD HISTORY

In the fall of 1932, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations considered, for the first time officially, rumors concerning naval bases in the Pacific islands which had been described in the *Journal de Genève* of February 11, 1932. In reply, the Japanese government stated that "under the terms of the mandate the mandatory Power could not establish any military or naval base in the mandated territories entrusted to it," and they would adhere to this rule. The Japanese furthermore declared to the Commission that "it has never contemplated and does not propose to plan in the future the establishment of a naval base in the islands under mandate." It was stated also that "the additional expenditure on port construction is solely due to the increase in the cost of improving the port of Saipan for economic purposes."

The Mandates Commission again discussed in November 1934, the question of naval bases and commented upon the fact that the construction of harbor facilities was out of proportion to all commercial needs. The League wondered about the building of two airdromes. Japan was criticized at this time for having refused foreigners permission to visit the islands and for having blocked the entry of an American ship.

Japan notified the League of Nations in March, 1933, that she would no longer be a member of that body. Without comment, the Secretary-general quoted Article 1, Paragraph 3, of the Covenant which states that "any member of the League may enter two years' notice of its intention to withdraw from the League provided all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal."

The Assembly of the League of Nations had adopted a report unfavorable to Japanese movements in Manchuria and pointed out that according to the Nine-Power Pact, the Kellogg Peace Pact, and the Covenant of the League of Nations, the evacuation of the continent of Asia would be the first step in proof of sincerity for international goodwill. Speculation began regarding the manner in which Japan would cut away from all pledges and, if this occurred, how it would be possible to retain control of the islands in the Pacific.

Secretary-general Avenol of the League was one of the most realistic officials in the League's administrative machinery. He knew that nothing could be accomplished to prevent Japan's withdrawal from the League unless Britain, France, and the United States were prepared to take strong action in Eastern Asia against Japan. Consequently, Japan began to be regarded in the same manner as the United States, a world power able to carry on without full support of Geneva. The League officials also admitted that the question of the mandated islands was beyond the jurisdiction of the Council and that there was no barrier in the way of Japanese retention of the mandate, provided annual reports were made concerning the character of services undertaken in the islands.

The League of Nations noted in February, 1935, that "the sums spent on the equipment of the ports of certain islands under mandate was for purely civil and commercial purposes." It appeared, however, to the League Commission "that the amount of this expenditure was somewhat disportionate to the volume of commercial activity" and the Commission asked for more details in the next report. The Mandates Commission met in the fall of 1938, without the presence of the Japanese member. It was made clear at this time that as long as Japan did not violate the Covenant by refusing to submit an annual report, personal representation at the meetings was not necessary.

The last statement received by the American Embassy in Tokyo in December, 1937, regarding the islands, contained a report for the year 1936. "Simultaneously with the establishment of the South Seas Bureau in April, 1922, the South Seas Defense Corps was abolished and the entire naval contingent stationed in the islands was withdrawn. Since then abso-

lutely no military or naval forces have been stationed there. No military or naval bases nor any fortification has ever been maintained or newly built within the territory. Again, the natives have never been subjected to military training." Ignoring this official declaration, Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese delegate to the League of Nations, spoke on January 17, 1939, and insisted that Japan had adopted measures for national mobilization of the islands under the mandate.

Following America's naval investigation of the Aleutian Islands "to study weather conditions," the South Seas Government "studied weather conditions" by constructing an airport at Saipan. The plans of the United States before World War II for extensive routes to the Orient were speculative. Experts expected within 15 years to build clipper airships of 500,000 pounds, capable of carrying a crew of 40 and 150 passengers. The United States Navy, Bureau of Aeronautics, in 1935 announced the construction of 60 planes for Pacific travel.

Japan recognized the danger in this competition and moved to meet it. Before the attack upon Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, there was an airline from Tokyo, across Korea, and Manchuria, to the borders of Siberia. A Japanese line had a regular run to Formosa. In 1936, the Twelve-Year Plan, costing 230 million yen, was initiated, which formulated the services needed in order to fly planes over Eastern Asia and also supply transportation between Tokyo and New York. The mandated islands fitted into air travel. Planes were capable of traveling from these centers in 10 hours to Hong Kong and Singapore; six hours to Australia; three hours to the Netherlands Indies, and two hours to the Philippines.

It was known before 1941 that the islands of the Japanese mandate were on the maps of the Imperial Navy and marked for service in the conquest of the Pacific Ocean. The Marshall Islands contained hangars built underground. Here were submarine bases and resting places for seaplanes. In the Carolines and the Palaus, work was completed months before the outbreak of World War II, anticipating attacks from heavy cruisers and bombing planes. Permanent docking facilities for all types of seacraft were ready by 1940. Admiral Nobumasa Suyetsugu, former commander in chief of the Japanese Combined Fleet, believed that a naval war between the United States and Japan was inevitable and therefore set about to prepare the islands for battle.

The Mandates Islands were visualized as excellent bases from which to attack Hong Kong, the Philippines, Singapore, and the Netherlands Indies. The Japanese Navy regarded them as the life line of empire in the south, in the same manner as the army considered Manchukuo the life line in the north. Admiral Suyetsugu declared in 1935 that "the mandated islands are Japan's first line of marine defense. . . . As long as Japan is able to hold these isles her national safety is secured."

25 The Expansion of Japan—Manchuria

THE GENERAL POLITICAL FEATURES OF MANCHURIA

Manchuria, including the Barga region, with an area of 380,000 square miles, is somewhat triangular in shape, bounded on the northwest by the Great Khingan Mountains, on the northeast by the Little Khingans, and on the east by the Changpai range. This land, one and one-half times as large as Texas, is one of the most fertile countries in the world, one of the few spots in Asia where virgin soil is found.

In the days of the Manchus (1644–1912) the region was considered by the imperial government as crown land. It was used mainly for royal hunts and closed for many years to Chinese colonists. After the creation of the Republic in 1912, Manchuria was ruled independently by military governors. The most important of these soldier-politicians were Chang Tso-lin and his son, Chang Hsueh-liang.

During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, the Japanese were befriended by a fearless bandit, known as Chang Tso-lin, who gained in power through the years. The decaying Manchu regime left Manchuria in the hands of Chang. After the Republic was created, Chang's position was recognized through the office of Inspector-general. This ambitious ex-brigand by 1924 had marched over the borders to make himself master of all North China. Quartered in Peking four years, the rugged peasant lived in sumptuous style, surrounded by beautiful women and advertising his renown by huge state banquets. Chang played a clever game with the Japanese, only to meet defeat in 1928, when the Kuomintang troops moved north and drove him back into Manchuria. As his private train was entering Mukden, an explosion ended his colorful life. The Japanese agents in China knew how Chang died.

Chang Tso-lin was succeeded by his son, Chang Hsüeh-liang, in these years a weak, foppish youth, who later displayed a strong personality. Angered by the Japanese death plot against his father, young Chang allied himself to the Kuomintang. He labored to eliminate Japanese influence in Manchuria by restricting Japanese businessmen and ownership of land. He began to construct railroads in order to compete with the South Manchuria Railway Company.

Rivalry between Japan and China was evinced by many "incidents."

The Japanese, by the summer of 1931, had accused the Chinese of 300 hostile acts By the fall of that year tension was at a breaking point. And then, *the* "incident" occurred which led to the occupation of Manchuria by the imperial army of Japan.

JAPAN ENTERS MANCHURIA

The story of Japan's first deep thrust into the continent of Asia, after experimental pricks in 1895 and 1905, begins on the night of September 18, 1931, outside the city of Mukden Here Lieutenant Kawamoto was in practice with six privates along the tracks of the South Manchuria Railway. The squad heard an explosion at 10·00 P M. and rushing down the line discovered a rail section blown up. As they stood examining the damage, they were fired upon and returned the attack. When the sun came up the next morning, Mukden, containing the largest arsenal in the East, was held by Japanese bayonets.

MANCHURIA IN JAPANESE STRATEGY

The "New Order" in "Greater Eastern Asia" forged by Japan took concrete shape in the "Tanaka Memorial," presented to the emperor by Baron Giichi Tanaka in July, 1927. This "Memorial" expressed clearly Japanese objectives· "In order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. Our best policy lies in the direction of taking positive steps to secure rights and privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia. This will enable us to develop our trade. This will not only forestall China's own industrial development, but also will prevent the penetration of European Powers." The means to be employed in order to acquire rights in Manchuria and Mongolia "is to use this region as a base and under the pretense of trade and commerce penetrate the rest of China. Armed by rights already secured we shall seize the resources all over the country. Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe."

The military value of Manchuria as a battlefield in a Russo-Japanese war was recognized by all strategists. It was the economic aspect, however, which was of more concern. Japan regarded the natural resources and food supplies of the area as essentials in the struggle for supremacy.

Japan Proper contains coal, but this possesses inferior coking qualities and therefore is not adequate in the smelting of iron. The large Manchurian reserves were regarded as a source to be obtained at low production costs. The iron problem was more serious than that of coal. The Japanese General Staff well knew the empire's dependence upon foreign markets for raw materials essential in national defense. Between 1927 and 1930 Japan Proper produced only 9 per cent of the iron consumed.

Japanese mining experts before 1931 knew that complete independence in so far as iron was concerned was impossible, after control of Manchuria, but they hoped that efficient exploitation of the region would enable the empire to depend less upon foreign raw materials.

Oil consumption increased rapidly in Japan but the Islands have no large quantities of this fuel. About 11 per cent of the refined oil utilized was produced in the crude stage within the country. The rest was imported from the United States and the Netherlands Indies. The Japanese looked upon the possibility of extracting oil from the inferior shales at Fushun, where deposits have been estimated to be about 5,000 million tons, capable of serving the empire for a century and furnishing about 200 million tons of oil.

The Japanese were concerned over the food supply at the beginning of the twentieth century. The shortage of agricultural products was considered the most alarming consequence of overpopulation. The government feared that in time of war the people would be underfed and therefore Manchuria was regarded as being the most suitable source for nourishment of a prolific race. Here was found wheat, soya beans, peas, sugar, kaoliang, maize, and millet.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

The Chinese offered no resistance to the Japanese penetration of Manchuria. They at once appealed to the League of Nations. After weeks of debate, the League of Nations, in 1932, selected a Commission to investigate the Manchurian question. This Commission was composed of Count Aldrovandi of Italy, the Earl of Lytton of Great Britain, Major-General Frank Ross McCoy of the United States and Dr. Heinrich Schnee of Germany. Before leaving Europe the Commission held meetings in Geneva and selected Lord Lytton as chairman. Japan appointed Isaburo Yoshida, ambassador to Turkey, and China selected Dr. Wellington Koo, later ambassador in the Court of St. James. Robert Haas, Director of the League of Nations Secretariat, was named Secretary-General of the Commission.

During the tour of the League Commission in Manchuria, several delegations representing public bodies and associations were received. In most cases they presented written or printed data. According to the Chinese, the petitioners were introduced by Japanese officials and it was assumed that the statements offered were first passed upon by them. The Commission was informed that no independent delegations or individuals were allowed to have contact with them, on the ground that local officials were responsible for protection of the members from insults and attacks.

The declarations of the Japanese emphasized the provocations which led to the military moves in September, 1931, as well as justification for all actions. Other documents commented upon the inefficiency of the old

Chinese administration but did not consider except generally the role of the Japanese in the formation of the new state, Manchukuo in 1932, leaving the impression that the "revolution" in Manchuria was a spontaneous mass movement.

As a result of investigations, the Commission concluded that "tense feeling undoubtedly existed between the Japanese and Chinese military forces." The Japanese had a carefully prepared plan to meet the occasion of possible hostilities. "On the night of September 18, 1931, this plan was put into operation with swiftness and precision.

"The Chinese, in accordance with their instructions, had no plan of attacking the Japanese troops, or of endangering the lives or property of Japanese nationals at this particular time or place. They made no concerted or authorized attack on the Japanese forces, and were surprised by the Japanese attack and subsequent operations.

"An explosion undoubtedly occurred on or near the railroad between 10 P.M. and 10:30 P.M. on September 18, but the damage, if any, to the railroad did not in fact prevent the punctual arrival of the southbound train from Changchun, and was not in itself sufficient to justify military action.

"The military operations of the Japanese during this night cannot be regarded as measures of legitimate self-defense.

"In saying this the Commission does not exclude the hypothesis that the officers on the spot may have thought they were acting in self-defense."

The Report, in discussing the creation of Manchukuo, concluded by saying that "since September 18, 1931, the activities of the Japanese military authorities, in civil as well as in military matters, were marked by essentially political considerations. The progressive military occupation of the three Eastern Provinces removed in succession from the control of the Chinese authorities the towns of Tsitsihar, Chinchow and Harbin; finally, all the important towns of Manchuria; and following the occupation the civil administration was reorganized. It is clear that the Independence Movement which had never been heard of in Manchuria before September, 1931, was only made possible by the presence of the Japanese troops.

"A group of Japanese civil and military officials, both active and retired, conceived, organized, and carried through this movement, as a solution to the situation in Manchuria as it existed after the events of September 18.

"With this object they made use of the names and actions of certain Chinese individuals, and took advantage of certain minorities among the inhabitants who had grievances against the former administration.

"It is also clear that the Japanese General Staff realized from the start, or at least in a short time, the use which would be made of such an autonomy movement. In consequence they provided assistance and gave directions to the organizers of the movement.

"The evidence received from all sources has satisfied the Commission

that while there were a number of factors which contributed to the creation of 'Manchukuo,' the two which, in combination, were most effective, and without which, in our judgment, the 'new state' could not have been formed, were the presence of Japanese troops and the activities of Japanese officials, both civil and military.

"For this reason, the present regime cannot be considered to have been called into existence by a genuine and spontaneous independence movement."

When it came to determining the principles and conditions of settlement, the Commission made clear that the issues of the Sino-Japanese dispute were not simple. It was not the case of a nation declaring war upon another without a prior effort to use the good offices of the League of Nations as an arbiter. It was not the case of violation of the frontier of one country by another, because the Manchurian situation was unique. But, without formal declaration of war, a large region of what had been Chinese soil was seized and occupied by Japan and made into an independent entity. The government of Japan justified these moves on the ground of self-defense and also vindicated the creation of Manchukuo on the ground that the move was an act of the local population. "The Commission has not thought it its function to argue the issue, but it has tried to provide sufficient material to enable the League of Nations to settle the dispute consistent with the honour, dignity, and national interests of both the contending parties. Criticism alone will not accomplish this; there must be also practical efforts toward conciliation."

It was possible, according to the Commission, to find a satisfactory settlement without too radical a change. The general features of this plan were outlined: (1) compatibility with the interests of both Japan and China; (2) regard for the interests of the Soviet government; (3) conformity with the existing multilateral treaties, such as the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Pact of Paris, and the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington; (4) recognition of Japan's interests in Manchuria; (5) the establishment of new treaty relations between China and Japan, to contain a re-statement of their respective rights, interests, and responsibilities in Manchuria; (6) effective provision for the prompt settlement of minor disputes which may arise in the future; (7) autonomy for Manchuria to be given without endangering the sovereignty and administrative integrity of China; (8) internal order and security against foreign aggression to be secured by the creation of an adequate police force and by the evacuation of all armed contingents, other than the police; (9) encouragement of cordial economic relations between China and Japan by the drafting of a new commercial treaty, placing on an equitable basis the business contacts of the two countries; and (10) international co-operation in Chinese reconstruction work. "Since the present political instability in China is an obstacle to friendship with Japan and an anxiety to the rest of the world . . . and since the conditions enumerated above cannot be fulfilled without a strong central government in China, the final requisite for a satisfactory solution is temporary international co-operation in the

internal reconstruction of China, as suggested by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

"If the present situation could be modified in such a way as to satisfy these conditions, and embody these ideas, China and Japan would have achieved a solution of their difficulties which might be made the starting point of a new era of close understanding and political co-operation between them. If such a rapprochement is not secured, no solution, whatever its terms, can really be fruitful."

These paper indictments did not prevent the Japanese from attempting to strengthen their position in Manchuria.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF MANCHURIA

Investment figures in Manchuria before 1931 were a bewildering mass. Reports were published in Chinese taels, silver dollars, Japanese gold and silver yen, American dollars, French francs, English pounds, and Russian rubles. Some data, however, can be obtained from the welter of statistics.

Manchuria being an agricultural region, the chief investments were in land. China evaluated its property at about 15,000,000,000 silver dollars. The Chinese also held interest in railways, mines, forests, banks, factories, public utilities, trading marts and retail shops. The only railroad in Manchuria in which the Chinese had no interest was the South Manchuria Railway, although by the end of 1930 they had complete or part ownership of about 80 per cent of the total mileage in the country. Coal-mine holdings were considerable, capitalized at about 15,000,000 silver dollars, with an output of 10,000,000 tons yearly. The Chinese claimed capital amounting to more than 200,000,000 silver dollars in banks.

When the Japanese occupied Manchuria, great damage was done to local enterprises. The invaders established government-controlled big business concerns to the ruination of private initiative. Before the Japanese came, the city of Mukden had about 12,000 retail stores, which were reduced one half within a year.

Joint enterprises were found in Manchuria. Russo-Chinese activities included the Chinese Eastern Railway. Between 1917 and 1924 Russian control of this line was slight, and then the Soviet Union obtained a direct interest in the railway, which the tzarist government had only indirectly through the Russo-Chinese and later the Russo-Asiatic Bank. The Chinese Eastern Railway, from the beginning, was more of a political than an economic line, and, consequently, profits were small. Russia informed Japan in 1933 that the road was for sale. After long negotiations, in March, 1935, Japan paid 140,000,000 yen, with 30,000,000 yen for retirement allowances. The railroad was renamed the North Manchuria Railway and was operated by the State of Manchukuo until the end of World War II.

The picture of Japanese funds in Manchuria before 1931 is centered upon the South Manchuria Railway. This road cost 100,000,000 yen. It

was laid by the Russians and made valuable by the Chinese, who used it for passenger and freight hauling. When the Japanese organized the company after the Russo-Japanese War, they spent 757,000,000 yen, not including 16,000,000 yen for welfare work and 14,000,000 for educational projects between 1905 and 1927. Total Japanese investments up to 1927 were more than 2,000,000,000 yen. Japan and Russia had 96 per cent of all foreign investments in Manchuria in 1930.

Out of the minutiae of statistics published by Tokyo since 1931, some details are clear. Between 1933 and 1936, the import trade flourished, owing to the encouragement given by Japanese capital. Japan, by 1936, had invested about two and one-half billion yen in the new state.

Japan began in July, 1937, to build national economy on a wartime basis. The plan included a 2,000,000 yen credit agreement with Germany, which indicated failure to develop with the inadequate state funds. The Manchuria Heavy Industry Development Company made efforts to obtain additional foreign credits but failed to impress American financiers. The officials of this Company labored in vain to prove the safety of Manchukuo for both Japanese and foreign capitalists.

By the end of 1937, the money expended in Manchukuo was a drain upon Japanese resources. The optimists, however, pointed to the reformed budget system, the rise in customs revenues, the more efficient tax collections, the redemption of old currencies, and the co-ordination of banking organizations which eventually would bring returns. The realists, on the other hand, had concrete answers. They called attention to the huge military expenses for the maintenance of garrisons and the suppression of "banditry," with Manchukuo contributing only about 10 per cent of these costs in 1936.

The most important institution in the maintenance of Japan's position was the South Manchuria Railway, 691 miles in length, which made Dairen, next to Shanghai, the most modern port in Eastern Asia. This railroad also developed the soybean and other commodities, as well as creating schools, libraries, research bureaus of a cultural and scientific nature, hospitals, hotels, and public health centers. Out of the $500,000,000 invested by Japan in Manchuria in 1931, $300,000,000 was in the hands of the South Manchuria Railway Company and its subsidiaries.

All railroads in Manchukuo were under the management of the South Manchuria Railway Company, amounting in 1939 to 10,482 kilometres, of which the government-owned lines comprised 8,483 kilometres. Japan understood the strategic value of these lines. Troops were transported from Japan to Hsinking in about 50 hours. The planners of a "Greater Japan" also justified the roads as essential in the exploitation and colonization of the vast northern areas.

The settlement of Japanese in Manchuria was necessary in order to consolidate independent farmers who would serve as barriers to the pressure of the Soviet Union. All schemes undertaken before 1931 to induce Japanese to till the fields ended in failure, owing to the antagonism of Chinese officials, the activity of bandits, the inability to compete with

Chinese farmers, and the discouragement of those who experienced years of arduous toil.

After the creation of the new state, with all political obstacles to residence eliminated, the picture was not bright. By May, 1937, there were five settlements containing 2,367 families and 4,245 individuals, and other small colonies, numbering 1,138 families and 2,150 persons. This same year, the government announced a 20-year plan for 1,000,000 agricultural families. Twenty thousand boys were sent, in 1938, to receive training as farmers and soldiers. By the end of the year there were 10,000 families and 20,000 young volunteers. The government called for 30,000 youths and 11,000 families in 1939. The number responding was only 7,296 young men, 2,924 mass immigrants, and 856 free colonists. A new colonization scheme was announced in 1940, to be interrupted by the war.

The situation for Japanese colonists never was promising. Most of the best land was in the hands of the 29,000,000 Chinese. The cost of colonization projects was high, amounting to 1,000 yen per family for mass immigration and 300 yen each for volunteer immigrants. A majority of these colonists were taken from the poorest in the empire, who had no private funds to aid them. Between 1930 and 1935, the population of Japan Proper increased from 64,000,000 to 69,000,000. In these years, the number of Japanese residents of Manchukuo rose from 248,000 to 501,000, but of this number colonists were in the minority. Most of the Japanese entered the country as officials, merchants, and city dwellers. Population pressure, therefore, at home, was not relieved by continental acquisitions.

JAPAN ORGANIZES THE STATE OF MANCHUKUO

The Japanese Imperial Army, thrilled with visions of "Asia for the Asiatics," was the chief instrument in the conquest of Manchuria. The motivation of the army was found in the secret societies of younger officers, aglow with *Hodo,* "Way of the Perfect Emperor" and *Bushido,* "Way of the Warrior." These fanatics were inspired by Sadao Araki, ex-Minister of War, who spoke of the "spirit of the Japanese nation" which is, "by its nature, a thing that must be propagated over the seven seas and extended over the five continents. Anything that may hinder it must be abolished, even by force." The march into Manchuria was an act of patriotism, needed to increase imperial prestige and strengthen imperial unity.

Some idealists, many adventurers, most of the retired officers and civil servants, were inspired with the faith that they labored in Manchuria for a greater future. These Japanese were supported by Chinese officials who had been wronged by the old regime. Some Japanese businessmen were imbued with the desire to see Manchuria a part of the empire. A small faction of Chinese, composed of employees of the former Manchu dynasty, strove for restoration of their ruler as a constitutional leader and for a return to positions of importance. A Mongol minority supported

Manchukuo as a means to save themselves from extermination at the hands of the Chinese. Officials unable to obtain positions elsewher Chinese who believed that the political future of China was hopeless and wanted to gain their fortunes in a pioneer land; Chinese and Mongolians bribed by the Japanese with money, position or honors; petty bureaucrats who had been forced into the employment of the new state and whose careers were compromised; those who were dependent upon the new regime for existence supported the "new order" in Manchuria.

According to a Chinese general, confidential agent of a Manchu prince and connected with the Japanese through the Anfu Party, there were in favor of Manchukuo, 2,000,000 Manchu bannermen including their families; 2,000,000 Chinese bannermen and their families; 1,000,000 Mongols; 900,000 Koreans; and 250,000 Japanese residents. The rest of the 30,000,000 inhabitants, 80 per cent of the population, were hostile to the young state. They submitted, but their thoughts were opposed to any foreign government. They did not desire the old Chinese governors to return, but they were Chinese and longed for supremacy of Chinese culture.

The official history of Manchukuo's founding and the "spirit" underlying it, was written to inspire future generations. The 30 millions within Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, in a united effort, freed themselves from the tyranny of Chinese militarism and created the State of Manchukuo on March 1, 1932. The founding fathers were motivated by the ambition to dedicate the state to "Wangtaoism" or the "Way of Benevolent Rule" and to pursue the ideals of "obedience to the Way of Heaven for the peace and security of the people." "Never in the chronicles of the human race was any State born with such ideals" and "never has any State accomplished so much in the brief span of its existence as Manchukuo." [1]

The "spirit" evident in Manchukuo had its origin in the "Autonomy Guidance Headquarters" of Mukden on November 10, 1931. It was expressed in these words:

"We aspire to found an earthly paradise under the sun by doing away with despotism, misunderstandings, illusions, and complications. Regardless of nationality, it is our aim to influence the inhabitants of this land so that they may display their inherent spirit of mercy, and by observance

[1] "The Wang-tao was the doctrine proclaimed and practiced by the two great Emperors in China, Yao and Shun, four thousand years ago and was handed down to posterity in classical writings. But after those two Emperors' reign passed, it has seldom been put into execution, and Confucius, Mencius, and other teachers deplored that the Wang-tao had been supplanted by the Pa-tao, or the Martial Way, in the degraded ages. The Pa-tao is the doctrine of force, and Mencius explains 'to use force and simulate humanity is the Pa-tao; to practice virtue and dispense humanity is the Wang-tao.'

"Manchukuo makes the Wang-tao the fundamental principle of its policy and government. In contradistinction to imperialism, militarism and aggression, it was conceived in virtue, benevolence, and human love. It has often called itself 'a nation without exploitation.' It stands against materialism and makes idealism the spring of its national inspiration. We can entertain great hope that, if such is the moral basis upon which the new State is founded, it promises to accomplish untold feats along the path of peace and human advancement." (From an address by Mr. Hiroshi Saito, Japanese Charge' d'Affaires, at the University of Kentucky, December 9, 1932, distributed by the Consulate General of Japan in New York City.)

of faith, by mutual respect, and mutual love complete the divine task mentioned above. Thus will so-called Asiatic unrest be transformed into the light of the Orient to kindle the whole world and serve as a good augury for the great and true harmony of entire mankind. The devotion of every effort towards the formation of an ideal hitherto unknown in history will in time serve to bring about the development of Asia as a whole, rectify racial discrimination and lead towards the establishment of a world justice which will be universally applicable."

The state outlined its basic platform according to the principles of "Wangtao." These included:

"1. The fundamental aim of the Government is to guarantee the lives and property of the people; to administer justice with improved laws; to advance the self-government principle, and to encourage industries by reforming the chaotic currency system.

"2. The foreign policy of the State will be based on mutual sincerity and friendship with other States by observing international usages. All obligations for foreign loans secured by treaty agreement previously concluded by the Republic of China, if such obligations belong to the territory of the new State, shall be recognized in conformity with international usage.

"3. The State will develop commerce and industry and be ready to welcome foreign investments, regardless of nationality, in pursuance of the principle of the Open Door and Equal Opportunity.

"4. The principle of racial equality shall be adhered to, and Chinese, Manchurian and Mongolian nationals, Korean and Japanese inhabitants, and residents of other nationalities in the Manchurian States shall be accorded equal treatment." [2]

In this expression of "Wangtaoism," racial harmony, the principle of the Open Door, and equal opportunity, the government was formed on March 9, 1932. "Mr. Henry Pu-yi," last of the Manchu emperors, was made the Chief Executive. The Central Government was composed of one office, (*fu*); three councils (*yuan*); and eight departments (*pu*). The Chief Executive, however, listening to the voices of the "people," ascended the Throne on March 1, 1934, to establish the monarchy of K'ang-te or "Tranquillity Virtue." An administrative system was created consisting of the Emperor, the Privy Council, the Legislative Council, the State Council, the Courts, and the Supervisory Council.

The Italo-German-Japanese anti-Comintern Pact gained its first victory in the field of diplomacy when Manchukuo was recognized by Rome on November 29, 1937. This was followed by eight other nations, Japan, Germany, Spain, Hungary, Salvador, Slovakia, China, and Rumania.

[2] The Japanese Ambassador to Siam, Teiji Tsubogami, stated on November 17, 1942, that the old conception of the purely political state was dead and that Manchukuo was the example of a country expressing the new doctrine of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" which aimed to bring about "a closer racial policy in geographical and cultural relations among the peoples in the sphere." He stated also that independence in "Greater East Asia" differed from liberal interpretations of such a condition in that it was not to be "unbridled."

And in this manner the state of Manchukuo linked its fortunes to those nations planning a "new world order."

THE REALITY OF MANCHUKUO

The "Autonomy Guidance Headquarters," chief agency to bring about the birth of Manchukuo, contained an organization of 13 officials of whom 12 were Japanese, headed by M. Nakana, Chief of the Political Department of the Kwantung Army Headquarters. At a meeting of a group of Japanese leaders in December, 1931, in Tokyo, Koku Mori, Secretary-General of the Inukai Cabinet, declared that "in regard to the Manchurian and Mongolian question, since the Japanese nation has made up her mind, there is no longer any necessity for maintaining a secretive attitude towards other nations of the world. . . . From now on, we cannot countenance the establishment there of any political power which may be in opposition to the mission of the Japanese or which may originate from China proper."

At the same session, Colonel Yasunosuke Sato stated that "our soldiers and officers who have been despatched to Manchuria are unanimously of the opinion that, unless Manchuria is totally detached from China proper, it will be tantamount to restoring the *status quo ante* and thus setting at nought all the efforts and sacrifices made by the Japanese troops since the outbreak of the September incident. . . . If we could be given sufficient time in which to continue our financial and military assistance to those now in Manchuria, there might be hope of attaining success."

In co-operation with the military factions in Japan, the Kwantung Army, under General Minami, worked to construct in Manchuria a politico-economic state of national socialism, comparable in many respects to fascist Italy and Germany. The Army, however, was realistic enough not to refer to Manchukuo as a totalitarian state, preferring to emphasize "Wangtao."

The militarists were anxious to create a Japanese-Manchukuo bloc whereby the empire's dearth of materials could be overcome and a strong foundation be constructed for national defense. It was determined that there should be no concentration of private wealth in the land and that all invested capital not utilized for an emergency of a military character should be debarred.

Fascistic techniques were not confined to the economic field. The press was controlled, the Manchu dialect was made the national language, education was strangled, and Christians were persecuted. In order to institute a one-party political system, the Kwantung Army decreed, in July, 1932, the establishment of the *Manshukoku Kyowakai* or Manchukuo Concordia Society, officially numbering 300,000 in 1936. In September, 1936, General Uyeda, commander in chief of the Kwantung Army declared that the Society was the sole political party in the country. He gave weight to his remark by saying that Manchukuo "is not ham-

pered by the troubles of democratic parliamentary politics." This organization's expressed objective was the improvement in the material welfare of the six races in Manchukuo: the Chinese, the Manchus, the Mongols, the Koreans, the Japanese, and the White Russians.

TWO SIDES OF THE LEDGER

Material progress was rapid in the capital, Hsinking, where large buildings blended Asiatic color with Occidental utility. The complex currency system of China days was unified. A regular method of taxation was introduced. More of the people were safe from robberies and the excesses of military decrees. The entrance of Japanese capital aided in the elimination of unemployment. Social services were extended.

From the military viewpoint, Japan believed that if she had not moved in 1931, most of the region would have been in the hands of the Soviet troops. Some of the high officers feared a peaceful settlement of the Manchurian problem would have spelled loss of the martial spirit. They advocated a "crisis" in order to keep the people stirred up for action and the army and navy prepared for battle. These men of the sword knew they were unopposed by one of the great powers in the Pacific, the United States of America. The policy of President Theodore Roosevelt in 1905 was remembered. The American executive had declared that he did not favor any stand "unless we can make good; and as regards Manchuria, if the Japanese choose to follow a course of conduct to which we are adverse, we cannot stop it unless we are prepared to go to war."

The Japanese, by 1931, were taking the role of the injured party, a tactic which, if not accepted abroad, at least was received eagerly at home. A revealing comment was uttered on the subject by the delegate to the League of Nations, Yosuke Matsuoka, on December 8, 1932. He stated in the Assembly that "some people in Europe and America contend that world opinion is against Japan, that Japan is defying world opinion, and so forth. Is that so? We are getting letters and even, in some cases, telegrams from different parts of Europe and America, appreciating our position and our contentions, and even encouraging us to persist in our present attitude. . . . But suppose that public opinion were so absolutely against Japan as some of the people try to make out, are you sure that the so-called world opinion will persist forever and never change? Humanity crucified Jesus of Nazareth two thousand years ago. And today? Can any of you assure me that the so-called world opinion can make no mistake? We Japanese feel that we are now put on trial. Some of the people in Europe and America may wish even to crucify Japan in the twentieth century. Gentlemen, Japan stands ready to be crucified. But we do believe, and firmly believe, that, in a very few years, world opinion will be changed and that we also shall be understood by the world as Jesus of Nazareth was."

Actually, the debit side of the Manchurian ledger was the one dis-

played, whether the Japanese leaders liked it or not. General Araki, Minister of War, in 1932, proclaimed that the new state would lead to stabilization of the Japanese standard of living. This promise was not fulfilled. The taxpayers of the empire expended 300 million gold dollars, some 5,000 official dead, and 200,000 sick and wounded for the honor of keeping Manchuria a part of the overseas domain. Manchuria did not solve Japanese unemployment. Colonists hesitated to travel to distant lonely fields. Japan was concentrating upon the creation of armaments and the fostering of those enterprises contributing to war's striking power. Manchuria fitted into this martial picture.

The raw materials of Manchuria did not benefit the common man, owing to control by the large monopolists who prevented ores, coal, and foodstuffs from entering Japan. Any such importations meant the lowering of prices and profits at home.

It was no wonder that the government of Hsinking was dubbed the "sinking government" by critics. And so empire-builders in Japan looked about for other spots, French Indo-China and the Netherlands Indies, where the pioneer labor of exploitation had been achieved by yellow men in the power of white masters.

Historically, however, Manchuria stands first on the path of militarism in World War II, before Poland and Greece and France. It will be remembered as the first spot where the enemies of the later Allied Powers prepared for battle.

26 Social Currents in Japan

THE PRESS

The first modern news-sheet to appear in Japan was the *Batavia Shimbun* (newspaper), printed from movable type made of wood. It was published in 1861 by a bookshop owner who translated Netherlands items received from Batavia.

Japanese newspapers created since that time were not as large as those in the United States. The technique of Western advertising was not followed. In circulation, however, the leading papers compared favorably with the popular journals of the Occident.

Before World War II, the main newspapers maintained foreign correspondents in the leading cities of the world. New York was the chief news center in the United States. Large sums were spent for special news. When the *Graf Zeppelin* made its 'round the world trip, the Tokyo *Mainichi, Nichi Nichi,* and the *Asahi* had correspondents aboard between Germany and Japan. One of the news agencies assigned a reporter for the flight from Japan to the United States.

The newspaper plants of the leading journals in Tokyo and Ōsaka were modern. The premises of the Tokyo *Asahi* cost $2,500,000. The chief papers, the *Mainichi, Nichi Nichi,* and the *Asahi,* had morning and evening editions in Tokyo and Ōsaka. English was the second language for journalistic expression in Japan. In Tokyo there were the *Japan Advertiser,* American-owned, independent, leading English language paper, and the *Japan Times and Mail,* Japanese-owned and edited, organ of the Foreign Office, by which it was subsidized. In Kobe there was the British-owned *Japan Chronicle* and in Ōsaka, the English editions of the *Mainichi* and *Nichi Nichi.*

The *Asahi, Mainichi* and *Nichi Nichi,* before World War II, issued artistically printed booklets with colored illustrations, containing information on Japanese life. The English editions of *Mainichi* and *Nichi Nichi* also printed special numbers on art, literature, and religion. The *Japan Times* distributed a series of English translations of modern Japanese literature.

The Allied News Agency (*Domei Tsushinsha*), an organization of several small agencies, was financed by 194 newspapers, the Japanese

Broadcasting Association, and the Foreign Office.[1] The *Japan Advertiser,* leading American paper in the Far East, owned by B. W. Fleisher of Philadelphia, ended its independent career in October, 1940, when it came under Japanese control.

Drastic governmental supervision of the press was started in 1931. All papers, magazines, and periodicals were given instructions by the Censorship Branch of the Home Office regarding what must not be mentioned. The censors regularly withheld from the public the *Saturday Evening Post, Life, Reader's Digest, Time,* the *American Mercury, Current History,* and *Esquire.* A committee was formed in March, 1941, to pass upon all imported books. Regulations were enacted to see that only certain volumes on law, religion, politics, and diplomacy, were permitted to enter the empire. Journalists, translators, writers of fiction and history, were under police surveillance.[2] Many of these were grilled at gendarmerie headquarters.

As a result of these restrictions, the Japanese reader was ignorant of world affairs. The papers carried no news of reverses in China; no stories of destroyed garrisons; no information on the dogged resistance offered by the Chinese; no figures on civilian losses from the bombings of Chinese villages. Instead, there were reports of great victories; human-interest tales of the friendly and smiling Chinese peasantry meeting the Japanese conqueror; and glowing views of Japanese advances. The war of the Pacific was presented in the same bright manner.

THE PLUTOCRATS

There was a rapid increase in the private wealth of bankers, industrialists, and merchants after World War I. There were about 1,500 families in 1937 with incomes amounting to more than $30,000 and 20 families with incomes more than $300,000. The plutocrats of Japan were unusual in that they took over Western social life and grafted it upon indigenous roots. Business suits were discarded for silk kimonos in the evening. The latest books by Western writers were read. Whisky, beer, and imported cigars were consumed. Golf, tennis, and baseball interested them. "The Florida," night club of Tokyo, booked a Negro band from Brooklyn.

The plutocracy was dominated before the defeat of Japan in World War II, by 20 families called the *Zaibatsu.* Chief among them were the Mitsui and Sumitomo, the Mitsubishi (Iwasaki) and Shibusawa of

[1] Before this centralization, there was the *Nippon Dempo Tsushinsha* ("Japan Telegraph News Agency"), independent, connected with the American *United Press;* the *Shimbun Rengosha* ("Japan Federated News Agency"), affiliated with the *Associated Press* and *Reuters;* and the independent *Teikoku Tsushinsha* ("Imperial News Agency"). In November, 1941, Japanese newspapers, under wartime curbs, became "public utilities with a national mission."

[2] Facts dealing with the personal life of leading figures were not prohibited. The fondness for alcohol of Premier Keisuke Okada was the topic of journalistic comment for many years. When he was made premier, cartoons showed him holding a bottle of whisky. These caricatures, instead of indicating disparagement, were regarded as proof of great talents. The premier's interest in distilled spirits was a question of debate in the Imperial Diet in 1935.

samurai origin, and the Yasuda and Asano who started their fortunes as peddlers. The Mitsui had 11 branches whose last titular head was Baron Takakimi Mitsui and whose manager was Seihin Ikeda (Harvard '95). The Mitsubishi was represented by Baron Koyata Iwasaki, patron of arts and a Buddhist scholar. The Sumitomo was led by Baron Kichizayemon Sumitomo, nephew of the last Elder Statesman, Prince Saionji.

BUDDHISM AND ITS RIVALS

The swift advances of Shintō endangered other organized religions within the empire. The newspapers contained many attacks against them. A typical blast is found in *Hochi* for October 5, 1941:

"The Emperor is God of Japan and of the world. Manifestation of the Imperial mind alone is the key to the solution of all problems of a New World order. By so saying, we do not mean that all people should forsake their Buddhist or Christian faiths but we do mean most emphatically that these religions should lay aside all superficiality and attribute their fundamental conceptions to the Emperor. If they do not base the faith on belief in the divinity of the Emperor, these religions will do nothing but create a land of Buddha or a Heavenly Paradise which is other than Japan, and so they will be committing themselves to propaganda inconsistent with the fundamental character of the national polity."

In contrast to the mild persecution of Buddhism at home, Buddhist missions were encouraged abroad. A bronze image of Kobo Daishi, eighth-century Japanese Buddhist saint, was unveiled at Nanking in 1941, showing that Japan was willing to utilize religion as an instrument of international propaganda. Cultural penetration was carried on in South China through Mahayana Buddhism. In Siam and Burma the Japanese were interested in doctrine and rituals unknown to Buddhists in the homeland.

The International Buddhist Society of Japan presented in Tokyo in May, 1941, the Vesak Ceremony, a ceremony popular in Ceylon, French Indo-China, Burma, and Siam among the Hinayana Buddhists. "This holy practice," commented the *Japan Times and Advertiser* of May 30, 1941, "was not known to the Buddhists in this country before, and the International Buddhist Society which has been anxious to establish closer ties between the Buddhists of the Mahayana and Hinayana schools, has recently decided to introduce this beautiful custom of Southern Buddhism."

The new missionary work in North and South China, Siam, and French Indo-China, was under the government-controlled "New Asia Bureau" of the Dai Nippon Buddhist Association. Sino-Japanese Buddhist associations were created and subsidized by the Special Section of the Army of Occupation at Hangchow, Amoy, and Nanking. The Dai Nippon Federation of Buddhist Societies, also supported by the government, linked itself to the Asia Development Buddhist Society and sent missions to China and adjacent lands.

The objective of the Japanese International Buddhist missionaries was

to bring the conquered regions of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" into the path of the Japanese type of Buddhism. Through worship of Buddha and the Sun-Goddess as Maha-Vairocana to veneration of the Sun-Goddess as Amaterasu-O-Mikami to adoration of the Japanese emperor, her divine descendant and incarnation, were all logical emotional steps. In this manner Buddhism was able to lay the foundations for imperial solidarity.

The future of Buddhism in Japan is not bright. Temples are many and priests are conspicuous, yet the spirit of the gentle Buddha has been lost. Buddhism as a religion and as a bulwark of personal strength has been declining in Japan since the seventeenth century. The ethics of Confucius and more especially the nationalistic demands of ancestor-worship as motivated in Shintō were in ascendancy.[3]

MEDICAL ACTIVITIES

During the years of seclusion, the Japanese continued an active interest in Western medicine. Medical books were ordered by the Shōgunate through the Netherlands agents at Deshima. The first Western physician to visit the old capital at Yedo was Caspar Schambergen who was attached to the Netherlands factory in the middle of the seventeenth century. His influence is seen in the new school of surgery, the *Caspar-Ryū-Geka,* named after him by Japanese admirers. The works of Ambroise Paré were translated into Japanese about 1690, and in 1773 the first book on anatomy appeared. Other medical treatises followed, including one on ship hygiene. Autopsies were performed in 1784. The first scientific monograph on physiology was published in 1836. The first medical school was instituted at Yedo in 1857. This institution became the medical faculty of the Imperial University of Tokyo. Two students from Nagasaki Hospital in 1862 were sent to Holland for training. The following year, 11 students were sent to Germany. German medical officers attached to the Japanese Imperial Army were serving as professors at the University of Tokyo in 1872. A Research Institute of Medicine was opened at the capital in 1874. The first medical journal, *The Tokyo Medical Weekly,* was published in 1877. A free hospital was set up in Tokyo in 1887 by imperial command. The title of "baron" was bestowed for the first time in Japanese history upon a doctor in 1895.

Dr. Hata worked with Dr. Ehrlich on salvarsan in 1913. Doctors Inada, Ido, and associates in 1915 established the etiology of infectious jaundice. Dr. H. Noguchi in 1918 discovered the source of yellow fever. The causative organism of ratbite fever was determined in 1919. The elements of

[3] The emphasis given to Shintō was marked before the end of World War II. For example, there was the Enshrinement Ceremony at the Yasukuni Shrine on October 14, 1942, which the families of 15,021 dead attended. This ceremony was begun by the Emperor Meiji in 1879, when he proclaimed that all subjects, regardless of sex, who had laid down their lives for the empire, were to be enshrined as guardians of Japan. At the funeral service for the Japanese Ambassador to the United States, Saito, Shintō traditions were evident. The family altar held, besides the traditional oranges and incense, some of his favorite flowers, fruits, and drink; a dish of strawberries, roses, and sweet peas; and a bottle of Old Parr Scotch whisky.

vitamin A were brought out in 1932. At the same time, Dr. N. Nagai published his findings on ephedrine. Six years later, Dr. Shiga cultivated human *lepra bacilli*. The isolation by Dr. Kato of single nerve fibres in a nerve linked to a muscle was a great advance in science. A remedy for opium smoking and other drug habits was discovered in 1942. The Micro-Biological Conference of 1942 held at the Nagoya Imperial University revealed that the bacteria of sleeping sickness, believed to be carried by tsetse flies, is found in their saliva. It is evident that Japanese doctors have made important contributions to the field of medicine.

SOCIAL WELFARE

The Department of Public Welfare of Japan was faced with many serious problems. In efforts to prevent typhoid fever, dysentery, and similar ailments, the country was handicapped by an inadequate sewage system. Although smallpox, cholera, and bubonic plague, diphtheria, beriberi, and leprosy were under control, mental diseases and tuberculosis were mounting.[4]

The army authorities were disturbed over poor health after the move into Manchuria in 1931. It was found that those exempted from military service had increased from 250 to 350 per 1,000 between 1925 and 1932, rising to 400 in 1933. School children were discovered to be deteriorating in weight, chest girth, sight, and teeth.

The Imperial Diet in March, 1940, aimed to supervise health through passage of the "National Physique Control System." This law supervised the health of all under nineteen years of age. Mayors or headmen of towns and villages were in charge of prescribed physical examinations. Owners and principals exercised this authority in factories and schools. When parents were too poor to afford the necessary medical expenses, the state furnished monetary assistance. In the program special attention was given to tuberculosis and venereal diseases.

SPORTS

The youth of Japan changed their attitude towards sports in 1925. The lighter amusements of pee-wee golf, majong, and jazz declined. The craze for Western ballroom dancing cooled down. The indoor sport, too, of drinking bouts in cafes and bars, once the fashion among many, was no longer popular. The young of Japan now engaged in healthier outdoor amusements.

Students of both sexes made progress in swimming, tennis, the field sports, hiking, and skating. Baseball, introduced about 1875, was the most

[4] Expectancy of life in 1898 was under 43 years for the male and just over 44 years for the female. Between 1908 and 1912, averages were 44½ and 44¼ respectively. The years 1926–1930 showed expectancy of life for the boy to be 44¼ years and for the girl to be 46½ years. These figures are about 10 years less than those for most Western countries.

common of recreations for all classes. The national championship in the secondary schools attracted thousands. It was not unusual to have the stadium near Ōsaka filled with 100,000 baseball fans. Baseball teams were made up by the personnel of hotels, newspapers, railway companies, and shipping lines as well as by the educational institutions.

When Japan withdrew as host to the 1940 Olympic Games there was a revival of the sports of the sword dance, *sumo* or wrestling, and archery. This change showed the dominance of the military, who encouraged the old exercises in order to weaken Western sports and stimulate emphasis upon the Spartan life of yesterday.

MOVIES

The first film apparatus appeared in Japan in 1896, the same year it was used in the West. The Japanese were as avid for motion pictures as Americans and English. Films were produced in great numbers, 580 of feature length being released in the boom year of 1933. The most ambitious program of American companies never has been more than about 60 annually for each of the large concerns.

The Japanese performance usually was four hours in length, consisting of a twin feature, a silent film of eight to ten reels, "talkies" of an equal number, and news subjects. The plots of Japanese pictures were not as complicated as those of the West because of the limited amount of money expended in production. The owners, therefore, were content to utilize ideas and scenes near at home. The most common source was found in foreign pictures which were partly recast and re-filmed with native actors and settings. The daily press also was a source with its serial stories of crime and love and heroism. Comedies were only occasionally filmed. Ancient classical plays were popular. More than one half of the pictures dealt with the brave *samurai* who with two-handed sword slashed and killed his way through an energetic story. The most peculiar aspect of a Japanese movie-house was the narrator who explained all silent foreign pictures and talkies. The sounds were consequently deliberately muffled.

Japanese censorship was very officious. The march into Manchuria introduced films of "clear manifestation of national polity." The two chief causes for prohibition after 1938 were any antiwar theme or any view which could be interpreted as being an insult to the empire or its people. Under these regulations, "The Mutiny on the Bounty" was barred because it depicted rebellion; "The King Steps Out" was offensive treatment of the love affair of an emperor; "Mary of Scotland" showed scandal in a royal household; and "Sons O' Guns" was unpatriotic.

THE MUSIC AND THE NEW THEATER OF JAPAN

The traditional music of Japan has maintained its high position side by side with the growing appreciation of Occidental compositions. Japan

had symphony orchestras which played Western classics and moderns. The Tokyo Symphony Orchestra in 1936 was recognized as one of the world's outstanding musical organizations. Keizo Horiuchi, well-known composer, lived in Shanghai in 1937 in order to obtain material for a symphony of modern warfare, comparable to Beethoven's score on the Napoleonic wars. He found inspiration in the noise of rifles, machine guns and trench mortars and the shouts of bayonet fighters. Choral societies performed skillfully the cantatas of Bach and the oratorios of Händel. Chamber music concerts were held before World War II several times weekly in the large cities. Regular broadcasts were given from the main radio stations.

The Japanese, by 1918, had become interested in the popular music of the West. School children sang "Old Black Joe," hillbilly ballads, and Hawaiian songs. Revue companies toured with girls for whom male parts were rewritten.

The change was most conspicuous in the field of phonograph music. The Japanese accepted "canned music" a decade after Count Mutsu, Ambassador to the United States, returned in 1886 with a phonograph. Japan was the world's leading purchaser of records.[5]

A prominent feature of the drama of Japan was the activity of the "new theater" (*shingeki*) which developed in contrast to the decline of the older *Kabuki* plays, although *Ningyo,* or marionettes, were popular with their lifelike size figures, each manipulated by three men who were on the stage in view of the audience. A group was formed in 1909, known as the "free theater," led by Kaoru Osanai, foremost authority on the modern realistic drama of Europe and Sadanji Ichikawa, one of the noted family of *Kabuki* actors. The first productions included Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman,* Gorky's *Night Lodging,* Hauptmann's *Einsame Menschen,* Maeterlinck's *La Morte de Tintagiles,* and Andreyev's *To the Stars.* This school also presented the works of the young Japanese dramatists who were influenced by the West, among them being Torahiko Kori, whose English play, *Yoshitono,* was given in London. Three years before the creation of the "free theater," the Society of Arts and Letters (*Bungei Kyokai*), was founded by Dr. Shoyo Tsubouchi, writer of historical plays and translator of Shakespeare into Japanese. The first play given was *Hamlet.*

The "free theater" aimed to bring the modern Western theater to Japan and the *Bungei Kyokai* attempted to change the atmosphere of the local drama through actors capable of depicting Occidental scenes in Japanese settings. The *Bungei Kyokai* staged Ibsen's *A Doll's House,* Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice,* Sudermann's *Magda,* and Shaw's *The Man of Destiny.*

Hogetsu Shinamura, one of the leaders of the *Bungei Kyokai,* formed a group, the Art Theater (*Geijutsu-za*) and gave Maeterlinck's *Monna*

[5] Sale of classical records exceeded that of the popular. Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony* as played by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra sold two million pieces between 1938 and 1941. The most popular of all symphonies was Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony,* in the orchestration of Henry Wood.

Vanna and *Interieur,* Wilde's *Salomé,* Ibsen's *The Lady from the Sea,* Tchekhov's *The Bear,* and Tolstoy's *Power of Darkness* and *Anna Karenina.*

Two other groups were active for a few years. The *Kindaigeki Kyokai,* founded by Sojin Kamiyama, later of Hollywood, presented Goethe's *Faust.* The *Shinjidaigeki Kyokai,* sponsored by Masao Inoue, a prominent actor, gave successfully Shaw's *The Showing-up of Blanco Posnet.*

A young nobleman, Yoshi Hijikata, a student of the Western theater, and Kaoru Osanai, organized the Tsukiji Little Theater *(Tsukiji Shogekijo).* In four and one-half years they staged more than one hundred pieces by modern European and Japanese playwrights. A split soon occurred in this group. Hijikata, a radical, was forced to seek refuge in Russia. His successors, also with left-wing sympathies, were curtailed by the government. A new dramatic corps was founded by some of the conservatives of the Tsukiji Little Theater in 1936. This body developed into the *Shinkyo Gekidan* and the *Shintsukiji Gekidan,* who performed plays by Japanese with Japanese themes as well as productions based upon plots from Shakespeare and Gorky.

LITERARY TENDENCIES

One of the Japanese newspapers in 1923 sent a questionnaire to the leading writers of the empire asking them to name the foreign authors who had influenced them the most. Ninety per cent of the replies listed Dostoievsky, Rousseau, Turgeniev, Maupassant, Zola, Tchekov, Ibsen, Strindberg, Heine, Shaw, Goethe, and Flaubert.

After World War I, the publisher Seiji Noma, through his *Kodan Club,* started a campaign in popular education, supported by the Ministry of Education. The ancient *Kodan* (historical romances), which had been recited by professional storytellers, were printed in cheap editions. Thus was born the "mass style," used in fiction, drama, belles-lettres, and scientific and philosophic works. This movement was one of the most significant innovations in the history of Japanese literature which has given the people the means to appreciate their literary treasures as well as obtain contemporary creations.

Western literature, especially American fiction, was read widely after 1931, in spite of the rapid growth of nationalism. Translations were not delayed, owing to the lack of copyright agreements between the two countries. Keen competition often resulted when two or more translations of the same book were brought out, as seen in the case of *Gone with the Wind.* Pearl Buck's works had immense sales. Steinbeck, Santayana, Spring, and Caldwell were read.

Contemporary British novels were not translated extensively. One reason was that translators had to pay about 500 yen to the author. D. H. Lawrence's books, however, were known. French novels appealed to a small number of sophisticated readers. The volumes of Roger Martin du

Gard's *Les Thibault,* were printed. The dainty tales of Marguerite Audoux, the humorous stories of Marcel Ayme, and Eve Curie's biography of her mother were popular.

Despite the political pact with Germany, few translations of recent German fiction, with the exception of Thomas Mann's, appeared. Japanese scholars were more interested in German researches in the field of science and philosophy.

During the first year of the war with China (1937), an average of 1,200 pamphlets and brochures were printed monthly. One year later, the average dropped to 400. By this time, the "Incident Stuff," as the fighting was called, changed from emotional tales of warriors to simple, honest accounts of the Japanese soldier in battle on the continent. *Yellow Dust,* by Hiroshi Uyeda and *Battle Line* by Fumiko Hayashi were given laudatory reviews. The best of all, *Wheat and Soldiers,* by Corporal Katsumori Tamai, a personal history of the Soochow campaign of May, 1938, sold 40 editions in four months, and a total sale of half a million copies. *Earth and Soldiers* and *Flowers and Soldiers,* by the same author, were received favorably.

The "China Incident" affected literature in several ways. Radical ideologies were pushed into the background. The ultrarealistic novels picturing the immoral and corrupt aspects of life during war gave way before the efforts to depict the struggle of an empire against a foreign enemy. Technical literature was popular, with works on chemistry, physics, medicine, geography, and aeronautics reaching down to juvenile levels. The Japanese reader was anxious to learn about the economic resources and industrial strength of his country.

There was one type of literature more fashionable in Japan than in any other country. This was the personal or introspective novel, appearing first in 1910. In contrast to the social novel, the personal novel is a story of the author's life, mental attitudes and conceptions of good and evil. The story often is trivial, although the feelings may be deep. In this *shinkyo-shosetsu* ("novel of personal emotions and thought"), the writer gives details, with the names of living individuals with whom he carries on business or private affairs. Before World War II, it was not unusual to find in the daily press book notices like that describing Uno's *The Combat of Love*: "The reader will find in this work a detailed account of the love affair of two writers and an actress." The physical emotions are not reserved, and complete stories often are devoted to them.

Between 1919 and 1931, there was a flurry of proletarian literature, (*puroretarian bungaku*). It was opposed to the "autobiographical" school and emphasized topics of social importance. The Union of Proletarian Authors was founded in 1925, only to be dissolved when Manchuria was invaded in 1931.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the poets of Japan were conscious of world forces and felt that modern subjects and ideas should be utilized. Between 1880 and 1900 the "new-style-poetry-collection" (*Shintai-shi-sho*), mainly English translations, appeared. These two decades were marked

by complete freedom of form. Rhymes were attempted and long descriptive poems, new to Japan, were written. One poet stands out in these years, Yone Noguchi, who was at home with both Japanese and English styles. He was able to produce in English the spirit and quality of traditional forms.

Since 1905 there has been little of the foreign dominating Japanese poetry. The native technique and theme was revived once more, with the *tanka* taking on fresh vigor. Annual competitions in the *tanka* were held under the supervision of the Imperial Bureau of Poetry, with the emperor presiding.

Notes of social consciousness have entered Japanese poetry. Some have emanated from court circles. This feeling has been evident for centuries, many of the emperors expressing on paper at least concern for their humble subjects. In the narrow limits of ancient poetry the modern Japanese writes with a strength injured in translations.

The New Year's contest of 1922, held during the sessions of the Washington Conference, was treated in a spirit of internationalism by the emperor:

> "Vast spaces of the untilled noble sea
> Lying serene beneath the morning sun,
> Would that all nations of the world might be
> Like you forever, peaceful and at one."

The theme for the contests in 1940 was "New Day's Prayer for the Good of the World," (*toshi wo makaete yo wo inoru*), with 35,413 entries. In traditional manner, five were selected and chanted by special officials. Mrs. Sadako Yamanaka, daughter of Count Chinda, wrote in the spirit of the "greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere":

"With the dawn of the new year, my first prayer is for an age of friendship among the nations who use the same scripts."

The emperor pleaded for world harmony; "May the West and the East prosper in mutual friendship; This is Our prayer at the dawn of the year."

The ancient *tanka* is embedded deep in the emotions of the Japanese. It may be difficult for any new movement, such as the Society of New Poetry, headed by the lyrical poetess, Okiko Yosano, to gain great headway.

THE WOMEN OF JAPAN

Geisha are professional singers and dancers. This class of women originated in the days of feudalism, when the destiny of woman, after the role of housekeeper and mother, was believed to be ordained only for exhibition of physical charms and artistic attainments in the entertainment of man, whose code held no place for open association between the sexes.

Many arduous years of training were spent before a girl became a qualified geisha. When 8 or 9 years of age she attended banquets, usually as a dancer. In the geisha-house she was taught polite speech, etiquette, how to act gracefully, and dress artistically. She was instructed how to play the *tsuzumi* (a long snare-drum beaten with the hands), and the three-stringed guitar, the *samisen*. Geisha-houses advanced money to the girl entering this career and took a substantial percentage of her earnings for liquidation of the loan.

In the early days of the system, the literary life of the empire was stimulated by these silken creatures, but the increasing independence of Japanese women has outmoded the institution, although in 1939 there were 12,540 geisha in Tokyo alone. A minority of liberal-minded Japanese males would be delighted to associate with the self-assertive modern woman and shun the geisha, but she may exist for decades, symbolic of conventional feminism; ever graceful and docile and meek; ever willing to accede to man's demands.

The modern women of Japan, called "compact girls" by the conservatives, looked with scorn upon the ancient type of beauty, the geisha and the frail doll of the Tokugawa era. They have changed face and figure to conform with Occidental standards. Foreign sports, tennis, swimming, baseball, track, were encouraged in the high schools as a means of gaining symmetrical physiques. Kimono and *hakama* (plaited skirt) were supplanted by the light, simple Western garb which permitted greater freedom of action. The beauty parlors grew. Bobbed-haired women, with manicured fingernails, appeared in office and hotel lobby. Legs, hitherto concealed, were now valuable adjuncts to beauty.

When Raicho Hiratsuka, a noted suffragette, in 1914, fell in love with a youth six years her junior, conservatives were shocked by the "shamelessness." Girls, however, especially in the cities, once submissive to parental authority, refused to remain unemotional puppets and insisted upon selecting their own husbands. A leading women's magazine, *Fujin Gaho*, in 1939, sent a questionnaire to 15,000 women. Of this number, 44 per cent had friends who married for love. Seventy-two per cent were willing to side with their younger sisters in controversy with parents over love affairs. Fifty-eight per cent favored the remarriage of young widows. Seventy-seven per cent would marry men with a monthly income of 70 yen, a sum inadequate for comfortable urban living. One of the most famous flings of the "free girl" was that of Yoshiko Togo, granddaughter of Admiral Togo, who, being curtailed by her father and receiving low grades at the Peeresses' School, in 1934 worked for several weeks as a waitress in a beerhall.

After all qualified men had been drawn into war services, women entered commerce and industry.[6] Women were seen on the floor of the Tokyo Stock Exchange as clerks for the first time since its creation in

[6] Ministry of Welfare figures show 1,880,000 female workers in 1937, of whom 1,270,000 were employed in factories, 72,000 in communications, 54,000 in mines, and 48,000 as day laborers.

1897. They were used after 1931 as bellhops, caddies, gas station attendants, bartenders, and conductors.

Many men were concerned over the interest of women in economic questions. They feared they would seek the independence of the American women. The picture of women living outside the home gave concern to those who viewed the relationship in the West between women at work and a declining birth rate. The chief cause which has driven thousands into industry was found in the new social conditions grounded in capitalism. Many women, whether they willed it or not, were forced out into the world years before World War II. The high cost of living destroyed the economic strength of father, husband, and brother. The average male was unable to guarantee a decent life for the female. Like her sisters in other lands where industrialization was growing, the woman of Japan will not graciously agree to any total "back-to-the-home" movement.

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND ITS ACTIVITIES

After the Restoration of 1867, the Japanese were so eager to embrace every conceivable foreign doctrine and principle entering the empire that there was danger of destroying all traditional standards. In order to counterbalance this uncritical enthusiasm, the Imperial Rescript on Education was issued in October, 1890, which set forth the educational policy of Japan. All schools accepted this Rescript:

"Know ye, Our subjects; Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a broad and everlasting basis and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

"The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

Education was mainly under the control of the state. The Minister of Education supervised all phases of art, science, literature, and religion. There were elementary schools, (compulsory), middle or high schools, girls' high schools, technical schools in the secondary educational field and *Koto Gakko* ("higher schools"), universities, special colleges, technical colleges, normal schools, special institutes for the training of teachers, and schools for the education of youths' school teachers. There were also kindergartens, schools for the blind, deaf and dumb, etc.

MILITARY EDUCATION

When six years of age, the Japanese boy started his military education. At that time he was taught in school to march, drill, sing martial songs, and maneuver wooden soldiers. Uniforms were donned and the manual of arms was learned with a light rifle at the age of 12. All high schools had parade grounds and drill halls. There was an annual military field exercise of schoolboys.

Boys between the ages of 6 and 16, besides this training, were drilled in "morals," that is, devotion to the ruling family, the nation and special loyalty to the Emperor, with dying "for my beloved Emperor" the "dearest wish" of all good Japanese. When leaving school, the boy was under the guidance of the Young Men's Association, with branches in every village, whose chief aim was the inculcation of patriotic precepts. Conscription then followed, and a series of difficult examinations were given, which were passed only by one out of eight. Those failing were placed on the Reserve List.

The two years of military life were not easy. The terrain of the barracks were used to provide the conditions of actual warfare. Mountains were climbed, rivers were forded, deep snow was waded. Field exercises were designated for the hottest or the coldest days of the year. Thus, the soldier of Japan was taught to expect discomfort and be eager to accept sacrifices without murmur.

The Army was the religion of Japan, the spiritual force making men forget themselves in acts of unselfishness for exalted, mystical causes. This code included the determination not to be taken prisoner, with suicide rather than capture the greatest of virtues.

EDUCATION TURNS EASTWARD

A great change marked the outlook of students after the beginning of the "China Incident." Until the military advances against China there was a spirit of internationalism moving many to regard with sympathy the efforts of those eager to build a world upon principles of peace. This spirit was dampened in May, 1938, when General Baron Sadao Araki was made Minister of Education. The general, as chairman of the Na-

tional Spiritual Mobilization Commission, set out to mold the thought of youth. The clearest expression of his convictions was made in 1937:

". . . The view of world history, which has the Occident as its center, has come to a deadlock and must be revised entirely. Under the motto 'Light comes from the East,' the Orient must show a new conception to the world. Thus it is that the present incident (war with China) is not a problem of Japan and China alone; it is a problem of the revival of Eastern culture. . . .

"Reform and promotion of education are necessary in every country and in every period. This is especially true of Japan under the present circumstances, as this country needs more excellent human material resources. Overcoming the present difficulties requires a firm and unified spirit throughout the nation. It is therefore necessary to set up the fundamental way of action for the people and to set up clear principles of thought for them to follow. . . .

"Japan has arisen to a place among great Powers since the Meiji Era and has been anxious to attain the same standards of science and culture as those of the Occidental Powers. In fact, Japan owes its prosperity to Occidental culture and science.

"On the other hand, it is regrettable that some of those ideas imported from Western countries are incompatible with the Japanese national structure and the Japanese moral spirit. Here we feel the necessity of educational reform, the purpose of which is to create a Japanese culture based upon the true meaning of the Japanese structure. We are far from saying that we should exclude Western learning and culture. We should take these in and refine them on the basis of our national structure and history.

"Western learning and culture are based essentially on individualism. The present trend of the world indicates that totalitarianism is going to replace individualism, and the concrete is going to replace the abstract."

General Araki developed these ideas further in an article, "State and Education," in *Contemporary Japan* for December, 1938: "Our Empire rests upon the foundation of blood relationship which far transcends mere morality, and our Ruler is viewed in the light of a supermoral Being. . . . It is the firm belief of our people, regardless of sex, age, or occupation, that they can attain the highest degree of moral being by sacrificing themselves for their Ruler and Empire. This is indeed the faith of the Japanese nation. The purpose of Japanese education, therefore, is to inspire the people with this aspiration to serve the Emperor and the State in conformity with the guiding spirit voiced by the first emperor, Jimmu Tenno."

With objectives staked out, education turned away from liberalism, individualism and internationalism. Students cut their long hair, practiced thrift by using secondhand clothes and textbooks. Military education was made compulsory in all government and private schools in April, 1939. Free student labor, copied from Germany, was introduced. Students of college level worked on outdoor projects in the summer vacation

period for one week, toiling on roads, air defenses, excavations for public buildings, and monuments. The younger cleaned up the grounds about the many shrines. Eleven thousand students of the Department of Education's Asiatic Reconstruction Labor Service Corps were sent to the fields of Manchuria and North China in order to train for the war.

The authorities had little trouble in suppressing the "special shops" near the schools, where girls sat with the customers as they drank their tea, and replaced them with older, modestly dressed women whose presence in cozy nooks and comfortable chairs held no allure for the patrons. Waseda University, one of the highest ranking private institutions in the empire, with a student body of 18,000, was induced by the police to promulgate some self-disciplinary measures. These included:

(1) Students should borrow foreign textbooks from their instructors and make mimeographed copies in order to alleviate the book shortage.
(2) Students should worship often at Meiji and Yasukuni Shrines and bow every morning toward the Imperial Palace.
(3) Students should attend extracurricular lectures, practice gymnastics, refrain from smoking on certain days, and gather scrap metal.
(4) Students should sell old papers and magazines to raise funds for military hospitals.
(5) Students should plant trees to commemorate the "China Affair."
(6) Students should contribute money for memorials to their classmates in the armed services.
(7) Students should not buy Western style clothes.

In this manner, the youth of Japan were regimented.

A PEOPLE AT WAR; STATE CONTROL IN ACTION

Japan was not long in preparing civilian economy for the demands of war. One year after the "China Incident" started (1938), all the 52 public dance halls, most of them in Tokyo, were closed. The fox trot and rhumba were judged to be among the "immoral" foreign vices and banned from other dance centers. One year later the Cabinet approved a plan to direct the people toward simpler living. Rules to govern national discipline were formulated: "to get up early, to be thankful, to co-operate with compatriots, to serve the state through labor, to be punctual, to economize in the use of goods and to save money, and to train body and mind."

The committees of the National Spiritual Mobilization Commission and women's organizations agreed to cut down on wedding and funeral expenses. This was followed by the closing of mah-jong parlors and lectures by the police to waitresses on general behavior. The Tokyo golf course, one of the finest in the world, with turf imported from Scotland, was taken over by the Army in March, 1941, and its clubhouse converted into a hospital.

An imperial ordinance of October 20, 1939, prohibited increases in food prices, wages, rent, and freight charges. It was announced at this time that clothing costs had increased 40 per cent in two years, cereals 30 per cent, and coal and gasoline 29 per cent. Prices for meals in all first class hotels and restaurants were fixed in September, 1940, at one yen for breakfast, 2.50 yen for lunch, and five yen for dinner being the maximum. Charges for movies, theaters, boxing, and other games were fixed. New laws governing pay increases and bonuses were effective on October 19, 1939. In the hiring of new employees, firms were forbidden to pay university graduates with technical skills more than 85 yen monthly, others 75 yen, and high school graduates a starting wage of no more than 42 yen. Bonus maximums were set at nine months salary yearly, but if these were paid in National Bonds or postal savings, 7 per cent additional was allowed.

The control of distribution and prices of fresh fruits and vegetables began in March, 1940. Gasoline allotments for private cars ended in October 1940, and by 1941, 70 per cent of all buses had been converted to burn substitute fuels. The Ministry of Commerce decreed in December, 1940, that towels would be rationed, one per year. By this time, a ration-card system was in effect for bleached cotton and infants' underwear. The empire's staple food, rice, was rationed early in 1941.[7] Each adult received seven *sheng* (*sheng* is 1.10 lbs), monthly. Clothes were rationed in February, 1942. A person residing in a large city was allowed one hundred points yearly, and one living in a village was allowed 80 points. Each suit in 1943 required 63 points; an overcoat 50 points; a woman's dress 35 points; a shirt 15 points; socks 3 points, and a handkerchief 2 points. Most of the clothes were made from synthetic cotton, which deteriorated after three washings.

The industrial structure was in process of change in the summer of 1943. The Cabinet drew up a blueprint to consolidate the "productive elements in all fields of industry," expand dormant vital industries, and readjust the labor supply and transportation system. Under the direction of the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society, managed by the army, "the movement is planned so the people can be inspired and a fighting spirit can be promoted to beat the strong enemy." All unmarried physically fit women from twelve to forty years of age, excepting those with dependents, were drafted for labor service in August, 1944. The same month the government awarded a prize for the best slogan of the war, *Iki, waki, konki, sakekki* ("spirit, harmony, stamina, total action").

[7] Before World War II, Japan Proper produced about 80 per cent of its food requirements. The rest was imported from Korea and Formosa. Japan was self-sufficient in barley and buckwheat and depended upon importations for 35 per cent of the millet and 65 per cent of the corn consumed. Demand for the two latter grains was very small. The food of the Japanese, in caloric values, compared favorably with that of other countries. The quality, when judged by Western standards, was not high. An excessive amount of cereals, especially rice, was consumed. About 4 per cent was meat, contrasted with 30 to 40 per cent in Western Europe. The Japanese diet was low in protein, minerals, and vitamins, yet was the best-balanced diet in Asia.

THE COMMON MAN AND WORLD WAR II

The Little Farmer and His Little Farm

There were about 5,500,000 farming families in Japan in 1940, constituting 40 per cent of the country's total number of households. The cultivated land was about 5,960,000 *cho* or 15,000,000 acres, less than three acres per family. These small farms frequently were not single lots but were scattered about in patches. Ownership often was divided. One-third of the small farmers were sharecroppers. There were 2,550,259 owners in 1937 with less than half a *cho* each.

These farmers raised rice for sale and ate millet, used in the United States as forage. Few had ploughs and turned over the soil by hand with a crude 18-inch blade implement. The farmer's boy, from the age of ten, hauled produce to the markets with trailers tied behind bicycles, some covering 40 miles a day. Here was the reservoir of manpower for factory and army and navy.

In April, 1944, Radio Tokyo criticized the farmers for not saving 25 per cent of their income in order to escape "unavoidable famine." This advice was given to a class deeply in debt. By contrast, the government gave large subsidies to industry. In 1940, landowners paid 31.5 per cent of their incomes in taxes; manufacturers paid 18 per cent, and merchants paid 14 per cent. Upon the farmers fell the burden of taxes.

The Large-Family Campaign

There has been concern since 1937 over the decline of the birth rate in Japan Proper. Estimates have been made on the basis of a continuing decrease showing that the population would reach a peak of 122,000,000 by 1995 and then drop off. A rapid fall was marked in 1938. The birth rate had declined to 26.70 and the rate of increase had declined from 13.65 to 9.26 in 1937. The population figures for 1939 showed 72,875,800 inhabitants, an increase of only 653,100 over 1938. In every previous year of the decade the rate had been more than 900,000.

Rewards were offered in 1940 for large families. The national policy of "Increase the Population" was sponsored by the Ministry of Welfare. The vice-governor of Nagasaki, Hanjiro Shiroto, won first place with 10 boys and 6 girls. The government was alarmed when it was discovered that in 1920 there were 36 children for each 1,000 of the population, falling to 27 in 1938. At this time, 1,000,000 men were on service in China. The 5-child family was set as the goal with the expectancy of increasing the population to 100,000,000 by 1960.

This increase was to be achieved by lowering the marriage age by three years. Men, it was hoped, would marry no later than at twenty-five and

women at twenty-one. Females working in factories were to be restricted, loans were to be made to newly married couples, and tax reductions were to favor large families. Kenichi Kumagaye, an official of the Ministry of Welfare, declared it was futile to have many tanks and planes without men to run them.

The End of the Road

All classes were taken in 1937 by the armed services, the sons of millionaires marching side by side with the sons of tenant farmers. The city streets were filled with women carrying long white cloths asking other women to place one red stitch each on the material. The work was not completed until one thousand stitches had been made. Moved by the belief that this band of *senninbari* (1,000) stitches could not be pierced by enemy bullets, the cloth and prayers were carried by the soldier into battle.

Police officials controlled the meetings which in the first three years of war in China marked the moving of troops to the front. Some liberals and Christians saw the true character of the conflict, but the tradition of persecution for the sake of truth and a deliberate seeking of martyrdom was not in the emotional life of the Japanese. Most of them regarded the war as the only road to power. By October, 1937, the shock of deaths in the Chinese campaigns was cushioned by the press ceasing to print casualty lists. Newspapers published a few short sketches and pictures of deceased officers and men of local importance.

The average business man was anxious from the first day of war but hoped that victories would compensate for financial losses. The government maintained his morale by assuring him that successes in China would bring larger markets, eliminate the persistent boycott movements, and reduce the many tariffs. The majority of the big commercial houses (*Zaibatsu*) hesitated to criticize the government because of mounting profits from war contracts. The United States and Great Britain were unpopular because they blocked the economic growth of the empire. The menace of the Soviet Union held them in line. The Ōsaka community especially supported the military, irked by losses in the markets of India. They had no liking, furthermore, for an industrialized China unless they were consulted concerning the future exploitation of that country.

By the spring of 1939, efforts were no longer made to make the "war" merely an "incident." Labor in the cities was not restless. The general industries were faced with manpower shortages, and wages of workers in armament plants had increased five fold in many areas.

The picture was different in rural Japan. Conscription had hit the farmer harder than the factory worker. Youth from the farms flocked to the cities attracted by high wages. The government drafted students for agricultural services in order to aid those farmers left without their sons. Rice prices were controlled, yet the cost of necessities found the farmer

restricted. He was without cotton cloth, rubber-soled shoes, and oilskins. Some looked for an early peace and carried on from day to day, trying to forget the tax burden,[8] mounting living costs, and the deaths of fathers and husbands and sons. Some were aware of the fact that the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States were keeping China alive and were soon to be in combat against them.

War weariness was apparent by 1940. The radio and press pointed out that more than one-third of China was ready for the "New Order," beguiling the ears of the common man in office and factory and field. Fuel was low. Railway cars were unheated. Gas inspectors in Tokyo sealed one burner on each kitchen range. Cotton, wool, leather, metals, and canned goods were no longer available. Cigarettes were rare. Average food costs in 18 months soared 130 per cent. Clothing costs averaged in 1940, 200 per cent more than 1938. For the first time in 20 years, rice was imported. Women rebelled against the inferior staple fiber or *sufu* clothes, sold under governmental orders.

The celebration of Empire Day on February 11, 1941, was attended with all the traditional rites in which religious and political spheres coalesced. The emperor led the age-old worship commemorating the "2,601st anniversary of the founding of the empire." A public festival was held in Tokyo and 3,000 teachers and city officials listened to the words of Baron Kiichior Hiranuma, Home Minister, who spoke of a sacred throne and imperial rule as "an extension of Heaven."

For two years the thoughts of victory spurred on Japan. Then, notes of despair were heard. Premier Togo delivered a New Year's message on January 1, 1944, in which he spoke of the Allies putting Japan "to a crucial test" and it was "the sublime duty of everyone now to sacrifice body and soul without a single atom of self-interest." The premier was franker on February 6, 1944. He warned the Diet that the conflict was "increasing in ferocity day by day and we now are being confronted with the situation where the fate of the Greater East Asia sphere and the rise and fall of Imperial Japan will be decided."

A wide-sweeping man-power mobilization law was announced on January 21, 1945, when Premier Koiso told the Diet that the American attacks on Luzon and the homeland were critical. Under the new law, all classes of labor, including students, the unemployed, and the retired were to register for labor draft. On March 1, Koiso warned that Japan soon would become a battlefield.

The government, on March 19, ordered the closing of all schools, colleges, and universities for one year and began to mobilize students for war and food production. In the same month, bills were passed which aimed to give the army and navy control of all activities by empowering the armed forces to supervise all land, buildings, and materials; the transfer and removal of buildings and agricultural commodities; the transfer of labor, and the employment of all Japanese for military works.

[8] In 1936 the Japanese were taxed 1,052,000,000 yen for war purposes; 83 yen for every citizen. In 1941, the war tax was 3,690,000,000 yen; 342 yen for each citizen.

Most of the domestic broadcasts maintained a specious optimism in the last months of war but little was left to keep the home front from accepting the reality of the impending defeat, from the United States Navy, from the Soviet advances in the north, and from the final terror of the atomic bombs. By the spring of 1945, apathy was wider spread, with the Black Dragon Society and its devotees of violence the only powerful organization stirring the people to action. The workers were hungry on a diet reduced by one-fifth, and consisting for the most part of small quantities of rice, soya oatmeal, and hot water. All kinds of clothing and coal for the homes had been taken from private use. Most of the stores, restaurants, and theaters had shut their doors. The road toward a greater empire was blocked by the might of the Allied Powers.

27 The Economic Development of Japan

The "Revolt of the East" talked and written about for half a century began when modern methods of production entered Asia. The land of "revolt," the first of the Oriental "backward" countries to accept the challenge of Western superiority, was Japan.

The rise of Japan from obscurity to world power is a fascinating story. This emergence occurred within 40 years. In the capital, Tokyo, at the beginning of the twentieth century, life was simple. There was no electricity. There was no modern machinery. Homes and shops were lighted by kerosene lamps. Here and there on some of the main streets a dim glow appeared from a gas lamp post but no one walked in the darkness without a paper lantern.

The transportation system was primitive. No elevated railways, no streetcars, no buses, no automobiles speeded on their way. From Shimbashi to Ueno, on the Ginza, there were some small horse streetcars. Prosperous Japanese used the jinrikisha.

Industrial activities consisted of handicrafts. More than 72 per cent of the people tilled the soil or fished in the seas. The foreign trade of Japan was so small that it was only occasionally mentioned in the trade statistics of world commerce.

At the beginning of the century, the merchant marine was in its infancy. Most of the vessels had been built in foreign shipyards. All passenger boats were required to employ foreign captains because insurance companies refused to underwrite ships under Japanese command.

Within a generation Japan moved to the side of those nations respected for economic progress and feared for military might.

AGRICULTURE AND THE FARMER

Japan is essentially an agricultural country. There is an insufficient amount of land for cultivation which amounts only to about 15,000,000 acres, or 16 per cent of the entire area. In the past century tillage was increased about 25 per cent and population was doubled.

The abject condition of the farmer is seen in the fact that most of the political parties during their brief existence attempted to better his lot. The average income of the farmer was about 48 cents per day and the

total net income derived from agriculture in 1931, when divided among the 5,500,000 families living on farms, was only $16.20 per family.[1]

The petty farmers in December, 1922, organized into 87 associations of about 800,000 members and agitated for the overthrow of the power of the landlords. Nothing was accomplished by these efforts. Farmers voted for the Minseito party in 1930, hoping to liberalize the politicians but this move was futile. No steps were taken to aid the farmers until after May, 1932, when Premier Inukai was assassinated by some army officers, angered by the plight of their rural kin. At this time, measures were proposed in the Imperial Diet to reduce farm indebtedness, equalize taxes, and determine fair prices for farm produce, but these efforts too were unavailing.

One of the most progressive movements for agricultural improvement was found in the co-operatives. An organization started in 1932, known as the *Noson Kosei Undo*, aimed at achieving economic independence for the farmer through financing, marketing, and purchasing functions undertaken by the entire community. In this setup, production was to be attuned to national needs and extra labor was to be used in the manufacture of toys, canned fruits, motor parts, etc. Factories were constructed for this purpose removed from the densely populated industrial centers, where the petty farmer was able to supplement his income in part-time factory labor.

The agricultural crisis appeared to be eternal. Reforms were needed of a basic character in order to reconcile modern capitalism on one side and feudalism on the other. Japanese industry grew at the expense of agriculture by way of high tariffs and heavy taxes. Prosperity for the farmer was impossible without solving his debt problems but no strong peasant movement attempted to convert thousands of virtual serfs into independent farmers, owing to the dominance of a military government.

THE RISE OF FACTORIES

The first large-scale factory in Japan was a cotton-spinning mill, containing 5,000 spindles, built in 1862. A silk-reeling factory was started in

[1] Official figures for 1941 show that of the 5,498,826 households of farmers in 1941, 35.5 per cent (1,850,000), cultivated farms of 1.25 acres or less in size. This area was 1,398,000 acres, or 9.5 per cent of the total land devoted to agriculture. About 50 per cent of this amount was tilled by tenant farmers. The figures as published by the Japanese government appeared to show that the 90.5 per cent of the land remaining was not concentrated in the hands of big landlords.

In 1941, 3,125,000 households, or 56.6 per cent of the total, held farms of from 1.25 to five acres in size, totalling 8,339,000 acres or 56.9 per cent of the entire land in farms. Of the total tilled farms, 4,971,000 households, or 90.1 per cent, farmed less than 5 acres in size and the 9,737,000 acres cultivated was 66.4 per cent of the land under cultivation. Of this amount, 5,125,849 acres were farmed by the owners.

Nine and one-tenth per cent or 504,922 households, farmed from 5 to 25 acres, amounting to 4,073,000 acres, or 27.8 per cent of the land cultivated, 20,197 households, or 0.4 per cent tilled farms of more than 25 acres, totalling 850,512 acres, or 5.8 per cent of the land. The average was 4.21 acres. In 1941, out of 1,711,404 households owning land, 165,996 rented 2.5 or more acres to tenants; in 1943, this group rose to 214,602 out of 1,764,642 owners. (See Charles Nelson Spinks, "Japan's Not-so-Desperate Peasants," *Asia and the Americas*, April, 1946, 175–176.)

1870. The French system of filature, on French machines, was initiated in 1872.

The net increase of factories between 1868 and 1900 was from one hundred to three hundred yearly. The twentieth century showed rapid gains. More than a thousand were established in 1907, and about 2,000 began operation in 1917. The total number of factories in 1929 was 71,215, employing 1,999,116 workers. The number of laborers in 1931 totalled 4,729,436 (3,215,256 males and 1,514,180 females), in factories, mines, transport, and communications and casual work. Before World War II, an effort was made to train 4,500 mechanics annually for the machine tool enterprises alone in order to bring production in 1942 to the level in the United States in 1933.

PRIVATE CONCERNS

(EMPLOYING MORE THAN FIVE WORKERS)[1]

	1936	1937	1938	1939
Number of enterprises	90,602	106,005	112,332	137,422
Number of persons employed (thousands)	2,592.7	2,936.5	3,217.7	3,766.7
Gross value of production (million yen)	12,258	16,365	19,667	24,360
Wages and salaries (million yen)	971.8′	1,152.3′	1,442.0′	1,927.3′

The cheapest labor in the world, considering its relatively high workmanship, was found in Japan. There were 640,000 workers employed in the textile, cotton, and silk factories in 1916. Girls under fifteen received nine cents daily, and adult males received 25 cents daily in these factories. Between 1914 and 1920, labor was restless. The cost of living in these years soared. Steel workers, iron workers, and carpenters received a maximum of $1.50 daily. Day laborers received $1.00 in contrast to the American with his $5.00. Rickshaw pullers were the highest paid of all labor, gaining from $1.00 to $3.00 daily. A pound of rice sold for three cents in 1914. It was eight cents in 1921. Dried fish, a staple in the diet of the common man, was four cents in 1914 and reached ten cents in 1921.

The unprecedentated trade expansion of Japan was undertaken at the expense of farm and factory worker. Skilled munition workers between 1939 and 1945 earned more than cabinet ministers, a worker's wages and bonus amounting to 10,000 yen annually and cabinet members being paid 6,720 yen (yen equals 22.27 cents). Munitions prosperity, however, did not affect the majority who were paid on the average of about 1,000 yen yearly and whose working hours were raised to 14 per day.

The cost of living harassed the workers of Japan more persistently than in any other part of the world, except China and India. Well could they add their voices to the seventh century lament—"No smoke rises from the

[2] *Far Eastern Survey*, April 7, 1941, 69 ff.

hearth, spiders' webs are spun in the rice-steamer, and we have forgotten how to cook rice." [3]

TRADE UNIONISM

The first trade union was organized in 1883 by the rickshaw-men for strike purposes, only to be dissolved when the leader was imprisoned on criminal charges. A foreman of the Shūyeisha Printing Company of Tokyo in 1884 formed the printers' labor union with the support of his employer, the friend of labor, Teiichi Sakuma, the "Robert Owen of Japan." This group split within two months over personal differences. The same workers combined in 1889 and were broken up by outside opposition. The iron workers of the capital unionized in 1887 but inertia within the band ended its life. Two years later, the ironworkers union (*Domei Shinkō Gumi*) was founded among the laborers in shipyards, arsenals, and railways. This popular movement failed when suspicions of dishonesty were rumored among the officials. A union of shoemakers started in 1892 as the Japan Labor Association (*Nihon Rōdō Kyokai*) also gained no headway.

The second period of trade unionism began in 1890 when some Japanese in San Francisco transferred their society to Tokyo. This organization included the pioneer labor leaders, Tsunetaro Jo, Fusataro Takano, and Hannosuke Sawada. The union took a militant name, the "Society of Workers to Fight for Justice" (*Shokko Gujū Kai*) and aimed to make itself comparable to the American Federation of Labor. It was endorsed by Sen Katayama, a prominent Communist, and the liberal, Saburo Shimada. These leaders were responsible for the establishment of the "Society for the Formation of Trade Unions" (*Rōdō Kumiai Kisei Kai*) and the organization of iron workers, locomotive engineers, ship's carpenters, doll-makers, file-makers, and lithographers. The first workers' journal printed in Japan, the *Workers World* (*Rōdō Sekai*), with Sen Katayama as editor, was born in 1897, which expressed the opinions of these groups. The newly formed Society was defeated by the antilabor legislation of the government as found in the Public Peace Police Act (*Chian Keisatsu Hō*), passed in 1900.

Between 1900 and 1912 trade unionism was moribund. These years are called the "Period of Submission" (*Chinsen Ki*) by social historians. The months were disturbed by the riots of 1907 during which the miners demanded higher wages.

Modern trade unions began in 1912 through the creation of the

[3] Income-tax returns for 1938–1939 show the following: 1,500,000 earned less than $2,500 annually; 3,223 persons had incomes exceeding $50,000; and seven paid income taxes on more than $2,000,000.

Middle-class incomes on the average were $600–750 annually, 340,872 being in this category; 330,625 had incomes between $500–600; 40,929 in the $400–500 bracket, the lowest amount taxed. The most significant feature of these tax returns is the rapid decline between $2,500 and above, with 207,770 paying on $2,500 and only 76,493 paying on $3,000–3,500.

"Friendship Society" (*Yūaikai*), instituted by Bunji Suzuki in the Unitarian Church of Tokyo. Suzuki, university graduate and journalist, at the time secretary of the church, met with 15 disciples from various trades. In the beginning, this society was interested in education for workers through promoting mutual aid, developing knowledge, character, and skill, and improving the general standards of living.

The conservative character of this group attracted the attention of many influential politicians and writers with prolabor views. Within a year, 1,300 members were enrolled. The prestige of the *Yūaikai* was heightened in 1913 when it succeeded in getting a dispute settled in favor of some striking phonograph makers. Two years later, the body brought an end to a strike of the Tokyo Muslin Spinning Company. By 1917, there were 20,000 in the *Yūaikai*, including sailors and women.

The *Yūaikai* in 1916 was faced by a rival society, the union of printers, the *Srinyūkai* or "Faithful Friends Society." The *Shinyūkai*, in contrast to the conservative *Yūaikai*, was a radical organization.

The growth of trade unionism was stimulated by the birth of the International Labor Organization in 1919. The knowledge that labor at last was recognized stirred the Japanese workers to gain strength by way of combinations. The first sign of proletarian strength was seen in the years 1921–1926 when 20 schools were founded by labor unions. The Labor School of Tokyo, managed by the Workers' Educational Association, under Bunji Suzuki, president of the General Federation of Labor, trained officials for administrative posts in the various trade unions and also promoted "social education."

Before the convocation of the First Session of the International Labor Conference was called at Washington, the union leaders of Japan expected that delegates would be selected from among the organized workers in conformity with the declaration in the Treaty of Versailles (Art. 389). The government disregarded the workers and appointed as delegate, Uhei Masumoto, a nonunion technician, chief engineer of a large shipbuilding yard. In 1924, 1925, and 1930, however, the power of labor was conceded when Bunji Suzuki was named by the government as workers' delegate to the International Labor Conferences.

After 1925, Japanese trade unions concentrated less upon political aims than upon sociological objectives. At the meeting of the General Federation of Japanese Labor in 1932, a resolution was adopted: "(1) Pursuing the ideal of fraternity, we strive for the development and perfection of ourselves, through the promotion of our enlightenment, improvement of technical skill, and cultivation of virtue. (2) Through an autonomous organization and self-imposed discipline of the workers, we strive for the maintenance and improvement of their labour conditions and the promotion of their mutual welfare. (3) In accordance with the existing condition of our country, we strive for a fundamental reform of the capitalist system and the establishment of a new, sound society."

The annual Congress of the Confederation of Japanese Trade Unions (*Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Sorengo*) of November, 1932, recommended that

old age, disability, widows', and orphans' insurances be adopted. It was resolved also that "we strive for the emancipation of the working class through trade unionism. By force of association, we strive to secure a fair distribution. We strive for the establishment of a new society based upon fraternal love."

The lines between the various labor groups were marked by 1935. Kanju Kato, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the National Council of Japanese Trade Unions, headed 15,000 workers with radical tendencies. In opposition to these were the nationalistic unions centered in the munitions factories and the liberal unions. Out of 5,770,000 workers in Japan, only 380,000 were members of these factions.

The militaristic cabinet of General Senjuro Hayashi was able to have restrictive regulations applied to all aggressive unionism in March, 1937.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBANIZATION

With the rapid growth of the factory system, the number and size of Japanese cities increased. In 1898, there were 153 cities with a population of about 10,000. In 1918, there were 233 cities exceeding 10,000 in population. In 1925 there were 609. The six largest industrial centers were Ōsaka (3,092,498); Tokyo (3,276,000); Nagoya (1,249,100); Kobe (1,006,100); Kyōto (1,177,200); and Yokohama (2,652,988).

Tokyo, "the New York of Japan," political and economic heart of the empire, was one of the most interesting cities on the globe, containing modernism side by side with ancient culture. Several million people lived within a space of 217 square miles, making it one of the largest cities in the world. Rebuilt after the great earthquake and fire of 1923, Tokyo utilized the skill of engineers to create a splendid metropolis. No city in the West contained so many new buildings, department stores, factories, banks, transportation systems, harbors, educational and social organizations as did Greater Tokyo before World War II. Here were found 15,182 factories; 1,263 schools, including 21 universities and 76 colleges; 126 parks, some renowned for their beauty; a transportation system with an investment of $218,400,000; and 10,000 taxicabs, most of them of American make.

Ōsaka, the "Pittsburgh-Chicago of Japan," was the second largest city. Greater Ōsaka extended over more than 70 square miles. Ōsaka was one of the most important shipping ports in the East. Blending into the modern factories, hotels, schools, theaters, public buildings, and harbor were well preserved historic castles as well as contemporary artistic parks and gardens. There were 49,379 factories employing more than 280,000 workers in 1935.

Ōsaka contained more than 80,000 retail stores and 200 shopping sections. Dotonbori, "Broadway of the East," was a famous theatrical center. Here the famed puppet show, *Bunraku,* was located. Here also were theaters furnishing classical dramas of old Japan as well as modern pro-

ductions. This commingling of the ancient and the new was one of the charms of Ōsaka during the years of peace.

Nagoya, fourth city of the empire, was the leader in woolen textiles, porcelains and cloisonné. Nagoya Castle attracted thousands of tourists every year. Atsuta Shrine is one of the most important of the national religious centers. When a new cabinet was organized, it was customary for the premier and his ministry to worship here.

BANKS AND BANKERS

The banking system of Japan was based upon three kinds of banks—the special government-controlled group; the private commercial banks; and savings banks. The Bank of Japan, the central institution, in which the Imperial Household had about one-half interest, was at the head of the entire organization and under the management of a Governor and a Deputy-governor, appointed by the government, and four Directors elected by the stockholders.

About 80 per cent of all available funds in the empire in 1940 were in banks, trust companies, or the reserves of insurance companies. Most of the capital was in the hands of the large financiers and bankers. About one-third of all bank deposits and debentures were in the special banks controlled by the government. The "Big Six" possessed more than 46 per cent of all deposits in the private institutions. This group was composed of the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Yasuda, Sumitomo, Asano, and Shibusawa families.

The most famous of all these plutocracies (*Zaibatsu*) was the house of Mitsui which was active in the business life of Japan for 1,300 years and a politico-economic power for four hundred years. The keystone of Mitsui and Company, Limited, was the trading company, Mitsui Bussan Kabushiki Kaisha which dealt in silks, tea, cotton, coal, oil, sugar, cereals, fertilizers, shipping, shipbuilding, and banks. Wars increased the wealth of Mitsui Bussan. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, its capital rose from 200,000 yen to 20,000,000 yen. During World War I, business was quadrupled to 100,000,000 yen. In the depths of the depression (1934) its banking profits were 19.1 per cent. This wealth was intact through the years because there was no diffusion in international marriages. The family, furthermore, had not died out for eleven generations owing to the Japanese custom of adoptions.

EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATIONS

Guilds of merchants, bankers, and master craftsmen in the various industries have existed for six centuries. These organizations, known as *Nakama* and *Za*, at times exercised great power as creditors of the *daimyō* as well as the common m n.

The organization of modern forms of business began in the last years of the nineteenth century. The first Chamber of Commerce was instituted in 1878. A trade association of the petty merchants and industrialists, the *Dōgyo Kumiai,* was created in 1884. The government encouraged the building of these trade bodies in order to prevent harmful competition and protect the public from the manufacture of inferior goods.

The "Important Products Trade Associations Act" (*Jūyō Bussan Dōgyo Kumiai Hō*) passed in 1900, promoted the formation of guilds of the smaller producers and manufacturers. In the same year, the Chamber of Commerce Act and the Co-operative Societies Act were passed. Through the encouragement of industrial and commercial employers' organs the government aimed to curtail all efforts on the part of workers to construct strong unions.

There were other types of associations for the dominant groups in Japan. The so-called free associations possessed a legal personality and were composed of representative agencies such as the Japan Cotton Spinners' Associations, the Japan Wool Industry Association, the Federation of Coal-Mine Owners, the Federation of Bleaching Powder Manufacturers, the Federation of Sugar Manufacturers, and the Japan Economic Federation (*Nihon Keizai Renmei Kai*).

In order to meet trade union forces and threats to profits from the Universal Suffrage Act, new associations were initiated in 1896 when the Mine-Owners Friendly Talk Society (*Kōzan Kon-wa Kai*) was formed. After 1916, the time the Factory Act was applied for the first time, other comparable bands of factory owners were active under the names of Factory Associations (*Kōjō Kyokai*), Industrial Associations (*Kōgyo Kai*), and Factory Owners' Friendly Talk Society (*Kōjo Kon-wa Kai*). It is worthy of note that the offices of these associations usually were located at the Police Bureau or Factory Inspection headquarters of the municipal prefectures.

A national organization of Japanese employers was formed on April 21, 1931, when the delegates of 42 industrial concerns met in Tokyo to oppose the Trade Union Bill. This group was called the National Federation of Industrial Organizations (*Zenkoku Sangyo Dantai Rengōkai*), the most important federation of employers in the empire until its dissolution in 1945.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM

During the period of seclusion, ending in 1854, the population of the empire reached 30,000,000. Then, the industrial revolution had the same effect as in the West. Prosperity and a growing population went together. Western medical practices aided in the reduction of the death rate. Between 1890 and 1935, the city population rose more than 30 per cent; the countryside only 7 per cent.

By 1921, the population had grown to 56,000,000 and was increasing at

the rate of 700,000 yearly. By 1938, Japan contained 72,222,700, with a density five and one-half times that of England and four times that of Belgium.

Five means have been considered to settle this pressing problem—birth control, emigration, more efficient agricultural technique, industrialization, and war.

Birth control was not to be the solution for Japan. Many a patriot believed that this type of restriction had been invented by Western scientists in order to destroy the civilization of Japan. Such practices, moreover, ran counter to the religious and traditional customs of the land, a popular proverb emphasizing the point that "an honest man has many children."

Emigration, for many years, was regarded as the only solution for the excess population. Yet, the Japanese hesitated to leave their homes. In the regions open to them the climate was too harsh and in the tropics they encountered Chinese competition. The government found it difficult to induce large numbers to travel to Formosa and Hakkaido where there were some advantages. Korea was no longer a paradise either for Japanese carpetbagger or Japanese farmer. There were more Koreans in Japan Proper than there were Japanese in the "Land of the Morning Calm." Elsewhere, the Japanese were hemmed in by legislative actions. The total number of Japanese overseas in 1935 was less than half the annual net increase in population.

There was some brightness in the agricultural policies and the extension of cultivation in order to augment food supplies. Before World War II, plans were laid to increase the number of paddy fields in Central and North Japan. The equivalent of 75,000 acres annually were to be exploited, although the experts realized that 142,000 acres would have to be added yearly in order to keep up with population increases.

These barriers of a thickly populated empire possessing a limited land area, faced with the prospects of food shortage, and blocked emigration channels led some Japanese to hope for world greatness through intensive industrialization. This was expressed in the popular phrase *Sangyo Rikkoku,* or "founding the nation upon industry." Others were convinced that greatness could be attained by the sword and the building of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere."

SERICULTURE AND RAYON

About the year 337 B.C., according to Japanese accounts, silkworms were brought to Japan from Korea, and sericulture was encouraged by the Imperial Household. Silkworm culture as well as the cultivation of mulberry trees spread among the farmers.

It was not until 1859, one year after the signing of the first trade agreement which opened Japanese ports to world trade, that Japan's silk industry developed with extraordinary rapidity. Following World War I, Japan

POPULATION INCREASES (1880–1939) [4]

	Actual Populations (in millions)					Increase in last 60 years	
	1880	1910	1920	1930	1939	Number	Per cent
Japan Proper	36.6	49.2	56.0	64.4	72.2	35.6	97.2
United States	50.2	92.0	105 7	122.8	132.0	81.8	162.9
United Kingdom	34.9	42 1 [1]	44.0 [1]	46.0 [1]	46.2	11.3	33.7
France	37.7	39.7	39.2	41.8	42.0	4.3	
Germany [2]	47.2	64 9	59.9	66 0	79.3 [6]	32.1	
Italy	28.5	34.7	38.7	41.1	44.5	16.0	
Russia	89.7	130.8		161.0 [3]	192.6	102.9	
Canada	4.3	7.2	8.8	10.4	11.0	6.7	
Brazil	10.0 [4]	23.4	30.6	40.3	41.1	31.1	
Australia	2.3	4.5	5.4	6.6	6.99	4.69	

[1] Exclusive of Irish Free State
[2] Exclusive of Saar
[3] 1931 Census
[4] 1870 Census
[5] Including Austria and Sudetenland

forged far ahead of all competitors. Japanese cheap silk was the largest and most lucrative article in the country, and profits from its manufacture made possible the expansion of other industrial enterprises.

Sericulture, however, which in the past supported about 20 per cent of the population met unhappy days. The producers were justified in demanding high prices but the cocoon price was determined by the value of silk in the United States where until about 1930 more than 90 per cent of all raw silks were sold. It was unfortunate that a basic enterprise was dependent upon forces the Japanese themselves were unable to control.

After 1930, there was a reduction in cocoon and silk production, partly accelerated by labor shortages. Domestic silk consumption, however, increased, in 1939 exceeding silk exports. In 1940, through the so-called "luxury production" regulations the consumption of silk was curtailed. Maladjustments also were accentuated by the new American rival to silk, nylon.

In contrast to the plight of sericulture, rayon development was the greatest industrial phenomenon after 1930. The powerful business houses of Mitsui and Mitsubishi entered rayon production to rank it in third

[4] See *Nippon, A Chartered Survey of Japan, 1936* (1936), 14, and 1939 figures in *The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1939.*

place by 1941 on the export list. Between 1931 and 1934, production increased 188 per cent (48,600,000 pounds to 140,000,000 pounds), amounting to 80 per cent of the American output.

The chart on this page shows the rise and fall of the silk industry which was accelerated by lowered American purchases during the depression of the 1930's.

PRODUCTION OF SILK COCOONS [5]

	Area under mulberries (in thousands of hectares)	No. of silk raising families (in thousands)	Production of Cocoons	
			Quantity (in thousands of tons)	Value in millions of yen)
1928	604	2,165	351.9	561 7
1929	621	2,217	382.8	655 0
1930	708	2,216	399.2	304.2
1931	677	2,129	364.0	275.6
1932	648	2,065	335.8	296.8
1933	635	2,092	379.4	500.1
1934	618	1,995	326.7	203.8
1935		1,895	307.7	350.9

TEXTILES, CERAMICS, AND TOYS

The first Japanese loom was set up in 1863. Soon thereafter, students of textile production traveled to England, Germany, France, and the United States in order to learn the most modern techniques. As a result of observation and planning, Japanese textile factories were as up-to-date as any in the world. In 1941, the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association controlled 61 per cent of all cotton production, about one-fourth of the weaving in the country. These concerns operated more than six and one-half million spindles and about 100,000 looms.

The cotton trade has linked the United States and Japan for half a century but it was not until recent years that the former became Japan's chief source of raw cotton. The American sales rose with improvement of the Japanese cotton textile industry. The superior grade staple of America was found to be more suitable than the Indian cotton.

Ceramic wares were as much a part of Japan as the pyramids were of Egypt. Porcelain and earthenware products constituted an important export. The production in 1930 was about 92 million yen, of which 42 million yen represented the value of exports. The potteries of Japan

[5] See *Nippon, A Chartered Survey of Japan, 1936* (1936), 107.

Proper in 1933 numbered 6,586. Japan was one of the leading exporters of pottery in the world, ranking with Germany.

Motivated by the demands for moderately priced, gaily decorated toys, the novelty manufacturers built this branch of industry into a major business. Tokyo and Ōsaka were responsible for swelling the exports of Japanese toys. In the factories of these cities, dolls, games, tiny figures, animals, birds, rattles, and painted gadgets were made from clay, celluloid, and rubber forms.

The manufacturers believed that expansion of the toy industry in no way competed with comparable enterprises in other nations. Capable of operating at low costs and producing simple toys, they exploited markets untouched by others. These groups were interested especially in the people of rural areas and the lower income strata of industrial regions.

SHIPS AND SHIPPING

The Japanese since early days have sailed the seas. Until the seventeenth century, vessels of the empire were found in the South Seas, along the southeastern coast of Asia and in the waters of India. Maritime expansion, however, was curbed by the Tokugawa Shōgunate and ships intended for ocean navigation were decreed as being illegal craft. It was not until after 1868 that rapid growth of shipping was evident.

In the 1870's, the Japanese government promulgated maritime laws and encouraged the formation of shipping companies, placing the merchant service in the hands of private individuals under state protection.

The ships owned by the government were given to the Mitsubishi Company in 1875 with an annual subsidy for 15 years. At this time, there were only 140 vessels, with a total tonnage of 42,000. The N. Y. K. line (*Nippon Yusen Kaisha*) was organized in 1885, the O. S. K. (*Osaka Shosen Kaisha*) in 1884, and the *Toyo Kisen* in 1887. Between 1893 and 1896, the gross tonnage of shipping increased from 110,000 to 373,000 and the number of ships from 680 to 899. A new line to Europe and three trans-Pacific companies were begun. The Ōsaka-Bombay Line grew in importance and in 1907, as a result of competition for the China trade, the amalgamated Japan and China Steamship Company (*Nisshin Kisen Kaisha*) was instituted.

Since 1906, ocean liners and cargo vessels have been designed on larger scales. During World War I, Japan increased maritime tonnage more than three millions (76 per cent). Japan, in 1940, ranked next to Great Britain and the United States in gross tonnage of the merchant marine. Within 20 years the total had grown from 2,325,266 to 6,200,000 tons (266 per cent). The most outstanding innovation was the emphasis placed upon high speed Diesel line-freighters, a class in which Japan led the world

FOOD CROPS OF JAPAN

The chart on this page gives the food crops of Japan, showing wide diversity.[6]

FOOD CROP OF JAPAN

	Unit	Quantity	(1934) Value		Unit	Quantity	(1934) Value
	Mill bu and 1000tons		*Mill yen*		*1000 tons*		*Mill yen*
Rice	Mill bu	265 4		Carrots	1000 tons	126	3 5
Barley	Mill bu	34 2	1384 6	Burdock	1000 tons	197	9 0
Naked Barley	Mill bu	31 5	51 2	Taros	1000 tons	578	23 7
Wheat	Mill bu	48 3	71 3	Lotus root	1000 tons	58	3 7
Oats	Mill bu	13 0	121 7	Stone leek	1000 tons	244	8 6
Millet	Mill bu	3 2	12 4	Onions	1000 tons	198	4 8
Millet (Hie)	Mill bu	1 5	9 1	Cabbage	1000 tons	182	4 5
Millet (Kibi)	Mill bu	0 9	2 7	Pickling greens	1000 tons	740	14 7
Maize	Mill bu	2 6	2 1	Lily bulbs	1000 tons	156	1 4
Buckwheat	Mill bu	3 4	4 5	Ground-nuts	1000 tons	11	1 5
Sweet Potatoes	Mill bu	3029	73 0	Turnips	1000 tons	155	3 5
White Potatoes	Mill bu	1270	25 4	Plums	1000 tons	42	4 4
Soya beans	Mill bu	11 1	35 7	Peaches	1000 tons	51	3 6
Red beans	Mill bu	3 2	12 3	Cherries	1000 tons	5	0 9
Peas	Mill bu	2 8	11 0	Loquats	1000 tons	21	2 2
Broad beans	Mill bu	2 3	5 2	Native Pears	1000 tons	150	9 3
Kidney beans	Mill bu	2 7	6 7	Pears	1000 tons	2	0 6
Cucumbers	1000 tons	256	9 7	Apples	1000 tons	132	8 5
White Muskmelons	1000 tons	77	3 2	Persimmons (Fresh)	1000 tons	236	10 8
Pumpkins	1000 tons	272	8 4	Grapes	1000 tons	61	5 2
Watermelons	1000 tons	498	18 5	Mandarines	1000 tons	267	18 2
Muskmelons	1000 tons	53	2 4	Oranges	1000 tons	20	2 1
Egg plants	1000 tons	429	13 8	Chinese Citrons	1000 tons	75	3 0
Tomatoes	1000 tons	137	5 3	Others of Orange group	1000 tons	23	1 2
Radishes	1000 tons	2 358	35 0				

[6] See *Nippon, A Chartered Survey of Japan, 1936* (1936), 150.

MINING INDUSTRY

Japan is poor in mineral wealth. Coal, copper, and the earth and stone groups are the only ones exploited to meet domestic needs.

JAPAN'S MINERAL PRODUCTION (1934)

(In Thousands of Yen)[1]

Japan Proper		*Korea*	
Kinds	Production	Kinds	Production
Coal	245,555	Gold and gold dust	38,538
Copper	46,746	Iron and steel	11,901
Gold and gold dust	45,041	Coal	9,940
Pig iron and steel	31,645	Gold and silver ores	2,511
Pyrites	10,734	Silver	1,468
Zinc	9,517	Graphite	525
Crude petroleum	9,430	Iron ores	880
Silver	11,039	Other minerals	14,538
Sulphur	9,019	Earths and stones	773
Tin	4,095	*Total*	69,173
Tin ores	2,093	*Taiwan (Formosa)*	
Other minerals	7,394	Coal	8,470
Total	432,308	Gold and copper ores	5,009
Granite	4,620	Gold and gold dust	3,268
Limestone	4,686	Petroleum	309
Gravel	13,204	Others	1,892
Clay	3,761	*Total*	18,948
Porcelain clay and stone	2,541	*Karafuto (Sakhalin)*	
Other earths and stones	8,419	Coal	9,119
Total	37,231	*Nanyo (South Seas)*	
		Phosphorite	1,391

[1] See *Nippon, A Chartered Survey, 1936* (1936), 182

Konoye disapproved the army's insistence upon financial and industrial control over the empire. The "new order" was considered essential, but the acceleration demanded by the military was repugnant to his balanced nationalism. He saw danger in the "spiritual movement" of the fanatical patriots. These unrelenting nationalists brought to the premiership on January 4, 1939, Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma, the frugal, quiet founder of the reactionary Kokuhonsha Patriotic Society.[5]

Hiranuma accepted limited totalitarianism yet saw no reason to proceed further. Although advocating the alliance with the Axis powers, he was convinced that Japan had wandered too far toward national socialism and away from the Western democracies. His hand was weakened after the Soviet Union and Germany signed the 1939 nonaggression agreement. He and his Cabinet resigned in August, 1939. The same day the emperor commanded General Nobuyuki Abe to form a new Cabinet.

General Abe, known for his grasp of military affairs, was a political novice. His nonparty rule by amateurs brought revolt into the camps of the political factions who intrigued against him. A declaration of nonconfidence in the Abe Cabinet was signed by 276 of the 448 members of the House of Representatives in January, 1940. General Abe stepped out and Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai stepped in on January 14.[6]

The army forced the resignation of Yonai two days later, and instituted the second Cabinet of Prince Konoye. The Konoye Cabinet had three expansionists in high positions. Yosuke Matsuoka was Foreign Minister; Chuichi Ohashi occupied the office of Vice-Foreign Minister; and Naoki Hoshino headed the powerful Cabinet Planning Board. Bowing before the growing force of the military, Konoye accepted the demands for increased expenditures and an extension of totalitarianism, together with "sympathetic consideration of plans for southward expansion of the empire if and when the time seems appropriate." The premier was also supported by two ambitious individuals, Count Yoriyasu Arima, leader of the farmers' co-operatives, and Colonel Kingaro Hashimoto, founder of the young officers spearhead, the "Great Japan Young Men's Party."[7]

Premier Konoye at this time changed his political aims. He was now

[5] Baron Hiranuma was a graduate of the Tokyo Imperial University; a former President of the Supreme Court; a minister of Justice; in 1926 he was vice-president of the Imperial Council. As a privy councillor he was active in fighting against the League of Nations and also was opposed to the Washington Naval Treaty and was a sponsor of the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany. His society, Kokuhonsha, ceased to be active after the military revolt of 1936. This antidemocratic organization aimed to protect the "national spirit" and included as members high political and military figures. The baron was a mystic, advocating changes provided they conformed to the "Imperial Way," whatever this term meant.

[6] Admiral Yonai, member of an old and rich family, was commander in chief of the Imperial Navy from 1936 to 1940. He was an advocate of friendship with Great Britain and the United States. He did not believe that Japan should exercise permanent hegemony over China and opposed the alliance with Germany and Italy.

[7] Colonel Hashimoto was in command of the batteries which fired upon the British gunboat, *Ladybird*, and the *U. S. S. Panay*, in 1937. Hashimoto believed that most of the internal problems of Japan were caused by the presence of foreigners. His platform attacked commercialism and the profit system and recommended the one-party system in which "there are no political struggles."

convinced that representative government was an artificial Western importation, unfitted for Japan. He hoped to reintroduce the old paternalistic forms in which the people would be led by the authorities. Liberalism was to be discarded. "The object of the national organization is to eliminate independent party politics based on the assumption of liberalism and its essential character will be national, all-embracing and public and its purpose is to urge the concentration and unification of the entire resources of the nation. Consequently, its field of activity extends to the entire life of the people."

The conflicting ties with Russia and the Axis brought about the retirement of the second Konoye Cabinet on July 16, 1941. Two days later, the prince formed his third cabinet, independent of all political parties, containing three admirals and four generals.

Lieutenant-General Eiki Tojo, Minister of War in the Konoye Cabinet, and the most astute politician since Prince General Taro Katsuro, premier during the Russo-Japanese War, was named premier in October, 1941.[8] In one of his first public speeches (October 26), Tojo declared that Japan's policies were "immutable and irrevocable" and there would be "no going back." He urged national unity and the merging of 100,000,000 people "into one iron solidarity." "If this state of preparedness is completed, diplomacy will become an easy affair. War can be fought with ease."

Premier Tojo, without waiting for the regular session of Parliament of January, 1942, on November 11, 1941, called into conference some of the Lower House as he viewed the moves of the United States to put an embargo upon war supplies for Japan. At this time he received their support. An emergency meeting of the Imperial Diet was called on November 16, and on the following day in a speech before both Houses Tojo declared that "an economic blockade between nonbelligerent countries is a hostile action no less serious than armed warfare." He refused to tolerate such a condition, which forced the empire "to lay down a plan which will affect her permanent interests for better or worse."

One week after the attack upon Pearl Harbor (December 15, 1941), a second emergency session of the Diet was called. At this time the premier's war agenda was accepted without protest. A general election for April 30, 1942, was announced. Governmental control over this election was exercised by Naoki Hoshino, Chief Secretary of the Cabinet Planning Board. A democratic atmosphere was maintained when candidates for the House of Representatives went through the normal steps of gaining nominations by obtaining the required number of signatures of registered voters on a petition and filing the list with the Home Ministry at the same time election fees were paid. The government then intervened through the Im-

[8] Born in 1884, Tojo was one of the youngest war ministers in Japanese history. He was Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army in 1937 and served as Inspector General of Military Aviation and also military attaché in Berlin and head of the military gendarmerie or secret police. He was an adviser to Mitsura Toyama, head of the Black Dragon Society. General Tojo wrote several pamphlets attacking the United States and Great Britain.

perial Rule Assistance Association which "recommended" one candidate for every seat. Any candidate not possessing this official support was obliged to carry on a restricted campaign with the small expense account deposited according to the election laws.

Premier Tojo moved craftily in his construction of dictatorship. He softened up the harsh features of militarism by assuming civilian garb and traveling about the country talking to workers and peasants. He took over the post of Foreign Minister on September 1, 1942, when the career diplomat, Shigenori Togo, sponsor of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact, resigned for "personal reasons." By this move, the last stronghold of civilian authority, the Foreign Office, was seized. The forces back of the drive to oust the Western powers from Eastern Asia at last gained complete supremacy to carry on the battle of the Pacific.[9]

THE MIND AND SPIRIT OF MILITARY STATE SOCIALISM

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The Army Teaches the "Imperial Way"

The Japanese soldier thought in the channels of his *samurai* grandfather who was determined to fight in the face of real or imagined dangers in order to complete domination over the civilian elements of society. The army believed in isolation, in the exclusion of all Occidental influences, and, eventually, mastery over Asia. General Araki, Minister of War, wrote in 1932 that "the countries of Eastern Asia are an object of oppression by white people. This is an undeniable fact, and Japan should no longer let the impertinence go unpunished. . . . It is the duty of the people of Japan to oppose every action by the Powers that is not in accordance with the spirit of the Empire."

Army officers traveled in the rural areas, after 1931, giving lectures to peasant members of the reserve on city corruption, the greed of bankers and capitalists who were responsible for the plight of the farmers and the tragic sapping of national strength by the politicians. Reservists' associations were given instruction by these zealots in regard to voting. The program for domestic reform was motivated partly by the conception of military defense and partly by the feeling that individual virtues were essential before the "holy mission" of the empire could be achieved. These officers looked with disfavor upon the inequalities inherent in the profit system, the degradation of unemployment, and the disasters falling upon small merchants and farmers. They sought to restore the ancient concepts of government and the age of "purity."

One of the most effective methods used to influence public opinion was in the form of pamphlets and statements which outlined the aims and

[9] Tojo was relieved of his office as Chief of Staff on July 18, 1944, after the loss of Saipan. The entire Cabinet resigned July 20. General Kuniaki Koiso was named to form a new Cabinet. Koiso was an old friend of Tojo's.

policies of the military and naval leaders. The thoughts of the army, in 1935, were distributed in a pamphlet to thousands of business men by the domestic propaganda branch of the War Office. It showed how Japan was surrounded by enemies who isolated her at Geneva by supporting China and blocking economic growth through tariffs and quotas. German mistakes were cited and held as warnings for Japan. The statement ended with a plea to repudiate the economic system of laissez faire and embrace the Soviet techniques in order to construct a powerful military state.

Patriots and Programs

There were about 130 fascistic organizations in Japan until the end of World War II, with a total membership of more than two million. All were in agreement that the parliamentary system was futile and dictatorship was the only solution to the problems besetting the modern world in general and the empire of Japan in particular. A sample of these numerous bodies shows the character of them all.

The *Dai Nippon Kokusui Kai,* led by members of the Seiyukai political party, planned to revive the old warrior spirit of feudal days, restore the "purity" of the emperor, including forms of worship and traditional sacrifices, and return to the great glories of ancient Japan. The Kokuhonsha, under Baron Hiranuma, with a council of high army and naval officers, had the same platform. *Nippon Sujiha Domei,* a "return to nature" society, believed that every one should live in the woods or upon communal farms, under paternalistic rule. *Dai Nippon Kokukai,* a body composed mainly of retired officers, hoped to see the dawn of martial days and the sunset of civilian anarchy. Among the more prominent active groups were the *Aikyojuku* ("Native Land Loving School") and the *Kokuryukai* ("Black Dragon Society").

Kosaburo Tachibana, leader of the "Native Land Loving School," was influenced by Tolstoy and created a "village of brothers" who sought wisdom in nature. The political portion of his program called for a "second restoration" during which it was necessary for youths to sacrifice their lives in order to bring about the true power of the emperor. It was not far from the love evinced by Tolstoy to the hatred of a terrorist and many of this school became advocates of violence, Tachibana himself going down in history as the assassin of Premier Inukai in 1932.

The views of Tachibana were accepted by many army officers. His book, *Principles of Patriotic Reconstruction of Japan,* was suppressed, only to be given wide circulation through the underground. In this book he presented concepts appealing to military minds: (1) war started the breakup of Western civilization; (2) there must be a return to nationalism along the lines of a planned society; (3) the theories of Karl Marx were not suitable for Japan because he visualized an industrial civilization, and Japan was mainly a society of farmers; (4) the solution was to be found through destruction of laissez-faire industrialism, controlled by the money

barons, professional patriots, and grafting politicians; (5) independent farmers must be encouraged; and (6) the United States should be destroyed.

An additional part of the agenda of the "Native Land Loving School" included: (1) nationalization of banks and industries; (2) reorganization of farm co-operatives into mutual aid units; (3) abolition of the plutocratic parliamentary system; (4) the curbing of Communists and Fascists and the creation of a representative institution based upon autonomous, self-governing, co-operative municipalities; (5) education to be directed toward self-government; and (6) an entente between soldiers and farmers.

The most formidable of all the organizations was the "Black Dragon Society," led by Mitsuru Toyama. Toyama was friendly with Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek in those days when hopes were high that a peaceful solution of Sino-Japanese relations could be attained. Members of this group were convinced that order would come to Eastern Asia after China realized that co-operation with Japan was the only path to follow. Unlike its Western prototypes, this society did not parade in public in gaudy uniforms. There were "cells" and rigorous examinations before entrance. Treason and cowardice were punished by death or suicide.

Toyama never held an official position in Japan. His presence, however, was felt in the making and unmaking of premiers and Cabinet members. His society gave impetus to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, and plotted the death of many men of prominence whose conduct was not patriotic enough to satisfy the band composed of a strange mixture of gangsters, terrorists, secret government agents, conservative army officers, and staid Cabinet officials. Funds were supplied by devious means from army and naval budgets and extracted from business men.

The direct views of Toyama rarely were found in print. A significant comment was given to an American in 1940 by the aged nationalist who died in 1945: "The world must remember that Japan need no longer be afraid of bigger or richer countries. Japan is strong! Japan is prepared!" [10] With this slogan upon their lips, the Imperial forces of the emperor moved into the Pacific Ocean against the troops of the Allied Powers.

[10] The Black Dragon Society on June 3, 1943, broadcast a "warning" to President Roosevelt in Spanish to Latin America. In this broadcast, the United States, Australia, and England were called upon to relinquish their dreams of world conquest. This broadcast received extensive editorial comment in the papers of Asia controlled by Japan (A valuable monograph on this society as well as the background to "gangster-patriots" is that by E. Herbert Norman, "The Genyosha: A Study in the Origins of Japanese Imperialism," *Pacific Affairs*, September, 1944, 261–284.)

29 Japan and the Great Powers— a Decade of Doubt (1931–1941)

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

The thorn in the side of Japanese-American relations, the Immigration Act of 1924, was driven in deeper when Japan entered Manchuria in September, 1931. Opinion in the United States was divided, however, on this move. The Scripps-Howard Association of newspapers and Senator William H. Borah came out in opposition to the Japanese as did those individuals influenced by missionaries, philanthropists, and businessmen interested in China trade. Many in the National Chamber of Commerce, impressed by the efficiency of Japanese commercialism and its seemingly "Yankee" outlook, favored Japan.

Foreign Minister Hirota and Secretary of State Cordell Hull exchanged notes early in 1934. Secretary Hull stated that Washington was willing to receive "any suggestions calculated to maintain and increase" mutual good will and favored "any measures or steps which may be practicable toward this end." Hirota stated in the Imperial Diet in January that "Japan fervently desires American friendship. At the same time, I am confident that the United States will not fail to appraise correctly Japan's position in Eastern Asia."

In the summer of 1934 the largest military and naval appropriations in the history of Japan passed without opposition from any members of the Diet. The Japanese were aroused over American naval construction. They were disturbed by the declaration of Rear Admiral W. H. Standley, Chief of Naval Operations, that American vessels were capable of entering enemy waters. This remark was interpreted as preparation for an offensive.

The position of the United States in the Pacific was a topic of wide discussion. The press of Japan emphasized the emergence of a new type of American imperialism. A typical censure was printed in *The Japan Times* of June 12, 1935: "First is the necessity for historical perspective on the part of Americans regarding their own record of expansion and imperialism, which should clearly give a clue to understanding Japan today. Second is for Americans to ask whether their basic and instinctive view on race is in keeping with a harmonious and peaceful development of world unity. Third, Americans may ask themselves whether any machinery for the maintenance of peace which perpetuates and would safeguard the present unequal distribution of the good things of the world

can be said to be based essentially on justice. Fourth, they may also ask themselves why they should have any greater rights in making their voice heard in Far Eastern developments than Japan has to meddle with the affairs of North and South America."

The "China Incident" brought American opinion into conflict. The Friends' World Conference on September 2, 1937, went on record against wars and reasserted the belief that "every dispute between nations can be settled peaceably." The Quakers urged that "America should agree to concede to Germany, Italy, and Japan the right to develop the natural resources of undeveloped lands for the benefit of the backward people themselves." Secretary Hull on September 20 expressed the view that the United States would have to chart a middle course between isolationism and internationalism. Action was demanded in February, 1938, by United States officials, educators, and ministers. They criticized the encroachments in China as being "cruel and inexcusable," abhorrent to all "decent Americans," and called for a boycott of Japanese silk, an article constituting about 60 per cent of all Japanese exports to the United States.

The plan of the Japanese militarists showed when the Foreign Minister, General Ugaki, handed Ambassador Joseph C. Grew on July 6, 1938, a note in reply to the demand for a return of all American-owned areas in China. The Foreign Office insisted that chaotic conditions made necessary restrictions on the rights of foreigners. Eight days later, President Roosevelt delivered a speech in San Francisco calling for a disarmament conference in order to avert a great "disaster." Secretary Hull carved this theme into tangible form on August 16 in a six-point program.[1]

In an interview given to the press on January 12, 1939, Premier Baron Hiranuma declared that his aim was to continue peaceful relations with the United States and Great Britain, without shifting from the course mapped out. "There must be statesmen in the United States and England who will understand the situation."

These pacific utterances were not taken seriously. Definite moves were made against Japan on January 19, 1939. The United Aircraft Corporation of East Hartford, Conn., announced it supported Secretary Hull's policy not to sell planes to Japan because of her killing of civilians. The same month the largest delegation ever convoked by the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War met in Washington and urged Congress to enact legislation for an embargo on war materials to Japan. The trustees of the World Peace Foundation of Boston addressed an open letter to Secretary Hull on February 28 recommending preservation of peace by adequate military and naval preparedness as well as application of embargoes because of Japan's "aggressive policies in China."

The American course was staked out on March 27, 1939. The United States Senate approved the largest peacetime War Department appropriation in the history of the country, $513,188,172, without a dissenting vote.

[1] These points were directed at Central Europe but had application for Eastern Asia: (1) Adherence to international law; (2) respect for treaties; (3) voluntary self-restraint; (4) a progressive reduction of armaments; (5) collaboration between nations; and (6) international co-operation.

Four months later (July 26), the 1911 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Japan was denounced, to take effect six months later. This strategy was a warning to Tokyo not to infringe any further upon American rights in Eastern Asia. At this time some of the Japanese papers expressed disappointment that all efforts made to bring about co-operation with the United States had failed.

Ambassador Joseph C. Grew on October 19, 1939, delivered a strong speech, before the Japan-America Society of Tokyo. He said that the American people did not approve many of the Japanese military acts in China. Grew followed up his address with a statement on November 4 that economic pressure would be applied if Japan continued aggressive policies in China. The influential *Hochi* reacted to this expression by calling the American position "absurd." The demand that Japan adhere absolutely to the Open Door principle in China indicated a "grievous lack of statesmanship." "It shows that she is utterly blind to the international situation. It is a patent fact that the old order in the East has crumbled and that a new order is in the process of formation."

In the last weeks of 1939, Foreign Minister Nomura and Ambassador Grew held many conferences. During the talks, it was evident that Japan was willing to guarantee American rights, provided they fitted within the picture of the "new order." The American government saw nothing here but a sealing up of the Open Door. Senator Borah asked that all "reasonable" efforts be made to continue trade relations with Japan although he had no desire to injure China. The official American stand on the Open Door was re-interpreted on December 31. All rights in China were to be upheld. Japanese restrictions were termed "unjust and unwarranted," a threat to international peace. The note concluded by leaving future negotiations open on the basis of any proposals motivated by "justice and reason" and actuated by the "rights and obligations" of all parties concerned.

By the end of 1939, there was wide disagreement between the American "isolationists" and the "internationalists." The "isolationists" favored neutrality legislation. They held no brief for the League of Nations and believed that the United States desired above all else to keep out of war. They were opposed to diplomatic intervention which had availed nothing in the Manchurian crisis. They demanded the withdrawal of all American naval forces to a position of defense, into Hawaii, the Panama Isthmus, and the Aleutian Islands. All favored the independence of the Philippine Islands. This group sought to strengthen the civilian branch of the Japanese government. Some were anxious to have Japan achieve naval parity. All agreed that the United States had no investments large enough in China to justify a war with Japan.

The "internationalists" favored a policy of co-operation with other nations in order to avert war. It was considered better, in the long run, to have a strong and united China. They knew that the Sino-Japanese War would spread and, therefore, intervention was the cure to world conflict. These "internationalists" also believed that eventually an active anti-

war policy should be undertaken, including reduction of armed forces to a size compatible with national defense.

The question of a new American-Japanese trade agreement was a matter of concern as January 26, 1940, the date for its expiration, drew near. Ambassador Horinouchi discussed with Secretary Hull in December the possibilities of a temporary arrangement. Washington had no intention of beginning any negotiations. The Senate announced on January 17, 1940, that its Foreign Relations Committee would study in open hearings the feasibility of two embargo measures, both of which would exempt agricultural products, including cotton, but would prohibit shipments to Japan of arms, munitions, war supplies, gasoline, and scrap iron. The nationalists of Japan saw an aggressive America planning to send a fleet into the Pacific Ocean.

Tokyo hoped that a new commercial agreement would be concluded and reiterated the point that American rights would not end through the creation of a "new order." Foreign Minister Arita declared in the Imperial Diet on February 1, 1940, that "it is inevitable that trade and other economic activities of the third powers should be affected at times by military operations." At the same time the Japanese prepared for pressure from the United States. An announcement was made on February 7 that "difficulties" were being anticipated and the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922 was to be abrogated. The Imperial Diet on February 14 discussed the question of a new Japanese-American pact to regulate respective spheres of influence but the Foreign Office was willing only to enter into talks regarding the neutralization of the Philippines.

The talks between Foreign Minister Arita and Ambassador Grew were discontinued in March, 1940. Arita hoped to iron out the differences gradually and achieve a renewal of the trade treaty. He declared that he was anxious to eliminate all frictions and yet "the situation cannot be discussed in terms of aggression or invasion. We are sacrificing our national economy to create a new order" and if Washington "takes measures against Japan" because of a misunderstanding of this policy the Japanese naturally "were indignant."

The Japanese press was interested in the re-election of President Roosevelt in 1940. *Yomiuri* stated that "his re-election was, no doubt, due partly to the infiltration of the benefits of the New Deal among the masses, nor can it be denied that the hesitancy of many Americans in committing the direction of State affairs at the present momentous juncture to a man of Mr. Willkie's administrative inexperience redounded to Mr. Roosevelt's advantage. The main cause is presumably to be found, however, in the assurance which Mr. Roosevelt gave in his election speeches . . . that he would in no circumstances lead America into war. . . ." *Kokumin* saw in the re-election signs of a growing war spirit. "If this is the ruling sentiment in America, it is up to Japan, Germany, and Italy to proceed immediately with preparations for the worst situation arising in their relations with America" [2]

[2] Quoted in *Japan Advertiser*, November 9, 1940.

A note of optimism was sounded in November, 1940. Tokyo announced that Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, Foreign Minister in the Abe Cabinet of 1939, had been selected for the post of Ambassador to the United States. The admiral was known as a friend of America. The Japanese press, however, considered the appointment merely a gesture to which the United States would not respond.

Foreign Minister Matsuoka, at a luncheon in honor of Admiral Nomura, given by the Japan-America Society on December 19, 1940, appealed to the United States. "We stand for peace and order. We shut the door nowhere and to none. Any nation which desires to take a hand in this great task is welcome but, mind you, there shall be no conquest, no oppression, and no exploitation under the new order which we conceive. . . . Imagine just for a moment that America has joined the European war or came to a clash with Japan in the Pacific. What then? If any bit of human feeling or atom of instinct for self-preservation is left in you ladies and gentlemen, wouldn't you shudder at the very thought? I do beseech my American friends to think twice, thrice, nay ten hundred or a thousand times before they take the leap that may prove fatal to all humanity!

"In this connection I wish to leave no doubt in the minds of any American citizens to the fact that Japan is, and will remain loyal to her allies; that Japan's foreign policy will revolve in the future around the Three Power Pact as its pivot as it did around the pivot of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in the past when that alliance was in force. This of course implies no threat. It is a simple statement of truism made in order to prevent possible misapprehension, for illusions on an issue like this bring no good to anyone." [3]

Japanese-American relations were discussed at great length by the Japanese early in 1941. Writers on economic subjects especially regarded the plans for settlement as futile. Politicians were more outspoken. One deputy, Chuji Machida, told his colleagues in the Lower House on January 22 that the United States was plotting to ruin Eastern Asia through economic pressure upon Japan and financial assistance to China. Hostility against the United States was no longer concealed by patriotic associations. The streets of the capital were placarded on May 2, 1941, with banners reading: "Arm the entire nation. Advance with a strong policy toward the United States."

In the spring of 1941, Tokyo made an effort to obtain from Washington a neutrality and nonaggression pact similar to the Russo-Japanese agreement. The United States remained indifferent to this offer. The clouds darkened on June 6 when it was realized that Japan would wage war if America entered the European conflict. On the following day, Ambassador Grew declared that a just peace with Germany was "impossible" and the United States might have to participate with Great Britain in order to maintain the traditional American pattern of life.

The detailing of American naval units to Iceland in July, 1941, was

[3] Quoted in *Japan Advertiser*, December 20, 1940.

regarded by Japan as bringing the United States nearer to war. Three months later (October 19), General Eiki Tojo prepared for "total war" in the Pacific, supported by the press which described the "encirclement" of the empire by the United States and Great Britain as "hostile" moves. President Roosevelt's Navy Day speech contained no reference to American-Japanese relations and was accepted by the Japanese as the "declaration of a shooting war against Germany." The Armistice talks of President Roosevelt, Secretary of Navy Knox, and Under-Secretary of State Welles were explained by Radio Tokyo on November 12 as proving that the United States and Great Britain already were in a state of undeclared war with Japan, "with the two powers forming a united bloc." The Imperial Diet met in extraordinary session on November 15, approved a budget of 4,315,000,000 yen for military and naval purposes, and listened to demands for a firm stand against the "unbearable" attitude of the United States.

The last words were uttered early on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, when imperial planes were winging towards Pearl Harbor. Tokyo spoke of the "supreme crisis" being near. "Patience" no longer could be tried. An aggressive America, linked to Britain, in the words of Lieutenant-General Tsiichi Suzuki, would "commit the epoch-making crime of further extending the world upheaval."

ANGLO-JAPANESE RELATIONS— JAPAN FLOUTS ENGLAND

One aspect of the role of England in world affairs in the 1930's can be studied with profit by regarding the problem of China. That chaotic land was viewed by many in London as incapable of maintaining law and order, and therefore England was prepared eventually to "intervene" and saw no reason to restrain Japan who was accomplishing only what England was thinking. England had no desire to lose the friendship of Japan by commitments to the United States. Hopes were high that British relations with her colonies in the future would be closer. When this happy state materialized, the empire would be strong enough to lead the world in a policy needing Japanese support. With this thought in mind, it is not surprising that during the controversy over the Japanese seizure of Manchuria as debated by the League of Nations, England carefully avoided excessive criticism of Japan.

And yet, Japan, from necessity, was forced to look to China and Manchuria because the British colonies debarred Japanese immigrants and limited the importation of Japanese commodities. The Japanese saw an England eager to block their movements by calling attention to the "Open Door," "equal opportunity," "Anglo-Japanese co-operation in China," "joint aid for China" and other slogans of somewhat doubtful sincerity.

The hand drew back to strike at Anglo-American supremacy in April,

1934 The Japanese Foreign Office spokesman, Amau, issued a statement which in no uncertain terms proved that Japan was determined to control the foreign relations of China. The British Embassy in Tokyo on April 25 answered this pronouncement in a "friendly" spirit, asserting that the principle of equal rights in China, as guaranteed by the Nine-Power Treaty, must be recognized. Japan replied that this treaty would be observed and that Japan's views "coincided" with those of London. The Amau statement was not retracted. What was to be accomplished was to make *de facto* through possession the objectives of this declaration.

The menace of Japan to British security at last was recognized by 1936. It was brought into the open in 1937 when the moves of the Japanese military were distrusted. The British official attitude was expressed in the London *Times* on May 3, 1937: "Great Britain is fully prepared to recognize the obvious fact of Japan's 'special position' in regard to China, but she cannot view with sympathy the attempts to consolidate that position by methods which have—without the approval of a wiser and more far-sighted element in Japan—too often been employed during the past six years. . . . Japan's geographical position and her economic structure entitled her to a lion's share in China markets, but a lion's methods are not the best way to get it." Anthony Eden reiterated the opinion and suggested that "peaceful development" of Eastern Asia, "for the benefit of all" could be attained.

Hostility between the two Powers was accentuated by the wounding of Sir Hughe Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen, British Ambassador to China, on August 27, 1937, by Japanese bombers. London expressed "horror" at the shooting, British opinion was inflamed, and talks of boycotts increased. The Tokyo Foreign Office unofficially believed it "unthinkable" that the act was deliberate. The attack worried the civilian authorities who had no desire at this time to have war with the British Empire. This incident led to intense anti-Japanese sentiments in England.

Albert Hall in London was packed on October 5, 1937, for a protest meeting against the Japanese. A resolution was drawn up urging the government to stop the aggressor through economic measures. Censure of the Japanese was put on record of the Labor Party Conference on October 4. An open letter, signed by several members of Parliament, was sent to the League of Nations, calling for support of China because "to abandon the principle of 'collectivism' in the East would be to imperil 'our life line' in the West as well." The National Executive of the Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction, under the guidance of Lloyd George, on October 7, demanded "effective economic pressure" against Japan. The Labour Councils of Australia and New Zealand also urged boycotts.

Official requests for foreign support were made on October 8. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain pleaded for co-operation with the United States in the cause of peace to prevent the "horror of two major wars." In the speeches of Chamberlain and Eden in the House of Commons on

December 21, 1937, the thought was expressed that Britain could not stand alone but must achieve union with the United States

Anti-British feelings in Japan during the year 1937 were equally violent. Great Britain was assailed in mass meetings, in magazine articles, and by political and military leaders. Seigo Nakano, an official of the Pan-Asia movement, said that "England and Soviet Russia have been friends in diplomatic affairs, and England has been instrumental in inciting anti-Japanese movements in China for the last few years. China has been dancing to British music, and this has brought about the present situation. . . . England has been saying to Nanking: 'Hasten to unify the country, purchase all necessary arms, we will lend you the funds. Establish aviation grounds at all key points; we will supply aeroplanes and train your flyers.' It was but natural that, with this support by England, the anti-Japanese sentiment has flared up with uncontrollable fury."

The year 1938 brought increased anti-Japanism throughout the British Empire. Representatives of the National Council of Labour called at 10 Downing Street in January and asked the Government to take the initiative at Geneva and block all loans and credits to Japan. A world conference met in Paris in July to protest against the bombing of open towns. The British delegation included Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chester, and prominent trade unionists. The conference recommended "the intensification, in particular, of existing measures of boycott of Japanese goods."

The opinion was expressed freely in 1938 that Japan soon would collide with the United States and Great Britain. Admiral Suetsugu, Minister of the Interior, declared on many occasions that the "colored" races must be freed from enslavement to the "whites" and the "holy mission" of his country aimed to cast out of Asia all the Western powers. General Matsui, commander in chief of the Japanese forces in Shanghai, uttered similar views. He expressed fear that if England went beyond the policy of merely defending her interests in China and was determined to maintain political and economic relations with Nanking, a conflict of a "very serious nature" might arise.[4]

In order to bring the British position in China into definite outline, His Majesty's Ambassador to Tokyo, Sir Robert Craigie, met with Foreign Minister Arita on July 15, 1939. Tokyo made it clear that England should relinquish all support of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and co-operate with Japan in political and economic fields. As a result of these talks, England was forced to recognize the "special requirements" of the Japanese Army in China.

London, by August, 1940, realized that strife was not far in the future. The military control in Japan signified that compromises no longer were feasible. The Japanese press took on a more resentful tone and charged widespread espionage on the part of Britons. Six months later (February

[4] Toshio Shiratori, an Axis leader, told an Englishman in 1939 that Japan was constructing a "new house in East Asia." In doing this he was ready to "shift some of the pine trees and stones in the garden" (i.e. British interests). He compared the war in Europe to a wrestling match between "fat plutocrat and lean proletarian," with the soft "mountain of fat" (England) being conquered by the "lean one" (Germany).

21, 1941), Foreign Minister Matsuoka warned British Foreign Secretary Eden that English operations in Southeast Asia, including the "elaborate military moves" based on the assumption that a "grave situation is inevitable," would compel Japan to take "countermeasures." Prime Minister Churchill and the Japanese Ambassador to London, Mamoru Shigemitsu, conferred on March 4. The Japanese expressed friendly intentions. London stood firmly on the ground that Great Britain would continue to take steps to protect imperial interests. The unequivocal reply of Churchill to Japanese maneuvers was given on July 26, 1941. Tokyo was informed that the Anglo-Japanese commercial agreement of 1911, the India-Japan commercial pact of 1934, and the Burma-Japan commercial agreement of 1937 were to be terminated.

All Japanese credits in Great Britain also were frozen at this time. Viscount Kano, manager of the London branch of the Yokohama Specie Bank, stated in regard to this move that the smoothing out of trade difficulties meant peace but trade barriers "mean war." "This sort of tit-for-tat action is regrettable but cannot be avoided at present when there is so much suspicion and propaganda."

Great Britain at last stood to contest Japanese advances southward. The next step could only be into open conflict.

GERMAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS—THE FRIENDSHIP OF ENEMIES

The Pre-Axis Years

The contacts between Germany and Japan in the early years of the twentieth century were carried on with official harmony and unofficial suspicion. Kaiser William II's policies indicated these attitudes. In the first days of his rule he insulted Japan by having pictures of himself distributed posing as an archangel with flaming sword calling upon the white Powers to fight "unholy Buddha," as he called Japan. William forced the directors of the Hamburg-America Line and the North German Lloyd Line to carry this type of art on all vessels sailing to Asia, to the delight of the English who profited by the bad taste of the "All-Highest." On the eve of the Russo-Japanese War, William warned the Tsar of Russia of the "Yellow Peril" and the results of a Japanese victory, which would place the "yellow race" in Moscow and Posen. After the surrender of Port Arthur, upset by his own tactless behavior, the neurotic emperor compromised by conferring the highest German military award upon the Russian vanquished, General Stössel, and the Japanese victor, General Nogi.

No similar outbursts marked the years after World War I. The point now was emphasized that Japanese problems were comparable to those of Germany in 1914. Both empires had doubled their populations and had

industrialized within a century. It was not long before some Japanese writers regarded the Treaty of Versailles as iniquitous.

Links with the Fascist nations were forged in 1935. Berlin signed a commercial agreement with Manchukuo on April 30, 1935. Japanese military and naval missions visited Germany to inspect the Krupp factories which supplied Japan with many patents. The Zeiss works opened a branch in Tokyo for the manufacture of range finders for ships and artillery. Pamphlets distributed by the Japanese War Office showed the mutual interests of the two Powers, curbed by the great imperialistic nations and menaced by the Soviet Union. Japanese residents of Germany were immune to the racial laws. Germany planned to send 500 athletes and 10,000 spectators to the Tokyo Olympic Games of 1940.[5]

Japan and the "New Order"—The Axis Bloc

The German Foreign Office on November 13, 1936, branded as untrue the rumors of an accord with Japan. Again on November 21, it denied the existence of any understanding, although it acknowledged willingness to act with Japan against "bolshevism." Four days later (November 25), the German-Japanese entente was signed in Berlin. This accord was declared to be aimed against the Third International but not against the Soviet Union. The terms included co-operation for blocking all communistic moves, an invitation to third parties to join, the exchange of police data on the subject, and the creation of a permanent Japanese-German commission.

This pact was received with mixed feelings. The Tokyo press feared the understanding was born at a time when communism was impotent. The Berlin papers sought to reassure London that the agreement was not a threat and that any maneuver to alienate Great Britain, the fatal error of William II, was not contemplated. Washington officials chuckled over the suggestion that the United States and Great Britain link themselves to the military governments of Berlin and Tokyo.

The issues bandied about by diplomats and journalists finally were clarified on September 27, 1940, when Germany, Italy, and Japan entered into the totalitarian alliance bloc against the democracies. This pact included: (1) the recognition and respect by Japan of the leadership of Germany and Italy in the creation of a "new order" in Europe; (2) Germany and Italy to recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the construction of a "new order" in "Greater East Asia"; (3) Germany, Italy,

[5] General Ludendorff in his publication, *At the Holy Well of German Power (Am Heiligen Quell Deutscher Kraft)*, carried a number of articles in 1935 charging the Jews with encouraging extreme nationalism among the Japanese in order to bring them against the Western powers in a war of mutual destruction out of which the Jews only would gain.

The first Nazi agent was detailed in Tokyo in 1933. After this time the German community revolved around Lieutenant General Eugene von Ott, German Ambassador, who attracted to his gatherings young Japanese officers. In this manner, a German Fifth Column was built.

and Japan agreed to come to each other's assistance with political, economic, and military aid, provided one of the contracting Powers was attacked by a Power not involved at the time in either the war in Europe or in China; (4) in order to implement the Pact, joint commissions were to be convened; (5) Germany, Italy, and Japan affirmed that the terms did not affect the political status existing between them and the Soviet Union; and (6) the Pact was to remain in force for 10 years and could be renewed.

Toshio Shiratori, special adviser in the Foreign Office, and one of the creators of the Pact, described it as merely a "guarantee agreement and nothing substantial can be done with it alone." He added, however, that "the world situation never can be settled if Anglo-Saxon capitalistic exploitation prevails, and if a minority can monopolize unlimited wealth." Foreign Minister Matsuoka declared that the Pact was "an event without parallel in the history of mankind" and deplored the American attitude which interpreted it as a challenge. He viewed it as an instrument of peace in no way directed against the United States, the power keeping alive the British Empire. Matsuoka invited Washington to join the Axis in the formation of a great "new order," to be divided into four spheres, under the control of Japan, Germany, Italy, and the United States.

Matsuoka set out in March, 1941, to visit Berlin, accompanied by a staff of military, naval, and civilian experts. He stopped off in Moscow and was received by Joseph Stalin, the first official conference the Soviet leader had held with any Japanese since 1928.[6] Matsuoka was greeted with enthusiasm in Berlin on March 26. In his talks with Hitler and Ribbentrop the general strategy of the war was discussed and the Germans urged the Japanese to attack the United States.[7]

Japan was shocked in June, 1941, when Hitler launched his troops against Russia. The Japanese finally recognized the truth that Nazi Germany, like old Germany, could not be trusted to stop after conquering Europe but would rally the white powers to overrun Asia. And yet, officially, despite fears, the pact continued to be lauded as the first step towards a brighter era in world history. During the celebrations on the

[6] During the talks, Stalin emphasized the fact that they were both Asiatics. Matsuoka replied, "We are all Asiatics. Let us drink to the health of the Asiatics." (New York *Times*, April 13, 1941.)

[7] Despite this display of official cordiality, Nazism was attacked, as well as democratic ideologies. The Japanese were disturbed in June, 1941, by Goering's boast, after the conquest of Crete, that there was no island in the world German soldiers could not subdue. This was interpreted as including the island of Japan.

The true feelings of Hitler regarding Japan can be found in *Mein Kampf*. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose writings were in part the basis for Hitlerian racial theories, was concerned over the fact that the Germans did not destroy all the "undermen" in the colonies taken over. Spengler, the German philosopher-historian, author of *The Decline of the West*, discussed the great mistake of the Western powers in furnishing arms to the "colored" people of the earth. The German Geopoliticians pointed out that their country was the only white one awake to the implications in the struggles between white and "colored" peoples.

German writers approved the British overseas conquests but were alarmed by the humane policy displayed toward the "inferior" natives, especially the Japanese, called "Yellow Devils" by Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi philosopher. It would take a separate book to show the character of German writings published after 1914 which show contempt for and fear of the Japanese.

first anniversary of the alliance, September 27, 1941, Lieutenant General Eugene von Ott, German Ambassador in Tokyo, declared that the Axis powers were determined to establish the "new order" by destroying Russia and the intrigues of the "Anglo-Saxon world."

The attack upon Pearl Harbor was intended to be the initial blow in the destruction of the old world, a blow the Germans knew was coming four days before it was delivered.

RUSSO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

Foreign Offices Agree

The Soviet Union was recognized by Japan in 1923. In the same year the Communist Party of Japan was suppressed and Tokyo refused admittance to Soviet labor missions. The Japanese government also made it clear that all Russian representatives in the empire should engage only in official duties. In this manner a line was drawn between Moscow and the Third International.

During the Japanese moves into Manchuria in 1931, the Soviet Union remained neutral. There was a two year calm until 1933 when the press of all countries played up the possibilities of a second Russo-Japanese War after the arrest by Japan of six Soviet employees of the North Manchuria Railway Company. In these critical days, Foreign Minister Hirota, having served as an ambassador to Russia, and strengthened by his knowledge of that country, directed to a successful settlement the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which was transferred to Manchukuo for 170,000,000 yen (March 23, 1935).

Open expression of conflict was not heard from high officials until November 28, 1938, when Lieutenant General Tojo, Vice-minister of War, urged munition workers to speed production in order to meet a Sino-Russian offensive. In the fall of 1939 powerful groups within Japan agitated for a nonaggression treaty with the Soviet Union. The conservative military and civilian factions, however, sought only settlement of the fishery, oil, and coal problems.

Moscow, in these years during World War II when Soviet troops were locked with the Germans, was anxious to appease Japan and remove the threats of open conflict on the Eastern borders. A neutrality pact was signed on April 13, 1941, in which each agreed to maintain neutrality during the period either party was the "object of military action on the part of one or several powers." This understanding pledged Moscow to respect the territorial integrity of Manchukuo. Tokyo promised to respect the status of the pro-Soviet Outer Mongolian People's Republic. In this way, Japan obtained temporary Russian passivity in the war to come within the year.

On the eve of the second anniversary of the signing of the tripartite

Axis agreement (September 26, 1942), Foreign Minister Tani declared that Japan planned no changes in relations with the Soviet Union. Tani reaffirmed the pact with Russia on January 29, 1943, when he informed the Diet that Japan would respect the neutrality treaty as long as Moscow adhered to the same policy.

Diplomats Discuss Fish and Oil

The tsarist government had no interest in exploiting the regions of Eastern Asia. Japan, therefore, was able to forge ahead. In the treaty of 1875, whereby Russia acquired Sakhalin and Japan the Kurile Islands, the latter also gained fishing and trading privileges on the same basis as other nations. The special fishing rights of Japan were contained in Article II of the Treaty of Portsmouth, following the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, and supplemented by the Fishery Convention of 1907 which granted the Japanese the "right to capture, gather, and manufacture marine products along the Russian coasts facing the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Bering Sea."

Controversy between Russia and Japan did not develop until after the Russian Revolution of 1917. The cessation of relations prevented the renewal of the convention of 1907 which expired in 1919. During the period of foreign intervention in Siberia, the Russians lost the fishing grounds, and in 1921 the Japanese, declaring the 1907 Convention void, protected their fishing vessels with battleships. The Japanese entrenched themselves by constructing canneries and attempted also to make the claims legal by entering into negotiations with the "White" Government at Vladivostok and during the Dairen Conference of 1921–1922 with the Far Eastern Republic. In the Changchun Conference of September, 1922, when the Far Eastern Republic was supported by the Soviets, the Japanese again moved to gain concessions. Moscow failed to agree regarding payments for the use of the fishing grounds since their occupation in 1921. The Soviets announced in March, 1923, that the Convention of 1907 was in effect and the following month Japan paid one million rubles as rent in arrears for the fishing leases.

A "Treaty of Friendship" was signed in 1925 in which Moscow and Tokyo agreed to modify or cancel all agreements entered into prior to 1917, with the exception of the Treaty of Portsmouth of 1905. The Fishery Convention of 1907 was revised in 1928. Japan was given use of Soviet waters in the Far East, excepting 37 specified bays and outlets, the right to catch fish, excluding fur seals and sea otters, granted building privileges and exportation of fish without duties, and given equality with Russians at the annual fish auction held at Vladivostok.

The ink on this agreement hardly was dry before new difficulties arose. One of the aims of the first Soviet Five-Year Plan of 1928 included the elimination of the Japanese fisheries' monopolistic control over the Russian Far East. Although Soviet concerns were not allowed to participate in

the fish auctions, large numbers of private Russian firms were active. The Soviet authorities closed the Vladivostok branch of the Bank of Chōsen (Korea), making it impossible for the Japanese to obtain favorable exchange rates. Faced with financial distress, the Japanese asked for a decrease in the fishing rents. An agreement was reached in August, 1932, which extended the majority of Japanese contracts to 1936.

Japan, in 1935, asked that the convention of 1928 be revised in order to extend all leases for 12 years, abolish auction procedures, and restrict Soviet output. A new convention was ready to be signed in November, 1936. The Japanese Foreign Office published at this time the text of the German-Japanese Anti-Communist agreement. Moscow thereupon refused to sign the new convention and extended the old terms for only one year. The Japanese stated in January, 1937, that legitimate fishing enterprises would be defended with warships. The Tokyo Foreign Office complained in December, 1938, that Russia, concerned over military developments, continued to block a permanent fishing pact.

Fears of an immediate clash were eliminated on April 2, 1939, when an agreement regulating fishing rights was signed for the rest of the year. Japan had warned Moscow that if an understanding were not reached by spring, warships would sail with the fishing fleet. The pact was renewed in 1940. A commercial treaty was concluded on June 12, 1941, including a mutual most-favored-nation clause and a balanced barter exchange of commodities. Tokyo hoped that this understanding signified a permanent fisheries agreement. Such an auspicious end to an irritating problem was not to be realized. The fishing pact was renewed for one year in March, 1942, and, in 1944, was extended for five years. The Soviet Union, in 1944, was criticized for aiding Japan in the Kamchatka area by recognizing these fishing rights and thus enabling the Axis powers to predict weather conditions in the Aleutians and Alaska.[8]

A consideration of the fishery controversy shows some peculiar aspects. A solution would have been possible if negotiations had been based upon the question of concessions from the Soviet government. The fishery problem was, however, part of the Treaty of Portsmouth which Moscow accepted in 1925 as holding and was adhered to by Japan because of the memories of sacrifices made in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. Maintenance of the treaty limited Soviet sovereignty in some of the Russian waters. The Soviets took the position that the Japanese fishing enterprises were not vital to that empire because most of the fish were exported and therefore were considered to be capitalistic profit. The Japanese thought otherwise and regarded Kamchatka as vital to their existence as Manchuria.

The question of oil also was a subject of dispute between Moscow and Tokyo for two decades. The North Karafuto (Sakhalin) Oil Company, Ltd., was created in Japan in 1926. The company employed Soviet citizens and experienced difficulties with the Russian Labor Law which functioned

[8] This was the opinion of Father Bernard R. Hubbard, "glacier priest." (See New York *Times*, March 27, 1943.)

for the benefit of workers and not Japanese capitalists. The Soviet Union in 1940 augmented oil supplies by importations from the United States and piped oil from North Sakhalin where the output was 400,000 tons yearly.

The Japanese agreed on March 31, 1944, to relinquish all oil and coal concessions in North Sakhalin, 26 years before the expiration of the understanding, in order to negotiate a five-year fisheries convention for exploitation in Soviet waters. This change was interpreted as one of the most significant diplomatic victories occurring during World War II.

The Path to Conflict

The Soviet Union feared France and Great Britain until 1931. Moscow in the years after Versailles emphasized the possibilities of a war with the "capitalistic powers," partly to enhance the morale of the Soviet citizenry by showing the imminence of foreign aggression and partly to stimulate rapid industrial development. After 1931, the menace of an expanding Japan motivated extensive military preparations in the East.

The Red Army was strengthened in Siberia. The Trans-Siberian Railway was double tracked. The Turk-Sib Railway connected Soviet Central Asia with Siberia, making possible military operations in the East without dependence upon Western resources. The Arctic Sea route was opened in order to reinforce the Soviet position in Eastern Asia.

The Japanese saw hope in Foreign Commissar Litvinoff's proposal of March, 1935, for a withdrawal of military from the Siberian-Manchukuan frontier, provided Tokyo entered into a nonaggression pact. The following year (April 25, 1936), Foreign Minister Arita declared that Japan had no intention of taking positive action regarding the many border disputes unless "others launch aggression upon us." At the same time, Moscow offered to study the border problems through a mixed commission. Instead of agreeing to this, Arita continued to express concern over large Soviet troop concentrations in the East.

The clash of Japanese and Chinese troops on the night of July 10, 1937, near Marco Polo Bridge, outside Peip'ing, the *casus belli* of the "China Incident," was interpreted as a move to block Russia as well as crush an awakening China. Within 30 days the Soviets were involved when their consulate in Tientsin was raided by White Russians in the pay of Japan. The Soviet press called this "bandit raid" testimony to the fact that the Russian frontiers were guarded heavily and therefore Japan struck against unprotected civilian centers. The affair was forgotten, and yet Japan remained apprehensive. Instead of sending troops into the Shanghai area, about 200,000 picked men and 100,000 reserves were massed near the Siberian border.

During 1939, many skirmishes disturbed the outer fringe of Manchukuo. Outer Mongolian horsemen, in May, attempted to penetrate into the Japanese state. The Japanese at this time destroyed 42 Outer Mongolian planes in the region of Lake Bor. Tokyo, fearful that

Moscow meant war when the nonaggression pact with Germany was signed, poured reinforcements into Manchukuo in August, 1939. The tension was lifted in September when a Soviet-Japanese Mixed Commission was created to determine frontiers of Outer Mongolia and Manchukuo. This Commission was inactive and reached no settlement of the boundaries.

This victory for the diplomats was ignored by the Japanese military. The Tokyo War Office distributed a pamphlet on January 19, 1940, accusing the Soviets of following the old imperialistic path of the Tsars. Yet the Foreign Offices persisted in their efforts to gain security without battles. The fruits of negotiations were seen in the neutrality pact of April 13, 1941, which permitted Japanese troops to evacuate Korea, North China, and Manchukuo for positions in the south, to the joy of the military who were demanding a showdown with Great Britain and the United States.

Russo-Japanese relations, in 1942, were considered by Washington and London to be at the breaking point. Moscow had rejected the requests of Tokyo that the northern half of Sakhalin Island, the Kamchatka Peninsula, and the Siberian Maritime Provinces, including Vladivostok, be handed over for the duration of the war to the safekeeping of the Japanese army and navy. A blow against Siberia was considered about to be delivered in September, 1942, when Masayuki Tani, a fanatical anti-Soviet official, was appointed Foreign Minister. The wind veered and in 1944 Premier Kuniaki Koiso declared in his first press interview (July 24) that Japan "will maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union and exert her best efforts in order to avoid unnecessary provocations." Nine months later, April 5, 1945, Russia denounced the neutrality pact of 1941 and accused Japan of aiding Germany. The way was now paved for Soviet entrance into the war of the Pacific.

30 The Chinese Overseas

The Chinese are found all over the world. The Commission of Overseas Chinese in Chungking released figures in 1940 showing that 8,321,343 Chinese were living abroad. These were found in Asia (8,009,601); North America (197,354); Australia and New Zealand (56,146); Europe (33,881); South America (15,297); and Africa (9,064).

THE CHINESE IN SIAM

Through the years the Chinese have entered Siam until by the twentieth century about one half of the 15,000,000 inhabitants were either immigrants from China or Chinese born in Siam. During World War I, it was the Chinese who made Siam a "boom" country, although the coming of depression left the natives harassed by the aggressive Chinese. The more patriotic Siamese resented this foreign domination and agitated for the passage of the Immigration Law of 1927. This legislation contained an entry tax, a domicile tax, and prohibited the residence of Chinese women. A more drastic law of 1933 restricted Chinese educational institutions, levied heavy assessments upon Chinese merchants, excluded Chinese from the fishing industry, and included all Chinese of military age in the military service regulations. Anti-Chinese activities increased in 1939. Chinese schools were closed. Chinese banks were prohibited from remitting money from Chinese to the homeland.

THE CHINESE IN PERU

In the middle of the nineteenth century Peru was in need of labor in order to develop the agricultural resources. Governmental authorities, industrial organizations and large landowners began to procure workers from China. The rapid increase in immigration was stimulated by the liberation of the Negro slaves of Peru in 1854. The papers between 1868 and 1873 were filled with reports of the inhuman treatment of the Chinese on transport vessels and haciendas. There were many uprisings of the Chinese on the plantations, which gave support to the contentions that they were badly treated.

The United States and Great Britain were concerned over these con-

ditions and protested to Peru. Portugal, finally, refused to allow laborers to leave for Peru by way of Macao. In 1872, an incident occurred in the harbor of Yokohama. A Chinese plunged overboard from the ship *Maria Luz*, of Peruvian registry, carrying 250 Chinese to Peru. The escaped Chinese was able to reach the British vessel, the *Iron Duke*, where he charged that he had been kidnapped and forced to leave his home for toil in South America. The British took up the case with the Japanese authorities who sent the Chinese back to China and delayed the sailing of the *Maria Luz*.[1] There was widespread feeling in Peru against the publicity given this case, but enlightened opinion realized that any continued ill-treatment of Chinese was injuring the prestige of the country. Since 1875, the number of Chinese entering Peru has declined. There were 10,915 residing in that country in 1940.

CHINESE IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

Fukienese refugees escaped the persecutions of the Manchus and found new homes in the islands held by the Netherlanders in the eighteenth century. These industrious settlers had no difficulty in obtaining a footing on this fertile spot. They penetrated into all parts and prospered. The development of agriculture, mainly in Java, owes much to the Chinese. They taught the Javanese the art of intensive cultivation. Many of the rich estates in the central and western parts of Java were owned by Chinese. The Chinese landowner in Sumatra also was wealthy with his tobacco, rubber, and pepper plantations, worked by laborers recruited in Java. A large percentage of imports and exports of the region passed through Chinese hands. There were 582,431 Chinese in Java and Madura and 650,783 in the Outer Provinces in 1930.

No restrictions were placed upon the Chinese until 1934 when the quota system was instituted. The annual immigrations of 12,000 were apportioned among 15 national groups, with the Chinese limited to 1,500. In spite of these barriers, the legal status of the Chinese improved and plans were being formulated before World War II to give them equality with Westerners.

CHINESE IN THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS

The islands of the South Sea have been a Utopia for the peasants of South China. The smallest of these islands have several *Tinito*, as the natives call the Chinese, who came with a few pounds of tobacco and bolts of cotton cloth. Gradually increasing their stock from the stores of passing vessels, the Chinese soon were wealthy leaders in every community.

The Chinese at Papeete, Tahiti, can be studied with interest. One-

[1] Chief Justice Smole of the Hong Kong Supreme Court decided in April, 1871, that ships employed in the Macao trade were engaged in piracy and that such ships were slavers. (*For. Rel. of U. S., 1871*, 1941.)

fifth of the population (3,000) were Chinese. They owned 90 per cent of the shops as well as most of the vessels plying among the islands. The old French planters, the artists, and writers who loved the romantic isle of Tahiti complained that the Chinese brought the vulgarisms of traders and moneylenders into the world's last enchanted spot, but the younger colonists appreciated the Chinese, who have made possible cheap bathtubs and toothbrushes and radios.

CHINESE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The first Chinese to enter Australia came as shepherds between 1840 and 1859. The discovery of gold brought large numbers. A sweeping immigration act was passed in 1901, providing for a language test which no Chinese was able to pass between 1905 and 1914. By 1920 there were only 20,118 Chinese in the Commonwealth, mainly engaged in agriculture, where they dominated the truck-gardening industry.

The mining of gold and the building of railways, notably the Canadian Pacific, attracted Chinese to Canada early in the 70's of the nineteenth century. After 1886, Chinese immigration was controlled by a head tax starting with $50 and reaching $500 in 1904. The Chinese Immigration Act in 1923 prohibited the entrance of workers. At this time there were not more than 35,000 Chinese in the Dominion.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Chinese of Fukien and Kwangtung traded with the natives living in the Malay Peninsula. Singapore was one of the ports of call. By 1826 there were 6,000 Chinese in the city, and the expansion of this great mart was largely due to the Chinese. The commerce and prosperity of Singapore would have been ruined if the Chinese had been oppressed here as they were elsewhere, since European firms imported most of their goods from the West but depended upon Chinese traders to distribute them locally and in the adjacent islands. The Chinese of Singapore were distinguished by two types—those who emigrated and left their families in China and those called "babas," who made permanent residences.

The richest immigrant group in Singapore at the beginning of World War II was the Chinese. They were retail traders, barbers, owners of silk stores, hotel keepers, contractors, furniture and pottery makers, bankers, and rubber and pepper planters.

One of the most famous residents of the Archipelago was Tan Cheng Lock, Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1933, member of the Government Legislative Council and an authority on colonial administration. His chief commercial interests included rubber plantations, banks, and a steamship company. There was also Tan Keh Kee, who before his bankruptcy in 1934, controlled the rubber exports to Canada and Great Britain and sent biscuits, aspirin, hats, and soaps throughout the Pacific and Atlantic. This magnate founded Amoy University, China, and was the first president of the Singapore Chinese High School.

Chinese immigrants began to arrive in the Straits Settlements in 1881. In 1913, about 278,000 were settled in this area. The immigration of male Chinese workers into the Straits Settlements was suspended in August, 1930. A proclamation issued by the governor of the Settlements stipulated that beginning in October, 1930, the total number of Chinese male laborers over fourteen years of age to be allowed to land in the colony should not exceed 2,500 annually.

THE CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES

The first Chinese to reach the United States came in the early nineteenth century as a cabin boy on the ship *Bolivar*. In 1849, 323 Chinese reached the gold fields of California. Three years later, there were 18,131. The Americans looked at these strange yellow men with "admiration and pride" in the first few months of their arrival and marvelled at the "picturesque and far-traveling immigrants" who were seeking work in the land of glittering hope.

Opposition to the Chinese did not develop until they began to compete efficiently with white labor. The California State Legislature, during the session of 1855, passed an act "to discourage the immigration to this State of persons who cannot become citizens thereof." It imposed a tax of $50 upon every Chinese who entered the borders. The collection of this tax was resisted, the law being declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of California, in the case of the *People vs. Downer* (7th California, 169).

The Chinese were victims of mob violence in almost every large city and settlement in California where they resided. In Sacramento and San Francisco especially, gangs of white workers attacked the unarmed Chinese. It is to the credit, however, of a large and influential class of citizens, composed of merchants, manufacturers, financiers, and professional men, that anti-Chinese movements were softened. These groups sat in the sessions of the state legislature and testified in behalf of the persecuted Chinese, pointing out the fact that the mobs consisted almost entirely of Europeans, with few native-born Americans active.

The Burlingame treaty of July 28, 1868, was the first understanding in which immigration was considered by the government of the United States. Sections five and six of this agreement made it clear where Washington stood regarding the Chinese. The right of men to change their homes and allegiances as well as the mutual benefits to be derived from free migrations were recognized. Furthermore, this treaty stated that "Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may thereby be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations."

The Chinese question reached national interest in 1876 when a joint committee of the two houses of the Federal Government investigated the

case for and against the admission of Chinese. During the hearings, the Rev. Augustus W. Loomis, who testified in favor of the Chinese, received the following letter, signed by "1 of 163." It is indicative of the opinion of the man on the street in these years of hostility. "Are you an American, or were you born in the kingdom under the rule of some African Hottentot, or did you stay in China until you became a Chinaman in principle? The only conclusion that we can arrive at is that you have forgotten that you live in a free country under the *American flag*. Who was it that sent you to China as a missionary but the people of America, there to bum a living for 20 years, and then to come back to the people who sent you and have fed you for this time and say that our *free American* people are inferior to the heathen Mongolian whom you are in favor of bringing here to supplant us in our own California. This insult we have noted and shall not forget; and our advice to you is to get back to China, where your company will be more congenial than among a free people." [2]

The most vigorous opposition to the Chinese came from the Irish who met the "foreigners" in the West with the same spirit they fought the "damned Dutch" and the Negroes. The Anti-Chinese Union of San Francisco, packed with ire from the Emerald Isle, declared its "objects are to protect the people of the United States from the degrading influences of Chinese labor in any form; to discourage and stop any further Chinese immigration; to compel the Chinese living in the United States to withdraw from the country; and to unite, centralize, and direct anti-Chinese strength of our country to the end that good order and harmony may prevail." The Labor Union members of San José, California, presented a petition to the Committee on Chinese Immigration maintaining that as fathers of families they "naturally have a deep interest as regards their ability to make an honest livelihood." They declared that there were about 1,000 in Chinatown, "of whom over 400 never do a day's work; they live by trading, stealing, and gambling. As to its effects on labor, we know that it degrades labor to a fearful extent and closes up about all the avenues of employment to our boys and girls, thus leaving our rising generation in a fearful condition, in fact so fearful that we shrink with horror from the contemplation of what must be the final result of the evil unless we obtain some relief."

The first time the Chinese had the opportunity to present their side of the case to the American people is contained in the address of the "Six Chinese Companies" to the Joint Session of the two Houses on April 5, 1876:

"To the American public: The United States has been open to Chinese immigration for more than 20 years. Many Chinamen have come; few have returned. Why is this? Because among our Chinese people a few in California have acquired a fortune and returned home with joy. A desire to obtain a competency having arisen in the heart, our people have not shrunk from toil and trouble. They have expected to come here for one

[2] See *Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration*, February 27, 1877 (Washington). This Report is quoted in the following pages.

or two years, and make a little fortune and return. Who among them ever thought of all these difficulties? Expensive rents, expensive living. A day without work means a day without food. For this reason, though wages are low, yet they are compelled to labor and live in daily poverty, quite unable to return to their native land. Now this honorable country is discussing the importance of prohibiting the further immigration of the Chinese. This is very good indeed. First, because it will relieve the American people of trouble and anxiety of mind; secondly, the Chinese will no longer be wanderers in a foreign land. Both parties will thus be benefited. But this result should be brought about in a reasonable manner. It is said that the six Chinese companies bring and import Chinamen into this country. How can such things be said? Our six companies have, year after year, sent letters discouraging our people from coming to this country, but the people have not believed us, and have continued to come. . . .

"To prohibit the Chinese from coming to this country is not a difficult task. Formerly his Imperial Majesty, our august Emperor, made a treaty of amity and friendship with the government of this honorable country, opening the commercial relations and permitting free intercommunication. And now, if the American people do not desire the Chinese to come here, why not go to the Emperor and ask a repeal of the treaty, or why not limit the number of immigrants on each steamer to a very few? Then more would return and fewer would come, and not 10 years would elapse before not a trace of a Chinese would be left in this great and honorable country. It cannot be said that Chinese labor impoverishes this country, and are not the customs paid by the Chinese a benefit to this country? Now, let the government of the United States propose to the government of China a repeal or change of the treaty, prohibiting the people of either country from crossing the ocean; then shall we Chinese forever remain at home and enjoy the happiness of fathers, mothers, wives, and children, and no longer remain strangers in a strange land. Then the white laborers of this country shall no longer be troubled by the competition of the Chinese, and our Chinese people no longer be subjected to the abuses and indignities now daily heaped upon them in the open streets of this so-called Christian land."

The findings of the Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration were significant because they show not only the conclusions reached in 1877 but also stress some of the arguments for entrance of the Chinese combined with the more irrational opposition which has persisted through the years:

(1) The resources of California and the Pacific Coast generally had been developed rapidly "with the cheap and docile labor" of the Chinese; (2) many individuals gained profit from Chinese immigration; (3) religious groups who testified before the Committee were opposed to restrictions because they lost by these policies opportunities to Christianize the Chinese; (4) labor groups were opposed to the Chinese influx because they were thrown out of employment; (5) hostility was encountered not only

in labor organizations. (The Committee heard many doctors, lawyers, and judges "speaking of their own observation and belief, that the apparent prosperity derived from the presence of Chinese is deceptive and unwholesome, ruinous to our laboring classes, promotive of caste, and dangerous to free institutions."); (6) the testimony of the municipal authorities of San Francisco showed that about 35,000 Chinese lived in the city under filthy conditions, with poor food, crowded together, and that their "vices are corrupting to the morals of the city, especially of the young"; (7) Chinese competition was a "continuous menace," degrading to American workers; and, (8) "as the safety of republican institutions requires that the exercise of the franchise shall be only by those who have a love and appreciation for our institutions, and this rule excludes the great mass of the Chinese from the ballot as a necessary means to public safety, yet the application of the rule deprives them of the only adequate protection which can exist in a republic for the security of any distinctive large class of persons. An indigestible mass in the community, distinct in language, pagan in religion, inferior in mental and moral qualities, and all peculiarities, is an undesirable element in a republic, but becomes especially so if political power is placed in its hands."

Opposition to the Chinese was not shared by all. (9) A "respectable class" in California believed that cheapness of labor and the "extreme docility" of the Chinese stood in their favor. More money could be made by utilizing them instead of whites. But, admitting all this, most of the witnesses called before the Committee believed that "great numbers of a people with the average mental capacity of the Chinese, having no inclination to adopt this country as their permanent home, who come and return as pagans, having a total disregard for our government and laws, and the servile disposition inherited from ages of benumbing despotism, were undesirable." (10) The judges of the criminal courts of San Francisco testified that the Chinese possessed a great lack of veracity, had no regard for the oath, which meant that it was difficult to obtain convictions against them, whenever they were involved against each other or non-Chinese. (11) In regard to racial differences between Asiatic and Caucasian races, the testimony stated that "there is not sufficient brain capacity in the Chinese race to furnish motive power for self-government. Upon the point of view of morals, there is no Aryan or European race which is not far superior to the Chinese as a class." (12) The Chinese of the Pacific Coast discouraged white immigration, due to their "monopoly of farm and mechanical work through the low price of their labor, making subsistence difficult to procure by the poorer class of emigrants." (13) The Chinese did not come to the United States in order to make homes; their sole purpose was to make money and then return to China and live upon savings. (14) Finally, the Chinese had no desire to become citizens of the United States, and "have no knowledge or appreciation for our institutions. Very few of them learn to speak our language. They do not desire the ballot, and there is danger that if they had it their 'head-men' would control the sale of it in quantities large enough to determine any

election. That it would be destructive to the Pacific States to put the ballot in their hands was very generally believed by the witnesses. To admit these vast numbers of aliens to citizenship and the ballot would practically destroy republican institutions upon the Pacific Coast, for the Chinese have no comprehension of any form of government but despotism, and have not the words in their own language to describe intelligently the principles of our representative system."

A bill was introduced into Congress in 1879 limiting to 15 the number of Chinese who could enter the United States on any one vessel. This measure was killed on the ground that it violated the Burlingame treaty. Accordingly, it was modified by adding a stipulation abrogating the fifth and sixth articles of the treaty giving Chinese all the privileges enjoyed by "citizens or subjects of the most-favored nations." The Senate in February, 1879, accepted the bill by a small majority. President Hayes in March vetoed it, however, realizing that it would foster more friendly relations with China if the latter were free to negotiate with the United States through the channels of diplomacy.

A new understanding was reached on November 17, 1880, which was not opposed by the anti-Chinese of the Pacific Coast. Article I declared that "whenever in the opinion of the government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country, or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming of residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation, or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse."

After the ratification of this convention, a draft bill was sent to the President providing that 90 days after approval, and continuing for 20 years, all entrance of Chinese laborers should cease. This legislation also contained machinery for the organization of registration, certification, and identification; skilled Chinese workers were specifically debarred from entrance; and the courts were to refuse to grant citizenship to any Chinese. President Arthur vetoed this measure in April, 1882, on the grounds that enactment of any such statute was unreasonable and violated the treaty with China. The President approved a modified bill on May 6 that "from and after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of 10 years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States is hereby suspended, and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come from any foreign port or place, or having so come to remain within the United States."

An agreement was signed on March 12, 1888. The main portions of this understanding were (1) No Chinese laborers to enter the United States for 20 years; (2) no Chinese laborer returning to China was to be allowed to return to the United States, unless he had left there a wife, child, or parent, or property valued at least $1,000; (3) Chinese of other classes than laborers were obliged to obtain certificates of identification from the United States consular agent located at the port of departure; (4) as stipulated in the treaty of 1880, all Chinese residing legally in the United States, were granted the privileges held by the subjects and citizens of the most-favored nations; (5) an indemnity of $276,619.75 was to be paid for injuries suffered by the Chinese during the anti-Chinese riots in the Pacific States; and (6) all Chinese laborers at the time not residing in the United States, but holding return certificates, were to be debarred.

The United States was disturbed in 1890 by the increasing task of enforcing the immigration laws along the Canadian border. Illegal entrance was facilitated by the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The State Department gave the American minister in London instructions to confer with Lord Salisbury over treaty stipulations, but Salisbury found it necessary to consult the Canadian officials. In their correspondence, the Canadians denied the charge that the Canadian Pacific Railway, which also included a line of steamers in the Pacific, was unfriendly and sold through tickets from China to the United States. Disavowals also were given to the accusation that large numbers of Chinese were waiting at Vancouver for an opportune time to enter American states.

A bill was introduced into the Senate in 1891, providing that the act of 1882 be continued for another 10 years. This was passed without great opposition. At the same time, a California representative put forth a bill in the House for the absolute prohibition of immigration of all Chinese, excepting diplomats, and that all Chinese in the United States carry certificates or be deported. Finally, after long debates, the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1892 was passed, which continued in force for 10 years all existing laws and required all Chinese laborers to secure certificates within a year under penalty of deportation for failure to procure such a document.

When this act went into effect, a group of Chinese hired three prominent lawyers who maintained this legislation was unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court on May 15, 1893, declared against them. Hoping to see the eventual abrogation of the bill, about 90,000 Chinese failed to register, leaving them liable to deportation. Congress, ready to put into execution this section of the act, and finding it would cost $6,000,000 to implement the measure, extended by six months the period for obtaining certificates.

As a result of willingness on the part of the Chinese government to formulate a new treaty, some changes were made in existing legislation in 1894. (1) All Chinese laborers were excluded for 10 years; (2) Chinese visiting their homes were allowed to return to the United States, provided they had here a wife, child, or parent, or $1,000 worth of property; and (3) registration was to be continued.

When the Hawaiian Islands were annexed in 1898, all Chinese immigration to this region was declared to be covered by the laws of the United States. An act was passed on April 30, 1900, stating that "all persons who were citizens of the Republic of Hawaii on August 12, 1898, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States and citizens of the Territory of Hawaii." The Chinese residents of Hawaii at the time this act was legalized "may within one year thereafter obtain certificates of residence" as required, and until the end of that year would not be considered unlawful occupants of the United States, if found without such certificates, provided that "no Chinese laborer, whether he shall hold such certificate or not, shall be allowed to enter any State, Territory, or District of the United States from the Hawaiian Islands."

As the time drew near for the making of a new exclusion law, agitations against changes in the status of the Chinese became intense. A convention held in San Francisco in November, 1901, composed of trade, commercial, and civic bodies, passed resolutions demanding no compromises with China. The slogan of the sessions was enunciated by the American Federation of Labor—"Meat vs. Rice."

The Immigration Act of February 20, 1907, stipulated that information regarding aliens should be recorded. Up to this time no official figures had been kept for the departure of foreigners from the United States. It had been known generally that the movement out was about one-third as large as the movement into the country.

Between 1907 and 1943, when the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed, there were no extensive movements in favor of the entrance of Chinese The participation of China on the side of the Allied Powers in World War II was the greatest factor in inducing the United States government to change the status of a friendly nation.

THE CHINESE AFTER PEARL HARBOR

Congressman Martin J. Kennedy of New York introduced a bill into the House of Representatives on February 19, 1943, to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act and grant Chinese nationals the right to enter the United States and confer upon them the rights of citizenship. Congressman Walter H. Judd, of Minnesota, formerly a medical missionary in China, appeared at the same time before the House Foreign Affairs Committee and advocated placing Asiatic immigration upon a quota basis. The Chungking newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*, of March 4, in an editorial commented that "this would make the white enamel-like relations between China and the United States spotless." The Japanese and Nazis, this paper said, were utilizing the question of racial prejudice in their propaganda, and "the democratic nations should adopt counter measures with actual facts. . . . The new treaty between China and the United States is full of the spirit of equality and while it provides that Americans can live freely in inland China, unfair restrictions against the entry of Chinese into the United States are abolished."

President Roosevelt on October 11, 1943, requested Congress to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act and allow an immigration of 105 Chinese annually. In the signing of this bill in December, the Chinese Exclusion Laws were eradicated from the statute books of the United States, and a grave mistake was remedied.[3]

[3] Since the United States had repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act, the attorney general of California ruled, in March, 1944, that Chinese aliens could own land in California, the land laws of that state barring from ownership only those ineligible to American citizenship.

Chinese soldiers in the United States armed forces for a time had trouble. A Chinese soldier, honorably discharged, was denied citizenship in May, 1944, by a San Francisco judge because he was unable to read, speak, or write English. Yet the Naturalization Act of 1940 (sec. 701), specifically mentions that "the petitioner shall not be required to speak the English language, sign his petition in his own handwriting, or meet any educational test." There was still legislation on the books against Chinese in 1945. Mississippi, for example, had a statute prohibiting Chinese aliens and citizens from attending public schools of their own selection, restricting them to colored schools.

31 Japan Overseas

Economic pressure is intense within Japan. Competition among workers in a country restricted in farms is bitter. The population density of Japan in 1909 was 286 per square mile, or more than 10 times that of the United States. Since the middle of the nineteenth century thousands of Japanese have left their homeland to seek new life in distant regions.

There were 2,122,054 Japanese residing abroad in 1939. Of these 405,701 men and 297,175 women were in the United States; 294,175 men and 221,265 women were in Asia; 81,403 men and 73,300 women were in Australia; 1,900 men and 982 women were in Europe; and 150 men and 48 women were in Africa. There were 239,725 Japanese in Latin America and 506,230 in China in 1941.

THE JAPANESE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

In the 80's of the nineteenth century cheap labor was needed in Canada in order to exploit the coal, copper, and lumber, and work in the fisheries of the Dominion. The Japanese responded in large numbers to these demands. But then the picture changed and there was growing opposition to the Oriental influx. British Columbia especially was disturbed by the presence of the Japanese. They were growing prosperous and were feared by many of the Canadians because they were gaining control of several enterprises, chiefly the fishing industry. The provincial authorities made efforts to restrict them but the government at Ottawa, co-operating with London, whose policy was influenced by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, repudiated the measures of the local legislature.

About 7,000 Japanese had entered Canada by 1907, and labor groups in Vancouver, fearing their encroachments, established an Anti-Asiatic League and set out to destroy the property of both Japanese and Chinese. In 1908, a commission under the chairmanship of William Lyon Mackenzie King, later premier, placated Japanese feelings by awarding the injured aliens $9,175 and mollified public opinion by forcing the Canadian Pacific Railway to reduce the number of Japanese workers from 1,000 to 370. A "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1909 was accepted by Tokyo which promised to restrict the annual influx of immigrants to 400. By 1941, this number had been reduced to 150.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in December, 1938, warned a British

Columbia Liberal who demanded exclusion of the Japanese that the Dominion should take no steps which would indicate British hostility to Japan. Despite this official rebuke, the city of Vancouver, in October, 1940, adopted some anti-Japanese resolutions urging that the primary schools for Japanese children be closed, that Japanese residents of the city who had violated Canadian laws and those whose entry was regarded as illegal be deported, and that the entry of new immigrants be forbidden.

The report of Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden on the treatment of British prisoners at Hong Kong was read in the Canadian House of Commons on March 10, 1942, by Premier King. The Prime Minister in commenting upon this statement declared that "bearing in mind the fact that Canadians in the Orient are at the mercy of the Japanese, it was important that no act of vengeance be taken against Japanese in Canada." Actually, no serious acts of violence were reported against the Japanese residents within the Dominion during World War II.[1]

Australia in 1896 planned to extend the regulations restricting the Chinese to include the Japanese. Upon advice from London the government limited the entrance of Japanese by the "dictation test." By this examination, any person who, when asked to do so by an immigration officer, failed to write out and sign in the presence of the agent a passage of 50 words read to him in a European language selected at the time, was refused entry. This requirement obviously was aimed at Orientals. The Australian government in 1905 modified the regulation to exempt Japanese tourists, merchants, and students holding temporary passports.

New Zealand in 1908 adopted the "dictation test" and repealed it in 1920. These Dominions of the British Empire achieved the same objectives as the United States without openly discriminating against the Japanese.

The Japanese followed Germany in 1935 by demanding a "place in the sun." Discussions were rife in Tokyo regarding the feasibility of negotiations with Great Britain and other powers in order to secure immigration rights into those regions held by the white man. A Japanese member of the Imperial Diet sounded a note of warning in March, 1941, when he announced that "it is my consistent contention that the white races should give the Japanese and other Asiatic races the chance to emigrate to and develop Oceania at least."

THE JAPANESE IN LATIN AMERICA

The Japanese born in Brazil, about 100,000, were regarded by the Brazilians as dangerous as those born in the homeland and as eager to do the bidding of the Tokyo government. It is possible that the large Japanese holdings may have been intended as bases for air attacks against the United States.

Brazil, confronted with labor shortages and a small population, en-

[1] Most of the Japanese in Canada wished to remain in the Dominion. There were 4,000 Japanese nationals, 12,000 born in Canada, and 7,000 naturalized.

couraged immigration. Between 1904 and 1939, 185,799 Japanese entered this South American country. Most of the newcomers settled in Sao Paulo and spread out through the State of Matto Grosso, into Bolivia, into Peru, back into Brazil over the Amazon River, into the State of Ceara. All these settlements were concentrated along the railroads or near large bodies of water.

The Japanese (150,000) of Sao Paulo by 1939 owned about 1,250,000 acres. The first colonists who entered in 1912 were contract laborers, converted into settlers in 1924. They worked on the coffee plantations, either as independent or semi-independent farmers. They also farmed rice land and increased its production from 688,000 tons in 1926 to 1,502,220 tons in 1939. Food, medical supplies, books, doctors, dentists, were imported from Japan into Sao Paulo. This strong Japanese center until recently, had few who could speak Portuguese. The schools used textbooks printed in Tokyo which emphasized the grandeur of war and showed the "historical enmity of white men for the Japanese." Brazilian visitors in the area were given cool receptions.

Most of the commercial organizations of the Japanese in Brazil were controlled by the Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki, with offices located in many cities of Latin America. This body bought and sold land, loaned money for exploitations and also engaged in engineering, trading, banking, fishing, and mining activities. The Japanese banks supported these Brazilian interests.

Tsukasa Myetsuka, entrepreneur and Assistant Minister of Finance, in 1927, obtained the right to settle Japanese colonists in the fertile upper Amazon Basin. He received 2,410,000 acres and was granted permission to import 10,000 farmers within 50 years.[2] His Amazon Development Company was located near the Ford Rubber plantations. Tokyo created the Amazonia Institute for the training of colonists and set up Acaka, an experimental model settlement, under the supervision of agricultural engineers.

Geraldo Rocha, a leading capitalist and patriot, sounded a warning regarding the Japanese in 1938. He declared that Japanese colonization in the Amazon River area was planned as a submarine base, menacing the Panama Canal, and was expected to divide the United States squadrons of the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets, in order to support the Japanese Imperial Navy.

The papers of Rio de Janeiro carried stories on March 21, 1942, describing a possible Japanese attack upon the State of Sao Paulo, where they had concealed heavy artillery and modern rifles. Five days later, more than 100 subjects of the Axis powers were arrested, including a Japanese admiral disguised as a farmer who was in command of a large fleet of fishing boats.

The Brazilian authorities in April, 1942, discovered the headquarters of a Japanese espionage ring. Here were found photographic equipment, Japanese flags, a radio synchronized with Tokyo waves, and military

[2] In 1936, Brazil revoked the concession. In 1938, immigration was limited. Between 1933 and 1938, 10,000 Japanese had entered annually.

maps. Japanese preparations included an organization of men along semi-military lines, supported by the women and children who were to serve as auxiliary fighters.

The local authorities in April, 1946, curbed a reign of terror in Sao Paulo, instigated by members of an organization, the *Shindo Romei*, a branch of the Black Dragon Society. They had attacked leading Japanese residents, worked to eliminate all Japanese who realized the war was lost, and intimidated ignorant farmers into believing Japan was victorious.

The arrival of 790 Japanese contract laborers in 1899 marks the beginning of this movement into Peru. The Lima government, however, by 1936 had become alarmed over the strength of the 21,656 Japanese within their borders who were maintaining, as in Brazil, almost perfect Japanese traditions. A general quota system was initiated in 1936, permitting the entry of two immigrants annually for every thousand at the time in Peru, with a limit of 16,000 new residents. The Japanese being over this limit, no new colonists were allowed to live in the country. The sentiments of the natives can be judged from the severity of anti-Japanese riots which broke out in several Peruvian cities in 1940, riots for which the Lima government paid large indemnities.

The Peruvian government, in 1939, attempted to check Japanese economic penetration by imposing a quota upon all textile imports and also by refusing to grant citizenship to Japanese born in the country. Lima, turning in the direction of Washington, despite well-organized Axis influences, was convinced that the Japanese were the most dangerous of all aliens in the land.

Cotton production in Costa Rica under Japanese auspices was started in 1937. The government saw no danger in the newcomers who were considered merely as teachers of the modern technique of cotton-raising. The plan was proposed that Japanese experts raise cotton with seeds of their own selection and take the entire crop in exchange for cheap Japanese manufactured goods. A similar project was begun in the Dominican Republic in 1938.

The American government in September, 1933, entered into negotiations with Mexico for equal treatment for Americans with the 5,481 Japanese residents who had been given special privileges in 1925 at a time when Americans were not popular. The Japanese had gained rights many other aliens were unable to attain, such as freedom of entry, equality with Mexicans in commerce, industry, and agriculture, exemptions from military service, and voluntary subscriptions to bond issues.

THE JAPANESE IN HAWAII AND THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES

In 1869, 153 emigrants left Japan to work on the sugar plantations of Hawaii, under an agreement concluded between the Japanese government and the Hawaiian authorities. Between 1885 and 1894, about 29,000 emigrants entered. Two years after Hawaii was annexed by the United States (1900) the immigration of contract labor was prohibited by applica-

tion of the laws of the United States. Immigration from Japan was limited by the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1908 and ceased in 1924 with the passage of the Immigration Act. Since 1924, many Japanese have left Hawaii. Between 1932 and 1937, there were 5,231 more departures than arrivals.

The Japanese in Hawaii have been criticized because of their political apathy and the habit of voting en masse for candidates. The official report on the Islands for 1938 states that racial voting "seems to be indulged in less in Hawaii than on the mainland," and elections were decided more on merit.

There have been few opportunities for the educated Japanese living in Hawaii. Plantation overseers and managers were not Japanese. Some advanced in business but they received one-half the pay of white employees. An Occidental bookkeeper, for example, averaged about $200 per month and a Japanese of comparable training had to be satisfied with $125. Many Japanese were qualified as teachers but few were employed, Westerners being imported for this work. Out of 117 doctors in Honolulu in 1935, 23 were Japanese; out of 73 lawyers, 5 were Japanese; out of 82 dentists, 28 were Japanese.

The second generation Japanese in Hawaii were American in speech, dress, and diet. When one of these visited Japan he found himself frequently unable to understand the language of his fathers and was confused by the exotic surroundings. In regard to the third generation, a report made in 1938 estimated that this group "has perhaps made greater progress" than "many immigrant groups of longer residence in America living in mainland communities."

The first Japanese to enter the United States was a cook who came in 1867. The number coming never was more than 2,000 annually until 1898. There were 24,326 in the country, excluding Alaska, in 1900. Between 1902 and 1908, 37,000 came from the Hawaiian Islands, lured by higher wages and brighter business futures. By 1910, there were 148,729 (124,670 males and 24,059 females). There were 126,947 Japanese on the continent of the United States on April 1, 1940, of whom 47,305 were aliens, 80 per cent of them living in the Pacific Coast states. California had 93,717 or 73.8 per cent of the total Japanese population, with 23,321 in Los Angeles and 5,280 in San Francisco.

A movement to exclude Japanese laborers from the United States began in 1905 when California took steps against them. These Orientals were segregated in special schools in 1906 and 1907, and anti-Japanese legislation was debated.

A "Gentlemen's Agreement" was reached in 1908. This understanding stipulated that Japan would restrict the entrance of laborers into the United States.[3] The settlement resulted in a proportionate reduction in

[3] Premier Laurier of Canada in 1907 consulted with the United States regarding Japanese immigration. Mackenzie King went to Washington to confer with Theodore Roosevelt. King visited England carrying confidential messages to Sir Edward Grey from Roosevelt, asking for British support in requesting Japan to act without benefit of a formal treaty. The so called "Gentlemen's Agreement" materialized out of these interviews

the male Japanese population although there was an increase in the number of immigrants coming to the United States owing to the admission of women married to Japanese residents who had been allowed previously to enter.

In spite of the fact that Japan adhered to the agreement, California was not satisfied. The strength of the Japanese was feared. Land was leased to them by farmers interested in the tenant system. The energetic Japanese offered high rents, made possible by partnerships. Many Japanese also became merchants who competed with Americans. The Immigration Commission of 1910 thus summed up the situation:

"The Japanese are well organized into prefectural societies or trade guilds, and otherwise, and seldom become public charges. Though in several instances it has been necessary to deal with Japanese prostitutes, they have not given much trouble on account of misdemeanors or crimes —much less than the Mexicans and the Latin races.

"In certain respects the Japanese have shown a great capacity for assimilation, and very much more than the Chinese and the Mexicans of the peon class. In fact, they are extremely anxious to learn western ways and methods and conform at least to the externals of the civilization into which they have come.

"They have organized more schools for the acquirement of a knowledge of English than any other race. . . . In dress and all superficial matters they conform to American ways, and though the majority adhere to the Buddhist faith, a large number especially of the younger student class, are professed Christians and the missions are usually well supported. . . .

"But whatever their capacities for assimilation, the general conditions have been, and are, unfavorable to Japanese laborers because of race feeling growing out of difference in color, characteristics, and ideals, because of the economic conflict which has taken place, especially in California."

Associate Justice Charles E. Hughes, disturbed by the action of the California legislature in passing laws against the holding of land by Japanese, expressed his opinion in July, 1913, that he was prepared "to admit that all differences between human beings—differences in appearance, differences in manner, differences in speech, differences in opinion, differences in nationality, differences in race—may provoke a certain antagonism, but none of these differences is likely to produce serious results unless it becomes associated with an interest of a contentious nature, such as that of the struggle for existence. In this economic contest the division, no doubt, may often take place on racial lines, but it does so not because of racial antagonism but because of the circumstances that the traditions and habits of different races have developed or diminished competitive efficiency. The contest is economic; the racial difference is a mere mark or incident of the economic struggle.

"All nations recognize this fact, and it is for this reason that each nation is permitted to determine who shall and who shall not be permitted to settle in its dominions and become a part of the body politic,

to the end that it may preserve internal peace and avoid the contentions which are so likely to disturb the harmony of international relations."

President Warren G. Harding approved on May 19, 1921, a temporary 3 per cent immigration law. This regulation limited immigration to a proportion of a given number in the United States in 1910. The act did not apply to the Japanese owing to a provision of the bill which stipulated that the 3 per cent limit did not apply to countries with which immigration was regulated by treaties or agreements. The House Committee on Immigration met and conducted hearings in 1921 and 1922 but reached no definite conclusions and the 3 per cent law was extended until June 30, 1924.

Interest was wide in 1924 in regard to disposition of the Japanese. Many believed that it was not a political matter but one of social significance. Testimony was given before the Committee on Immigration of the United States Senate in March. These hearings offer insight into the case for and against the Japanese.

The most tireless opponent of the Japanese was V. S. McClatchy, editor of the *Sacramento Bee.* In his statement before the Committee he declared that in 1790 the United States by "Federal Act made ineligible to citizenship all the yellow and brown races, in effect half the population of the globe. That has been the law since that time, that particular feature not having been modified or changed.

"The yellow and brown races do not intermarry with the white race, and their heredity, standards of living, psychology, all combine to make them unassimilable with the white race."

The Japanese were viewed as more dangerous to the United States than any Western immigrant because "with great pride of race, they have no idea of assimilating in the sense of amalgamation. They do not come to this country with any desire or intent to lose their racial or national identity. They come here specifically and professedly for the purpose of colonizing and establishing here permanently the proud Yamato race. They never cease to be Japanese. They have as little desire to intermarry as have the whites, and there can be no proper amalgamation, you will agree, without intermarriage."

The "Committee on American-Japanese Relations," including George W. Wickersham, Hamilton Holt, Jane Addams, Luther Burbank, Carrie Chapman Catt, George Eastman, Elbert H. Gary, Otto H, Kahn, Shailer Mathews, Charles M. Schwab, Robert E. Speer, Frank A. Vanderlip, William Allen White, and Stephen S. Wise, advocated "a square deal for Japanese in the United States," and proposed an active opposition to the "jingo, anti-Japanese agitation . . . by frank and scientific discussions of the problems involved." The adoption of a new Japanese-American treaty was recommended to supplant the "Gentlemen's Agreement" which should provide "that on the part of Japan the further issue of passports to those coming to the United States for permanent residence be rigidly restricted"; that on the part of the United States privileges of citizenship be granted to all who personally qualify; the enactment of adequate

Federal legislation for the "protection of aliens and for the enforcement of their treaty rights," as advocated by Presidents Harrison, McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Taft; that Japan abolish the evils of dual citizenship of children of Japanese parents born in the United States and, finally, that relations be established with the various societies in Japan which were working for the settlement of disputes by means of conferences.

The president of the University of California, David Starr Jordan, prepared a document for the Committee:

"Those of us opposed to antialien legislation are for the most part not in favor of admission of Asiatic laborers. Our interest is in fair treatment of those legally here, and in honorable and friendly conduct on the part of our own Nation. Most of our Japanese farm laborers came to California on the annexation of Hawaii. They had been brought to Hawaii by American sugar interests before the Japanese system of compulsory schools and been established. Hence they are naturally often ignorant and clannish.

"The word 'assimilation' has two meanings—interbreeding and comprehension of political and social conditions. In the latter sense, the young Japanese are more readily assimilated than people of several European races, in the former, fortunately, scarcely at all, for a certain pride of ancestry makes a Japanese, as a whole, averse to 'mixed marriages.'

"That all races resident in our country should have means of becoming citizens is vital to the integrity of the nation. We should condemn no race of men to permanent outlawry—a line of policy disastrous wherever it has been tried."

Congressman Albert Johnson, chairman of the House Immigration Committee, on June 30, 1924, introduced a bill for a permanent policy of immigration. This bill provided for a reduction of the immigrant quota from each country to 400, plus 2 per cent of the foreign born (from each country) residing in the United States in 1890. The Japanese were considered specifically in a clause declaring that "an immigrant not eligible to citizenship shall not be admitted to the United States," excepting Christian ministers, professors, scholars, and students. This section was intended to legalize the terms of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

After the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, Viscount Kaneko resigned as president of the Japan-America Society. At the time he stated that "when I learned that the bill was passed in so drastic a manner I felt as if the hope of my life was destroyed. It was the unkindest cut of all, and the wound will not be healed so long as the racial discrimination clause remains in the law." Foreign Minister Baron Shidehara, declared in the Imperial Diet in 1925 that the immigration "question still remains unsettled. It should, however, be remembered that a law cannot be modified except by law. What is really important in the final analysis is that the American people shall come to a correct understanding of our people and of our point of view. An impetuous mood or an impassioned utterance will not conduce to international understanding."

There is the other side of the question to be considered. When the Japanese complained of ill-treatment and discrimination in California, the many restrictions and discomforts suffered by foreigners in Japan are forgotten. An alien could not be naturalized as a Japanese unless he was married to a Japanese and took a Japanese name. No foreigner was allowed to own land in the empire, nor could he transport either passengers or freight between the ports of Japan or run vessels of foreign registration in Japanese waters.

There were nine reasons distilled from the Hearings, tenable and untenable, why the Japanese were restricted in the United States:

(1) Immigration weakened American political and social unity; (2) the immigrant pushed aside the native-born worker; (3) the United States was interested mainly in obtaining cheap labor and not in making good citizens, and therefore, foreign workers were excluded, even though American industry suffered; (4) the old American stock was endangered; (5) there was a conflict in ideals, and the objective of a united nation was assailed; (6) social harmony and intellectual development was injured; (7) diverse religious backgrounds made for national weakness; (8) crime in the United States was linked directly to dissimilarity of population; and (9) a common feeling was essential for art, especially great literature. All classical literature was produced at a time of spiritual unity which was impossible when mass immigrations were tolerated.

These points were discussed and debated between 1924 and 1941 by the press, the pulpit, and the collegiate liberals. Then World War II brought to the national front once more the fact that too many subjects and their children of the enemy in the Pacific were in the United States.

THE JAPANESE SINCE 1941

In co-operation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Treasury Department stopped all Japanese commercial and financial dealings on December 7, 1941. "General License No. 68" was revoked which allowed Japanese subjects with continuous residence in the United States since June 17, 1940, to carry on after the order to "freeze" all Japanese credits was announced. Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., on December 7, 1941, issued "Public Circular No. 8" (Executive Order No. 8389): "All general licenses, specific licenses, and authorizations of whatsoever character are hereby revoked in so far as they authorize, directly or indirectly, any transaction by, on behalf of, or for the benefit of, Japan or any national thereof." At the same time, the Federal Bureau of Investigation prohibited all travel by aliens and Japanese-Americans.

The effect of these orders upon many Japanese was tragic. Hundreds, at the time not at home, were unable to move. Others were without money. Some were without food, grocers being ordered to refuse credit. Florists and truck gardeners were faced with bankruptcy. Insurance companies cancelled policies on Japanese cars. The lot of the Japanese

prompted a group of citizens of California to persuade the Treasury Department to issue a statement on December 9, relaxing some of the "freezing" orders.

The most serious problem confronting the Japanese was loss of gainful occupations. In the city of San Francisco alone, 1,000 aliens and Japanese-Americans were unemployed 24 hours after the attack upon Pearl Harbor. Organizations, however, were formed to aid them. One of the most prominent was the "Northern California Committee on Fair Play for Citizens and Aliens of Japanese Ancestry" of which Governor Culbert L. Olson was honorary chairman. This Committee stated on December 29, 1941, that "the central objective of our Committee on Fair Play has been supported by the California public, even under the stress of Japan's treacherous attack. Californians have kept their heads. There have been few if any serious denials of civil rights to either aliens or citizens of Japanese race on account of war. The American tradition of fair play has been observed."

The various patriotic organizations of the state were careful in their adherence to constitutional rights of the Japanese. Local officials of the American Legion had realized that for 20 years the sardine fishing industry of Southern California had been in the hands of the Japanese who utilized fast ocean-going vessels capable of conversion into naval auxiliary boats, commanded by members of the imperial naval reserve. Without any antiforeignism, without any publicity, most of the 600 Posts of the Department of California had men working with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, reporting any suspicious activities among these fishermen.

Six leaders of the American branch of the Black Dragon Society were arrested on March 21, 1942. Two days later, the Japanese began their trek to the first relocation camp at Manzanar, 235 miles from Los Angeles, in the Owens River Valley. This 6,000 acre center housed 10,000 Japanese for the duration of the war. About 60 per cent of the members were American citizens.

Idaho was the first state outside Military Area Number One selected to receive Japanese evacuees. Governor Clark stated that 10,000 aliens could be settled temporarily within the borders.

By August, 1942, about 50,000 Japanese were in relocation areas in the Owens Valley and Tule Lake regions of California, the Parker Indian Reservation and Gila River basin of Arizona, the Minedoke reclamation project near Eden, Idaho, and the Hart Mountains of Wyoming.[4]

With only minor disturbances and misunderstandings, the United States Army and civilian agencies worked out plans to give productive work to all able-bodied Japanese over sixteen years of age, maintain elementary and high schools, and permit religious freedom. The Federal Court in California, moreover, in February, 1943, upheld the right of 70,000 evacuees to American citizenship. The War Department in Janu-

[4] An official report of May, 1944, shows that 5,012 Japanese-Americans were relocated in Illinois; Colorado, 2,507; Utah, 1,715; Ohio, 1,687; Michigan, 1,487; Idaho, 1,024; and New York 649

ary, 1944, restored selective service to all Japanese-Americans. There were 22,532 Japanese-Americans in the United States Army in June, 1945.[5]

The Army decided in December, 1944, that military security no longer made it necessary for Japanese-Americans to be excluded from the West Coast. They began to return in January, 1945 and tension resulted.[6] By the end of May, 1945, there were 20 cases of shootings, and several cases of arson, directed against the Japanese.

Some 300 citizens of Auburn, California, in January, 1945, under the direction of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, met and formed the Placer County Citizens' Anti-Japanese League. At the first meeting it was resolved to boycott all returned persons of Japanese ancestry as well as those who dealt with them.

A short time later, Sumio Doi, a young Nisei or American-born Japanese rancher near Auburn, who had been in a relocation camp before entering the Army, and whose two brothers were in the service, had his fruit-packing shed burned. The following evening attempts were made to dynamite his home. An Auburn bartender and two AWOL privates were apprehended and brought to trial. On the day the United Nations Conference opened in San Francisco, the lawyer for the defendants told the jury in the Placer County court house that "this is a white man's country and white supremacy should be affirmed."

A farmer of Parlier, California, was arrested in May in connection with the shooting into the home of Charles Iwasaki, a relocated Nisei. He was merely charged with using a gun in a "rude and threatening manner," pleaded guilty and given a six months' suspended sentence. Secretary of the Interior Ickes, in commenting upon this case, referred to it as a "disgrace to the bench." The justice before whom this case was tried reported that he had received about 70 letters of which 72 per cent approved of his decision. The justice also said that the verdict had been reached by him and some of the ranchers and townspeople before the trial began.

There were some who stood on the side of justice. Superior Judge James T. Lawler of Seattle, Washington, fined a Vashon Island farm worker after he had admitted burning the homes of evacuated Japanese and pleaded to second degree arson.

[5] Japanese-Americans of the "Puka Puka" battalion, from the Hawaiian Islands, were described by their commander as "the best soldiers I have ever seen" after 28 days of combat for Cassino in February, 1944.

The Japanese-American 100th Infantry Battalion fought in almost every major battle in Italy, with not one case of desertion, according to Army reports of August 10, 1944.

About 3,000 Japanese-American troops led the V-J Day parade into Leghorn, Italy on August 18, 1945, bearing their battle flag with three Presidental Unit citation streamers.

[6] Dillon Myer, director of the War Relocation Authority, stated on August 5, 1943, that only about 10 per cent of the persons whose repatriation had been asked for by the Japanese government desired to return to the land of their birth. A large number of the 6,500 who had requested repatriation were influenced, according to Myer, by the belief that "there will be no place for them in this country after the war."

In January, 1946, three West Coast states received 49,517 or 47 per cent of the evacuees. A survey released in May, 1947, by the University of Washington showed that 76 per cent of the young Japanese-Americans and 71 per cent of the Japanese on the West Coast believed "there is as much social discrimination now as before the war."

At the time the Nisei were returning to the West Coast, the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, urged that the Bill of Rights and the decisions of the Supreme Court be respected and that the Japanese be allowed to return to their homes which belonged to them legally. The Committee took the position that "the test of a free country is the security of its minorities."

Those in California who were anxious to find a solution of the problem interpreted the friction as economic competition of the Japanese with the whites. This competition was feared by those interests engaged in fruit and vegetable growing. Added to this fear was racial prejudice which was converted into hatred.

An analysis of the problem shows that five groups were implicated:

(1) Those who admitted frankly that they did not like the Japanese because of their race and had no excuse or reason for the attitude; (2) hoodlums, often young delinquents; (3) professional inciters to violence who found it financially profitable; (4) individuals who were Japanese haters and encouraged violence against Japanese women, children, and old men —that is, cowards and sadists; and (5) "professional patriots" who concealed their selfish economic motives under cover of love for America.

There was no indication that the law would be consistently violated in California. More and more was public opinion realizing that the problem was not that of California alone but was connected with the whole dark pattern of racial hatred.

32 Extraterritoriality and the Opium Traffic in China

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY

The application of extraterritoriality [1] to China began in 1689 when Russia and China agreed that subjects of Russia committing crimes in China should be handed over to the Russian authorities and *vice versa*. The English also were not long in making clear their status. Parliament in 1787 passed an Act (26 Geo. 111. c57), granting the East India Company's supercargoes at Canton authority for "taking, arresting, seizing, remitting, sending, or bringing" to England any Britisher found in the city contrary to law. The procedure for extraterritoriality was laid down for British subjects in the Anglo-Chinese Supplementary Treaty of October 8, 1843: "Whenever a British subject has reason to complain of a Chinese, he must first proceed to the Consulate and state his grievance. The Consul will thereupon inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese has reason to complain of a British subject, he shall no less listen to his complaint and endeavor to settle it in a friendly manner. . . . If, unfortunately, any disputes take place of such a nature that the Consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of a Chinese officer, that they may together examine in to the merits of the case, and decide it equitably. Regarding the punishment of English criminals, the English government will enact the laws necessary to attain that end, and the Consul will be empowered to put them into force; and regarding the punishment of Chinese criminals, these will be tried and punished by their own laws."

The system of consular control of foreigners was extended in the American Treaty of Wanghia (July 3, 1844) and also in the French treaty of the same year. By operation of the most-favored-nation clause, the new privileges of immunity from Chinese laws was applicable to all treaty powers. The machinery for its operation was created by Articles 21, 24, and 25 of the American agreement. The treaty provided that: (1) Criminal cases in which Chinese were guilty of acts against citizens of the

[1] Extraterritoriality means "a form or exemption consisting of a limitation of territorial sovereignty with regard to certain persons and certain places, which under international law enjoy the privilege of remaining outside the jurisdiction of the state in whose territory they are situated." (See J. M. Bau, *The Foreign Relations of China*, 285). More briefly, it is "an exclusive exemption from the operation of the local laws." (J. B. Moore, *International Law Digest*, vol. 2, 593.)

United States were to be dealt with by the Chinese authorities according to Chinese law. (2) Any crime committed by a citizen of the United States in China was to be taken up by the American agents according to American law. (3) Disputes among Americans were to be considered by American agents. (4) Disputes between Americans and foreigners were to be regulated according to the treaties existing between the United States and the particular power, "without interference on the part of China." (5) Controversies between Chinese and Americans which could not be settled amicably were to be "examined and decided conformably to justice and equity by the public officers of the two nations acting in conjunction."

Extraterritoriality functioned for 58 years without any moves taken by the powers to modify or abolish a legal institution irritating to Western liberal and Chinese nationalist. Great Britain, in 1902, agreed "to relinquish her extraterritorial rights when she is satisfied that the state of the Chinese laws, the arrangement of their administration and other considerations warrant." This policy was confirmed by the other powers.

The construction of more efficient legal organizations was undertaken. A United States Court for China was established, in 1906, which assumed exclusive jurisdiction over Americans except in minor criminal cases and civil suits involving no more than five hundred dollars. The judges were appointed for 14 years, receiving authority from the President, with Senate approval. There were 17 consular courts in China by 1930, one for each of the consular districts. The United States Court was located in Shanghai. Persons sentenced to imprisonment were, in minor cases, usually detained in the American jail in Shanghai. When the term was more than three months, prisoners were sent either to Manila or the United States.

The law of Great Britain was exercised in China by a Supreme Court and Consular Courts called Provincial Courts. They were courts of record and administered English law through supplements issued through Orders in Council. England and the United States were the only powers possessing special courts for China. The French and Italians had judges who assisted the consuls. The Japanese extended the ties of extraterritoriality further than any other power. Despite Chinese protests, Japan maintained police, "police boxes," and jails in China, Mongolia, and Manchuria between 1915 and 1945.

China requested the abolition of extraterritoriality during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. The request was granted provided the Chinese proclaimed a code of civil and criminal procedure based upon modern concepts. The powers also were willing to abolish the system after China established new courts in all districts where foreigners resided. The Peking government pledged itself to fulfill these stipulations by the end of 1924.

A memorandum was drafted by the United States Department of State in 1919. This document is one of the most significant statements released by a great power interested in aiding China:

"It is evident that China has not yet established her right under our

Shanghai Treaties to call upon us to abolish extraterritoriality, but there are growing evidences that extraterritoriality, as at present administered, is a barrier to our relations with China, and is a handicap to the Chinese themselves in their attempt to establish autonomous government free from foreign control. The extraterritorial provisions in the treaties which the foreign powers have imposed upon China were intended to protect the foreigner from the entire conflict between their ideas of legal administration and our own; above all to protect the foreigner from the possible animus of Chinese authorities against a litigant because of his nationality Undoubtedly this purpose has been served and without this system foreign residence in China would have been impossible. The advantages of the system are manifest, the disadvantages were not foreseen at the time the treaties were put into effect. In the early days of the commercial intercourse of foreigners with the Chinese the foreign merchant's life was his own, he was quite content with his own little world, with his race course and his club. He conducted his business in a commercial house to which the Chinese customers in general had a limited access, and he conducted his business through his compradore, which person was his link with the Chinese world. He felt no necessity to learn the Chinese language, nor, in fact, to familiarize himself with the market with which he was dealing. To compensate himself for the deficiency, however, he had the protection of his own laws and the sanctity of his own national concession in some treaty port. The requirements, however, of modern business in China have changed all this. The young men of the great foreign firms, such as the British-American Tobacco Company, the Standard Oil Company, and others find it necessary to go widely throughout the country. They are, in fact, breaking down the barriers which were heretofore highly prized by the foreign merchants and we now find these barriers which protected us from Chinese ill treatment in fact obstacles in the way of our intercourse with them. We do not get at the market nor do we get at the people. The missionaries have long outgrown this and in their intercourse with the Chinese the treaty port concessions have lost their value. They have learned the Chinese language, they have mixed freely with people; they have secured through treaty the right to secure land elsewhere than at treaty ports, and have, in fact, occupied the anomalous position of foreigners resident throughout the Republic remote from any court that could bring them to trial for their misdeeds or for the settlement of their civil controversies. This is a lesson to the foreign interests in general that extraterritoriality while a protection is at the same time a distinct limitation on the activities of foreigners in this country. The Japanese have not been slow in finding this out. They reason with justice that if they can keep the foreign world chained to the principle of extraterritoriality, Chinese tariff, and economic subjection, they thus limit the foreign activity and leave it free to the Japanese to place themselves outside these restrictions. . . .

"It is, therefore, proposed . . . that the United States Government approach the Chinese Government with the proposition that a Ministry of

Justice shall be established with a prominent jurist at the head of the same; that this Ministry should be charged with the duty of establishing local courts throughout the Chinese Republic; that the appointees of these courts should be in some cases foreigners with Chinese, and in some cases Chinese alone; that in all cases during the operation of this plan an appeal should lie from the Courts of first instance to a superior Court which foreign officials would control. In this way all the Consular Courts with their natural bias in favor of their own nationalities could be abolished. We would inspire in the Chinese some sentiment of self-respect, and above all we could train them in their relations with foreigners so that eventually they would be able to conduct not only their own legal procedure but other functions of their government in their relations with foreigners." [2]

This recommendation was buried in the archives, although the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments adopted a similar resolution. On December 10, 1921, this body provided that the participating governments "establish a Commission to inquire into the present practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, with a view to reporting to the Governments of the several Powers . . . their findings of fact in regard to these matters, and . . . to effect such legislation and judicial reforms as would warrant the several Powers in relinquishing, either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extraterritoriality."

The Chinese government asked that this Commission be convened on November 1, 1923. The powers, viewing the chaotic conditions within China, took the position that the meeting of the Commission should be postponed until some time in the indefinite future.

In the years following World War I, opinion had been growing in Great Britain and the United States against the application of extraterritoriality in China. The friends of China pointed out that the country had entered the war on the side of the Allies in order to attain equality and break the shackles of imperialism. The Chinese, however, were aroused over the reluctance of the treaty powers to make any concessions. They were concerned over the long delay of France in ratifying the Washington Conference treaties, the refusal of Japan to discuss the evacuation of South Manchuria, and the assumption of superiority on the part of the Western powers and Japan whenever the question of China's sovereignty was discussed.

The Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, headed by Dr. Robert E. Speer, published a statement in July, 1925, regarding the contemplated meeting to solve extraterritoriality complications. "We identify ourselves with those who are endeavoring to secure justice for China in all her relations with the other nations because it is the simple and inalienable right of China." William Green of the American Federation of Labor wrote to President

[2] *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919*, vol. 1, 677–679.

Coolidge urging him to call an international conference to formulate plans for the abolition of the system. "Labor earnestly desires that our country act in conformity to the highest ideals of humanism and constructive progress." Arthur Henderson, one of the leading members of the British Parliament, maintained that "with the passing of time and the changing of conditions, treaties are found to require revision, and either they are revised by agreement or else as the result of war. . . . The world does not stand still." William E. Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, was as positive as Henderson. He declared that "the attitude of the foreign powers toward China is keeping that nation from progressing and maintaining order. Unless the foreign governments conform to new conditions . . . we are going to have a condition in the Orient which everyone who loves peace will regret."

A Commission on Extraterritoriality visited China in 1926, under the chairmanship of Silas Strawn, the Chicago banker. The Department of State drew upon the report of this Commission to point out that extraterritoriality rights had been established with the consent of both the powers and China, that legal procedure in China was as yet different from that in the West, and therefore, the consular courts must be continued until the Chinese government instituted an independent judiciary functioning under the guidance of specific legal codes. Nothing positive, however, could be undertaken until China was in a more stable condition.

The Nanking government set about, in 1929, to push through measures for the elimination of extraterritoriality. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs addressed a note to the powers in September, requesting that immediate discussions be opened with the Chinese for making the necessary arrangements for its abolition to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The United States replied that it was willing to negotiate for the termination of the system provided it was undertaken "at the same time as steps are taken and improvements are achieved by the Chinese Government in the enactment and effective enforcement of laws based upon modern concepts of jurisprudence."

The Tientsin *Ta Kung Pao,* largest Chinese-owned paper in North China, risked fines and suspension in an editorial criticizing Nanking's visionary policy in asking for the impossible at a time when China's political and social life was at low ebb. "If China is really capable of protecting human rights and enforcing its laws so that foreigners here may pursue their vocations in peace, they will not cling to this legal anomaly when the government comes to demand its abolition." *The Peking and Tientsin Times,* British-owned, came out with telling comments, calling attention to the fact that if the Nanking government acted in an arbitrary manner toward the press, it would not be able to guard the freedom of aliens in other spheres of activity.

The Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Settlement, that fortress of militant capitalism, realizing that foreign control would cease if the barriers of extraterritoriality were removed, stated on December 6,

1929, that owing to the "publicly announced policy of the foreign Powers, and particularly America and Great Britain, with regard to the relinquishment of extraterritorial privileges in China," the Council realized that it was essential to construct a suitable plan for the reasonable protection of foreign business in the city during the period of transition. In order to make an effective report, Judge Feetham of South Africa was called in as an expert.

The conclusions reached by Judge Feetham contain some of the most persuasive arguments ever advanced by the champions of imperialism and finance-capitalism. This Report explained the following points:

The most important problem in the Settlement of Shanghai was the rapid increase in the number of Chinese residents. A committee of foreigners in 1866 stated that the question as to what extent Chinese officials taxed the Western population of the Settlement was vital and upon it "hangs the whole success of municipal government and the prosperity of the port." From that time on one of the most consistent policies of the Settlement was to protect Chinese and foreigner against the exactions of the Chinese government. As a result, no Chinese police were located within the region except those connected with the Municipality. No Chinese taxes, furthermore, could be collected.

The Chinese took property out of the jurisdiction of their own government by registering it in the Settlement through foreign consuls. The Feetham Report estimated that the value of property owned by British subjects in 1926 was 167,000,000 *taels* and that held by the British for others, that is, for the Chinese, amounted to 103,000,000 *taels*. Much of the stock of Hong Kong concerns having land in Shanghai was in the hands of Chinese investors, under the protection of extraterritoriality.

Shanghai was the main banking center of China and all the large native banks had offices in this city, including the Central Bank of China. These banks issued notes to the extent of $242,000,000, silver, all of which was Chinese. Thus, the Settlement was a protection to the banking system of China.

The Settlement had made some gestures of good will in the direction of the Chinese. Native residents participated in the local administration, when five out of the 14 Councillors were Chinese. The parks were open to them. The education of Chinese children was being carried on as a municipal program, comparable to that of the foreign children. The Feetham Report recommended that extraterritoriality be continued until China was in a position to guard the lives and property of foreigners.

This Report was considered by the Chinese as neglecting to state their side of the case. Judge Feetham, they claimed, gained his data from information furnished by foreign and native officials in Shanghai who had a vested interest in the permanence of extraterritoriality. They also believed that the capitalistic forces of the city should not have overshadowed the problems of extraterritoriality as they affected the country as a whole.

The Chinese Foreign Office in 1937 stated that discussions of extraterritoriality would be re-considered by the powers. At this time, China's case was weakened by two unfortunate occurrences.

One of these happened in Wuhu on the Yangtze River, where the merchants struck against the exactions of the city officials who had arrested two shopkeepers for refusing to pay a new commercial tax. The apprehended merchants were paraded through the streets like common criminals, with huge placards dangling from their necks. Chinese as well as foreigners feared even more drastic punishment for minor infractions of the law if the props of extraterritoriality were removed.

The other case indicating the need for the maintenance of extraterritoriality was furnished by the Ministry of Judicial Administration in a circular order addressed to all the Chinese courts. This order declared that "irreparable injustice is often committed" owing to the neglect of the officials in the lower courts especially in the investigation of criminal actions. "Moreover, the re-examination of criminal cases often requires more time and energy than the preliminary investigation. Consequently, it often happens that when the doubtful points are at last cleared up, the suspects involved have already died as a result of emaciation in jail."

Secretary of State Cordell Hull announced in May, 1941, that when peace came to Eastern Asia the United States would urge the abolition of extraterritoriality. And then, unexpectedly, on the day Free China was celebrating the thirty-first anniversary of the creation of the Republic, (October 10, 1942) the United States and England proclaimed the relinquishment of extraterritoriality and other rights their nationals had been enjoying in China for one hundred years.

A Sino-American treaty was signed in Washington on January 11, 1943, by Chinese Ambassador Wei Tao-ming and Secretary Hull. At the same time a similar pact was concluded in Chungking by Foreign Minister T. V. Soong and Sir Horace James Seymour, British Ambassador to China.

The main provisions of these treaties were (1) abolition of the system of extraterritoriality; (2) transfer to the Chinese of the administrative services in the Legation Quarter of Peip'ing; (3) return of settlements and concessions to China; [3] (4) protection of all property rights and titles held by Americans and English; (5) right granted for American and British nationals to travel, reside, and carry on trade and commerce on Chinese soil; (6) right of consular agents of the United States and British governments to interview, communicate with, and advise their respective nationals; (7) abrogation by the United States and England of all special rights pertaining to inland navigation and coastal trade; and (8) relinquishment by the United States and England of the special rights enjoyed by their respective navies in Chinese waters.

CHINA AND THE OPIUM TRAFFIC

The poppy was introduced into China in the eighth century, by Arabian traders. It was cultivated in Chinese gardens as a flower and dis-

[3] England retained Hong Kong and Kowloon, the adjacent leased area.

covered to have medicinal properties. The manufacture of opium was described in a fifteenth century work. The smoking of opium was not known until after the use of tobacco, brought from Manila by the Chinese early in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, the Chinese mixed various drugs with tobacco and the attention of the government was called to a new custom popular in Formosa, the custom of opium smoking. An imperial edict was issued in 1729 forbidding the sale and consumption of the drug, but this decree, like an earlier one against tobacco, was disregarded.

Opium was imported into China through the years. By 1767, 1,000 chests were brought in annually, increasing when the trade was controlled by the Portuguese and after 1780, during the supremacy of the East India Company. Indian and Persian opium was, by this time, entering the empire in great quantities and poppy cultivation also was being undertaken by the Chinese themselves.[4] The total amount of foreign opium imported in 1879 was more than 5,000 tons, valued at $51,000,000. This was about one half of China's foreign import trade. Imports of the drug soared to 82,613 *piculs* (1 picul equals 133⅓ lbs.) in 1880. This was the highest mark reached by importations, domestic cultivation then coming to the front.

The amount of opium produced in China in 1906 was estimated at 35,000 tons. A Chinese official report of 1928 showed that 1,000,000 of the 11,000,000 people of Shansi province were drug addicts, spending $100,000,000 silver, on narcotics. The case was cited of 400 armed guards, escorting 1,500 coolies and 133 horses, transporting 50 tons of opium for the traders of Canton in November, 1929. There was a similar instance of a convoy of 66 tons of opium carried by 2,350 coolies, 230 horses and guarded by 365 soldiers in February, 1930. In the same year, 10,000 armed coolies brought 10,000 chests of opium, a total of 390 tons, into Yünnan. The Provincial Government Anti-Opium Bureau received one million dollars in stamp duties from this one shipment.

The National Government aimed to prohibit the cultivation and use of opium. In some parts of China the policy was enforced by the local officials in so far as production was concerned. In other regions, including those provinces raising the most opium, nothing was accomplished. The revenue obtained from the drug was too large to forget. The Kwangtung Provincial Government in 1929 received $9,500,000 silver, in taxes. The total revenue collected in the province of Hupeh for the Central Government in March, 1930, was $3,270,000, of which $2,290,000 was received from the "special tax," that is, opium.

The cultivation of opium had been suppressed in the Manchurian province of Fengtien in 1929, but in Jehol there were about 120,000 acres of poppies. The authorities encouraged its growth on the ground that it was the best crop for the soil. The provinces of Szechuan, Shensi, Fukien,

[4] It is impossible to survey the opium question of a country as large as China without a minute survey of all governmental records. This has never been done, and therefore, many of the details of the picture are missing.

Kweichow, and Yünnan also were filled with poppy fields. On one of the gates of the city of Yunnan-fu the blue and white colors of the Kuomintang was painted with a collection of maxims, such as "Break off the opium habit," yet under the sign were stalls selling pipes, lamps, and other apparatus of the opium smoker.

The Metropolitan Reformatory Hospital of Nanking began the treatment of addicts in 1931, under the supervision of the National Opium Suppression Commission. By the end of the year, 46 similar hospitals had been constructed in seven provinces for the rehabilitation of the drug's victims. According to the Chinese, the chief obstacle encountered in the elimination of opium smoking was the impossibility of preventing the illegal importation of drugs. They were brought in from abroad under import certificates. The influx of these drugs in huge quantities from Europe and Japan complicated the problem of opium control.

The Chinese objective in 1935 was the abolition of opium consumption and other dangerous drugs by the introduction of severe penalties, including capital punishment for illicit manufacture, transportation, and sale. Compulsory treatment of addicts also was instituted in the hospitals and the special centers. The general conditions, however, in China were not favorable for extensive remedial measures. The clandestine manufacture of drugs continued in the foreign concessions, in the settlements, in the leased territories, and above all, in Shanghai, which now was filled with the new drug, acid acetic anhydride.

In the face of these discouraging forces, Chiang Kai-shek was determined to stamp out the habit in all portions of China controlled by Nanking. Within 15 months, three hundred narcotic vendors and incurable addicts were put to death. Many thousands were given the cure, which lasted ten days and cost about seven dollars, silver, per person. Six hundred centers were opened and by the end of 1936, all addicts were required to have registration cards and undergo treatment.

Reports from China made by foreign doctors, journalists, and missionaries pointed out that the situation was worse despite governmental regulations. Mayors and magistrates were unable to prevent the sale of drugs by Japanese and Korean traders, owing to the protection furnished by extraterritoriality, whereas Chinese dealers were punished. Chiang Kai-shek announced on June 3, 1939, that the government would not permit the "growth of a single poppy." He ordered squads to comb the countryside and destroy all poppy fields. He pleaded with the Chinese residents of the regions occupied by the Japanese to keep away from "the Japanese trap."

And yet, back of the struggle for emancipation from a powerful poison, was the reality of power and money. Opium revenues were set aside for appeasement of the Japanese and for the maintenance of organizations like the "Blue Shirts," Chiang Kai-shek's bodyguard. Opium was a large item in the military budgets. More than 35 per cent of the new enterprise capital in Tientsin was for opium activities in 1938. Inner Mongolia obtained one half of its revenue from opium in 1939, amounting to $4,230,-

000. Here in the juice of the poppy was China's one consistent source of wealth.

OPIUM TREATIES AND CONFERENCES

Many of the honest American and British traders saw in the increasing consumption of opium a handicap to legitimate commerce. Importation of the drug interfered with the development of a market for foreign goods, partly because of China's inability to pay in specie both for opium and other commodities. The United States in the first treaty with China (1844) agreed to prevent the use of its flag by opium smugglers. In the convention of 1881, the contracting parties promised to stamp out the opium trade. The Chinese government decreed on September 20, 1906, to prohibit the use of opium, foreign and native, within 10 years. The Council of State was ordered to draw up regulations to achieve this aim. Genuine efforts were made, especially in the north, to restrict the cultivation of the poppy. In the south, however, enforcement of the edict resulted in rioting among the peasantry of Yünnan province.

A revealing imperial edict of 1908 showed the manner in which Peking was approaching the problem. "The harm wrought by the use of opium is very serious and we have in the past issued many edicts particularly forbidding it. Metropolitan and provincial officials should in their respective offices reverently put these prohibitions into effect. Yet it is reported that even among officials, themselves, there are not lacking enslaved victims of the opium habit. These men profess to be cured of the vice, or never to have had it, while in reality they yield to the cravings in secret, or with effrontery they openly continue to indulge in the use of opium. In view of all this it is to be feared that if officials of adequate rank are not appointed to make the enforcement of these edicts their special task they will not produce actual effect on the date set. . . .

"Any metropolitan official who has not entirely cured himself of the use of opium shall be subjected by the commissioners to a thorough test in a sanatorium. . . . When the suspected one shall be declared to have been free of the habit or to have been entirely cured the sanatorium shall issue a certificate to that effect and the suspected official shall resume his former status. . . . Subordinate officials in the provinces are left to the responsibility of their superiors. If the commissioners discover any case in Peking or the provinces where a guilty subordinate has not been reported by his superior, said superior shall be referred to the board (civil office) for punishment. . . . Respect this."

The futility of these and similar regulations led to the call of President Theodore Roosevelt for an international commission which met in Shanghai in 1909. The commission was composed of delegates from China, the United States, Great Britain, Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Persia, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Russia. The resolutions passed at

this time resulted in the convocation by President Taft of a second international conference at The Hague in 1912, attended by representatives from the 12 nations of the Shanghai commission, with the exception of Austria and the addition of Siam. These powers agreed "to control the production and distribution of raw opium; to gradually suppress the manufacture and trade in prepared opium; and to prevent the smuggling of these products (opium, cocaine, morphine, heroin) into China." And yet, seven years later, it was apparent that the laws adopted failed utterly to destroy the illicit trade, owing to the fact that the understandings attempted to regulate the transportation and sale of the drugs without adequate prohibitions put upon production.

The Opium Advisory Committee of the Council of the League of Nations in June, 1921, adopted a resolution urging the restriction of poppy cultivation and opium production to "strictly medicinal and scientific" purposes. This resolution was approved by the League Council, but it was amended by striking out the words "strictly medicinal and scientific" and substituting the word "legitimate." This change permitted the continuation of the trade in opium and its derivatives into Eastern Asia by the producers in India, Turkey, and Persia, where it was "legitimate" to sell and transport these drugs regardless of their use by the purchasers.[5]

The Opium Advisory Committee of the United States in 1923, recommended progressive prohibition, "a strict government monopoly immediately" and after three years no opium was to be imported, brought, or introduced into the Philippine Islands, except "by the government and for medical purposes only." This report concluded with a personal note by one of the Committee: "I would choose for myself or for anyone I loved malaria, or smallpox, or yellow fever, which kill the body, in preference to drug addiction which kills both body and soul. To you, who like myself, stand for the well-being of every child of man, it is just as horrible to contemplate the short-lived rickshaw coolie with his emaciated body punctured and scarred by the use of the hypodermic needle, as the secretive, cunning victim of the same needle in our homes of refinement and culture."

China was the only nation which destroyed huge stocks of opium yet found herself beaten by the greed of foreign and domestic interests. The United States, understanding this problem more than any other power, took the stand that the best service China could be offered would be to restrict overproduction and prohibit the use of narcotics except for medical and scientific purposes. This was the position of the United States during the conference in 1924 in opposition to the policy of France, who maintained that the most reasonable solution would be to accept the

[5] Warren Hastings enunciated an evil principle in 1735 when he said, regarding India, that "opium is not a necessary of life but a pernicious article of luxury which ought not to be permitted, except for purposes of foreign commerce only, and which the wisdom of the government should carefully restrain from internal consumption."

A public declaration on opium was made in 1892 by 5,000 medical men in Great Britain. The use of opium, they said, is "morally and physically debasing" and opium in India, "as in England," should be "classed as poison."

findings of the Convention of 1921 whereby production was to be controlled by each state.

Japan concluded an agreement with the United States in 1928 providing for co-operation for the control of illegal trade in narcotics. The following year an understanding was reached in which each pledged to aid the other in the collection and communication of information leading to the seizure of drugs and the arrest of purveyors.

The Bangkok Opium Conference of 1931 on the limitation of drugs accomplished little. The Chinese had hoped that this Conference would be able to reach an accord furnishing more efficient means for the suppression of the trade. One of the provisions stipulated that opium could be sold only to persons of age, procured in state shops for cash, certainly not a measure aiming at the elimination of the evil.

In the opinion of Chinese experts, the absolute prohibition of the importation, exportation, manufacture, possession, and use of prepared opium was the one effective means to promote limitations on the cultivation and smuggling of the drug. Smuggling was being encouraged by the monopoly system because the sale price in the countries having the monopoly system was higher in most cases than the contraband article. The Chinese, supported by the United States, saw no reason why the European governments, in whose lands an illegal traffic in manufactured drugs existed, did not authorize the nonmedical consumption of narcotics within their borders. Here were two moral codes, one for the East and one for the West, with the fact prominent that those countries allowing the sale of opium abroad prohibited its use in home territories. There were some colonies where the sale of opium was authorized only to Chinese, such as Formosa and Singapore, where in 1924 two-thirds of the Chinese opium smokers resident in the Straits Settlement had not acquired the habit until after arrival in the British possession. Realists recognized the fact that the monopoly system resulted in neither a suppression of the habit nor a decrease in smuggling. The sole justification for the commerce was based on the large profits accruing to governments from continuation of the system.

The League of Nations was concerned in 1934 with the news that monopolies were being established for the sale of opium to addicts in the provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, Anhwei, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien, Honan, Shensi, and Kansu. Not being satisfied with the reports submitted annually by the Chinese government, the League's Advisory Committee on Opium requested the Council to ask the powers having extraterritorial rights in China to "deport from China all their nationals who have been convicted of taking part in the illicit manufacture of drugs in China or in the illicit traffic in such drugs in China. Once deported, these persons should not be allowed to re-enter China."

The enemies of opium gained at least one tangible victory. The League of Nations announced on January 1, 1936, that opium no longer was to be exported by the Government of India. Joy over this move was changed into consternation when the Japanese moved into China.

JAPAN'S MILITARY ALLY—OPIUM

The policy of the Japanese army in utilizing opium for successful penetration of the continent of Asia was disclosed in 1920 when large quantities of the drug, under the protective sign of "military stores" were brought into Tsingtao. Soon afterwards, the Japanese military farmed out to a Chinese the monopoly of the entire opium business in the leased territory. The drug came in from Formosa and India on vessels carrying a flag marked "for military use" which prevented the Chinese customs officials from examining the cargo. The Chinese in charge of the opium set up a wholesale and retail store also containing a "den" for smoking. This Chinese "manager," according to Chinese figures, had made a profit of $700,000 out of the trade in 1919 from which he donated $50,000 for the erection of a hospital built by the Japanese for the Chinese opium victims.

According to American statements made before the Session of the League of Nations Opium Advisory Committee (1937) in those Chinese provinces free of Japanese influences, sincere efforts had been made to reduce the production of raw opium. In Manchuria, by contrast, opium cultivation was 133,333 acres in 1936 and 156,061 acres in 1937. The gross revenue from government opium sales in 1937 was 28 per cent more than in 1936. In the province of Chahar, the Japanese increased the acreage devoted to poppy cultivation and constructed morphine factories, one at Kalgan employing 342 persons.

The situation in Manchuria, where there was no control of manufacture and distribution, was described by an American representative on the League's Opium Advisory Committee as "terrifying." The abject state of the population afflicted by the habit came to the attention of the local Japanese press. During a conference of provincial governors at Hsinking in January, 1937, T. Kikuchi, editor of the *Sheng Ching Shih Pao,* a Mukden daily newspaper, owned by the South Manchuria Railway Company, charged that the system of licensing the retail trade in opium was not checking the consumption of the drug, that large numbers of youth were taking narcotics, that it was inconsistent for the government to advocate health improvement of the public, at the same time allowing poison to be smoked, and that opium and its derivatives were a blot upon the honor of the new state. Yet no measures were taken to curtail opium production.

At the termination of the 1937 meetings of the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations, a statement was issued: "The Advisory Committee, now definitely informed as to conditions in Manchuria, Jehol, and other territories under Japanese influence or control, can no longer put off advising the Council as to measures which should be taken to put an end to the present scandalous state of affairs existing in those territories and demanding from the Japanese Government precise information concerning the steps which that Government will take to end the criminal

activities of Japanese illicit drug manufacturers and traffickers, as well as information as to when those measures will be enforced. . . .

"Credit is due to the American Government for its fearless exposure of the illicit trade.

"No credit is due to the Japanese Government which has not taken adequate steps to prevent its nationals from carrying on systematically an illicit traffic in narcotics in China on a gigantic scale.

"Mr. Fuller [Stuart J. Fuller, American representative] modestly states that where Japanese influence advances in the Far East, the drug traffic goes with it. It might perhaps be more correct to say that the drug traffic precedes, goes with, and follows the advance of Japanese influence in the Far East." [6]

The story of narcotics and the Japanese in Nanking and the occupied regions of Kiangsu, Anhwei, and Chekiang after 1939, also was sordid. Nanking contained a population of about 480,000, of whom 60,000 were addicts. These were furnished opium by the "Opium Suppression Bureau" through 30 public stores, 173 licensed smoking dens, 14 hotels, and a widespread illegal trade. Daily sales averaged 3,000 ounces, amounting to about $66,000 retail, silver.

The Japanese erected "trading posts" on the Kiangsi-Hunan border in 1943 where opium was given in exchange for lead, copper, paper, and medicines. This trade reached such proportions that Chiang Kai-shek on Opium Suppression Day, June 2, 1944, called upon the authorities to tighten the blockade against the Japanese and curtail the Chinese merchants implicated. An American missionary wrote:

"Here are some hints of what it means to have certainly a fourth, perhaps a third (the police say more), of the population (Nanking) supplied by the government and the military with vicious drugs. A humane Japanese officer has testified to his astonishment at seeing young boys and girls in jail, already ruined by heroin. Industrious people are burdened by aggressive, even dangerous demands from any one who has the slightest claim upon them or approach to them, and by abundant robbery. An officer of the tithing system, responsible for 133 families, has recently related his troubles with 66 drug addicts whom the authorities require him to keep in line for buying at the public stores. Officialdom from top to bottom, including the police, are known to the public to be well-represented among the drug users. A respectable teacher groans, 'Ten more years of this and there will not be a good person in Nanking.' A police officer declares that 20 to 30 bodies of starved heroin addicts are reported daily by tithing-men to be left in their hands for burial.

"As compared with a year ago, the following changes are to be noted: Touting advertisements for opium are no longer to be found in the newspapers or along the streets, whether from official shame or from the familiarity of the trade to everyone. However, the stores and many of the dens have large, plain signs on important streets. All pretense of registration

[6] *Statement by Stuart J. Fuller before the XXII Session of the League of Nations Opium Advisory Committee, June 1, 1937.* (1937), 15–16.

or restriction of smokers has been dropped, and anyone may buy at any time in any quantity he can afford.

"Government and a fair fraction of society are now definitely dependent upon narcotics. Is this 'The New Order in East Asia'? If so, all decent Chinese now understand what it means. If not, let those who rule this area undo the hell they have made. . . .

"As a Christian missionary, I have prepared this report to share in the great tradition of those British missionaries who steadfastly and with final success struggled against opium trade conducted by their countrymen, and of those American missionaries who led the international movement against narcotics and continually appealed to the Chinese public until independent Chinese leadership achieved a large measure of success against the disastrous drug. Under any flag, opium is an evil to be counted a dishonor to those who profit by it, protect it, excuse it." [7]

[7] See M. C. Bates in *China Information Service,* December 21, 1939 The United States Congress in June, 1944, approved a resolution of Dr Walter H. Judd, asking the President to persuade those governments having poppy cultivation to limit production to amounts needed for medicinal and scientific purposes. (*Congressional Record,* January 22, 1946, A176.) This policy has been urged consistently by the United States for a generation

33 Lights and Shadows on the Missionaries in China

THE SHADOWS

Since World War I, Christian missionaries in China have encountered severe criticism. Some opponents of the faith quote Voltaire. Others recite the poem of Edgar Lee Masters, *Pee Bow,* the Chinese boy who suffered at the hands of his American playmates, because he would not "drop Confucius for Jesus." The masses of China showed little interest in the teaching of the missionaries. Before World War II many mission schools closed in the face of anti-Christian movements. There were several causes behind this hostility.

The anti-Christians contended that the Occident was inconsistent in preaching a gospel of brotherhood, love, and charity in a world ruled by might. It was pointed out that some missionaries themselves forgot the sublime moral precepts of Christianity and treated the Chinese in an intolerant and "imperialistic" manner.

Christian sectarianism appeared ridiculous to many Chinese. The tearing of "the whole garment of truth" into pieces and placing them in tiny niches was not understood. T. C. Chao, of Yenching University, Peip'ing, said that to him, "tolerance is easy, and theological debates, tending to divide the church and destroy the inner life of the believer, seem absurd." Many Chinese thinkers took the stand of the Hindu Christian poet, Tilak, "pack up all your doctrines, and let us first find Christ. Let us be brothers and sisters. All else we can settle then."

World War I brought into prominence another powerful emotion. Unchristian Asia was shocked at the sight of Western Christian killing Western Christian, at the same time calling upon the same God to bring victory to each camp. To this were added the teachings of communism, with its accusations of churchly superstitions and its cry of "religion is the opium of the people." Anti-Christianity was only part of the more general feeling against foreigners. Christianity was assailed mainly because to the Chinese nationalist it appeared to be an imported evil.

After these generalizations, what are the specific counts against Christians in China? Before any analysis can be made, it must be understood that there has been a change in the character and technique of missionaries. The early missionaries labored to enlighten pagan China. They held no doubts. They carried on with conviction that God had selected them to push into the interior in search of souls for Christ. These men of

great strength would be shocked to see in the twentieth century the compromises, the interest in Chinese culture, the sympathy with other creeds, the doubts and spiritual hesitancy when the crusade for converts wavers.

Let us consider some of the arguments raised by Chinese as well as foreign critics of missionary practices. Many missionaries upon returning wrote books and articles depicting Chinese life. They presented in many instances the dismal side of society in order to show the need for the existence of missions. Some missionaries traveled into the interior of China where the natives were more hostile to foreigners and precipitated disturbances in order to induce their home governments to intervene. Missionaries interfered in native lawsuits, often because the culprit had become a Christian. From experience the magistrates discovered that it was wiser to neglect justice rather than provoke the wrath of missionaries and their governments. Missionaries, owing to their education, were employed by the Chinese government as interpreters and consultants, thus exercising powerful political influence in a manner favorable to the interests of Christians.

Instead of studying local conditions and viewing native customs with an open mind, many a missionary insulted the religious customs of the Chinese, forgetting that the people did not possess the same historical background as Westerners. Anti-Christians pointed out that when villagers worshipped at their temples, assessments were made without difficulty, but converts to the new faith frequently refused to pay church dues. These same Christians quarreled with "pagan" friends, and Catholics lined up against Protestants to the confusion of all.

A revealing commentary upon achievements is found in the experience of James Gilmour, one of the outstanding missionaries of the nineteenth century. In 1886, after eight months in the field, he compiled the results of his campaign. He saw 5,717 patients; preached to 23,755 people; sold 3,067 books; distributed 4,500 tracts; traveled 1,860 miles; and spent two hundred dollars. At the end of this report he added, "and out of all this there are only two men who have openly confessed Christ."

THE LIGHTS

The most idealistic among the missionaries felt theirs was a faith which could aid the Chinese in casting off the barbaric custom of infanticide, usher in a feeling of sympathy between parents and children, abolish the binding of feet, modernize education, make more coherent the Chinese language, humanize marriage traditions by emphasizing character rather than wealth, eradicate polygamy and concubinage, foster patriotism by giving an opportunity to serve the state, and enhance the position of the common man as he faced the toil of the years.

The fair-minded observer must recognize the fact that no other profession is so little actuated by personal ambition or lust for gain as is that of the missionary. Some insisted that he received an excellent living

out of the "calling," far better than at home, that he lived in attractive compounds filled with trees and lawns and tennis courts, and modern homes, surrounded by servants. When this was the case, as it was in the cities, these comforts often were exaggerated and always counterbalanced by endless deprivations, isolation, a dearth of close contacts with his fellow countrymen, pioneer surroundings, and no opportunity to become a financial success. Scores lived in homes partly erected by themselves, containing furniture of their own manufacture. These traveled about at the risk of death into the hells of plague, of flood, of famine.

An outstanding secular contribution of the missionary to the Chinese has been medicine. The first medical missionary, the Rev. Peter Parker, M.D., of the American Board of Missions, came to China in 1834, although since the seventeenth century Catholics had been offering shelter and dispensing quinine. Parker's hospital at Canton was so popular that patients of all ranks from far distant parts of the empire flocked to him. Missionary education for girls antedates the first girls' schools by half a century. Nurses training centers and some rudimentary medical education began in the mission hospitals and medical colleges. The potential power of leadership of women was planted by missionaries as seen in the career of Dr. Marion Yang, first Director of the Government Training School for Midwives in Peking.

Agricultural activities are one of the chief interests of missionaries. Missionaries in the schools of agriculture, headed by the University of Nanking, have worked upon insect pests, plant diseases, seed selection, silkworm improvement, animal breeding. The missionary has aided in cotton production. The missionary has introduced into China Indian corn, peanuts, potatoes, melons, and numerous vegetables and fruits, hitherto unknown. The Shanghai Sanitarium of the American Seventh-Day Adventist Mission devoted years to experimentation with soybean products and in 1937 perfected a soybean milk. Such are the contributions of missionaries to the field of agricultural chemistry.

The policy of training natives to take over the work of foreign missionaries was in mind from the beginning of Protestant activities in China, yet not even the most optimistic expected this movement to be as rapid as it has been since 1925. In 1925–26, out of 16 Christians colleges, there were 465 faculty members of whom 284 or 61.1 per cent were foreign and 181 or 38.9 per cent were natives. In 1932–33, there were 420 on the staffs, of whom 260 or 62 per cent were Chinese and 160 were foreigners (38 per cent). Out of a total of 412 in 1933–34, 270 or 65.5 per cent were Chinese and 142 or 34.5 per cent were foreigners. In less than a decade the move was from more than 60 per cent foreigners to more than 60 per cent Chinese.

The effect of Christian writings on the government, education, and thought of China has been marked. After the war with Japan in 1895, it was realized that China would survive only through utilization of scientific procedure. The selection, consequently, of candidates for the civil service by the ancient system of examination on the classics was gradually discon-

tinued, and modern schools were instituted. The scientific books used in the new schools were for the most part printed by Christian publishing firms.

Christianity brought liberty of thought to China. Before the overthrow of the Manchus, freedom of the press was unknown The imperial censors often hunted down hostile writers and killed them and their families. Christianity was protected by the toleration clause in the treaties Many missionaries wrote on topics dealing with equality. These concepts were planted in the minds of the progressives and sprouted in the form of democratic organizations.

34 Christianity in Japan

CHRISTIANITY AND ITS CRITICS

The Restoration affected the official attitude of the Japanese government toward Christianity. Religious toleration and freedom of conscience were proclaimed in 1873. Converts no longer feared to accept the Christian faith. Many students embraced the Christian way of life, climaxed in 1875 by the founding of Doshisha University by the convert, Joseph Neeshima. Evangelization was progressing so rapidly that at the Christian Convention of 1883, complete Christianization of the empire was declared feasible within a generation.

Reactions to the foreign belief, however, were evident. Religion and science were shown to be in conflict in 1882 through a series of talks on Darwinism given by an American lecturer. One year later, Fukuzawa, a prominent educational leader, declared that he favored Buddhism over Christianity but admitted that any religion which aided national power must be accepted.

To these approaches the clamors of patriots were added when the Western powers refused to grant the Japanese requests for a revision of treaties on terms of equality. Buddhism now was revived. Confucianism, too, was regarded with more sympathy. A movement for "Preservation of the National Inheritance" was started. The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 was part of the movement with its declaration of nationalistic ideologies which aligned Christian against Buddhist. Converts deserted the Christian camp.

Vice-minister of Home, Tokonami, at a meeting of Christians, Shintoists, and Buddhists, in 1912, urged a union between them and the state in order to gain power. Every religion functioning in Japan, he declared, should seek to "adapt itself to the national constitution, being careful to harmonize itself with the popular sentiments and customs." The height of opposition came after World War I. Enemies of Christianity then hoped to destroy a creed which tolerated "international murder." Communists denounced the Sermon on the Mount and the Ten Commandments. Many Japanese, once devout followers of earnest missionaries, found refuge in neglected national traditions.

The Japanese welcomed all religious thought, provided it recognized

the divinity of the emperor, but Christianity had entered with its uncompromising spirit. Christianity, consequently, was regarded in the twentieth century with as much suspicion as when it first penetrated the empire Any reason appeared to justify attacks against the alien religion. The inhabitants of the island of Amamiho in 1934, for example, destroyed several churches when rumors spread that the Catholic priests were international spies. Boycotts were initiated against these foreigners, and some fled in order to escape torture and death.

The Anglican prayer ritual disturbed the enemies of Christianity in 1935. The Japanese confessional book of the native Episcopal Church (*Nippon Seikokwai*) was condemned on the ground that the translation of two passages insulted the Imperial House. The phrase "O God, save our Emperor," was changed to "O God, prosper His Majesty the Emperor." The word for "save" (*sukui*) means "uplifting" and therefore was considered derogatory to the divine ruler. The words, "King of Kings and Lord of Lords," were altered to read, "O God, Lord of Heaven and Earth," in order to give the feeling of separation from the exalted personage of the emperor.

Christian leaders were aware of the fact that their future in Japan was endangered. They saw an end to Christian labors if the case of an American, Dr. J. Spencer Kennard, was made a precedent. Dr. Kennard, after 16 years as a missionary and lecturer in Eastern Asia, was refused entry into Japan in 1936, after a vacation in the United States, on the charge of engaging in communistic activities. A sign of the times also was seen in 1937, when three hundred students of Doshisha University were held in the chapel by student strikers, clamoring for less sentimental internationalism and more vigorous nationalism.

The "Religious Bodies Law" was promulgated in April, 1940. Under this regulation, Christianity was recognized by name as a legal organization, with all denominations required to register with the government. The Education Department decided to accept only those sects composed of at least 50 separate churches and no fewer than 5,000 members. As a result, excluding the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches, only seven were recognized; the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, Episcopal, Baptist, Lutheran, and Japan Holiness Church (*Sei Kyokai* branch). The smaller groups, seeing immediate extinction, hastened to amalgamate. The Evangelical, United Brethren, and Disciples combined with the Christian-Congregational Church (*Kumiai*). The Methodist-Protestant joined the Methodist-Episcopal sect.

The Education Department, supported by the military police, imposed more drastic restrictions upon Christians. The three English bishops of the Japan Holy Catholic Church (*Nippon Seikokwai*), of the United Anglican Communion, during an absence in the United States in August, 1940, were relieved of their posts. This action was followed by the arrest of seven Japanese officers of the Salvation Army in Tokyo. The Salvation Army was forced to change the name of the institution, owing to the

protests of the Japanese Army, dispense with military titles, dismiss all foreign officials, and sever contacts with England.[1]

Stirred by these anti-Christian policies, the local heads of the Anglicans sent one of their prominent members, a general, to intercede for them. The Education Department, in reply, announced that the church would be allowed to carry on, provided no Western bishops were retained, all foreign priests were shorn of executive authority, and financial aid from abroad was cut off. Other groups were included in this compromise, including the American missionaries, numbering 686.

The Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches fell into line, in order to survive, by separating their Japanese missions from foreign control. The head of the Russian Orthodox Communion in Tokyo, the Archbishop Sergei, handed his ring of authority to Heikichi Ichikawa, Master of Divinity, an ex-instructor in a military school. Headmasters of Roman Catholic institutions resigned in favor of priests. Bishop John Ross, S.J., of the Vicariate of Hiroshima was supplanted by Father Ogihara, S.J. Father Heuvers, Director of the Catholic University of Tokyo, was succeeded by a Japanese, Father Tsuchihashi. Archbishop Chambon of the Paris Foreign Mission turned over the Archdiocese of Tokyo in 1938 to the Most Reverend Peter Doi, first Japanese Archbishop. At the time of these changes, Archbishop Chambon stated the work of foreign missionaries in Japan would end only after Westerners were replaced entirely by Japanese.

THE POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHRISTIANITY

Despite these attacks, motivated mainly by political considerations, Christians brought to Japan some fixtures of permanence which neither the cynicism of nonbelievers nor the strength of supernationalists could destroy.

Christianity aided in the building of modern Japan. It encouraged a more enlightened outlook upon the dignity of the individual. It advanced sexual morality by improving the relationships between man and woman. It laid the foundation for a practical education by teaching modern languages and science, although in the twentieth century governmental institutions forged far ahead of mission schools in instruction in these fields of learning. In addition to their religious labors, missionaries contributed to general culture. These wide-visioned missionaries opened and operated schools, based upon Christian principles. They were pioneers in education for women. They created social and charitable centers.

Medical work was extended by missionaries. The first modern operation in Japan was performed by a Protestant medical missionary. A hospital was founded by French Catholic nuns, followed by orphanages, asylums, and homes for the care of lepers. The fight for social justice was advanced

[1] The name was changed to *Nihon Kirisuto Airen Kai* or "Japanese Christian Love Your Neighbors Society."

by the Salvation Army. Nurseries, rescue homes, slum clearances, all had missionary guidance. The full flowering of Christian endeavor in the empire was seen in the career of the evangelist, Toyohiko Kagawa.

Toyohiko Kagawa was born in 1888, the son of a wealthy father and a *geisha* mother. In order to protect the child, his father legally adopted him. Orphaned at an early age, Kagawa was left in the care of his father's legitimate wife, who hated and abused him. When he became a Christian at the age of fifteen, an uncle cut him off without financial resources. He thereupon attended a mission school and preached his first sermon at the age of eighteen.

Impressed by the love of Christ for the poor, Kagawa rented a small hut in a Kobe slum district, Here he found happiness in following the Sermon on the Mount. He gave his cloak to a beggar. He turned the other cheek when struck. He was bruised and robbed by drunkards and thieves who took advantage of the strange little man. He had his teeth knocked out yet "resisted no one."

It was not long before he discovered that his companions of misery in the slums were sinking deeper into the dark environment. He then battled for these children of the abyss who were beaten almost before they were born. Kagawa finally gave up the struggle to save individuals, moved out of his hut, and began the crusade against poverty, ignorance, and exploitation through the "Kingdom of God" movement.

This organization aimed to attain progress by way of evangelism and social reforms. Kagawa instituted nationwide revival services. In his own personal meetings, he received some 65,000 inquiries regarding the "Way of Life" as taught by Christ. He campaigned for slum clearance and induced the government to embark upon rebuilding programs. After the earthquake of 1923, he was asked to take the position of director of the rehabilitation commission for Tokyo, at a salary of $18,000, a private car, and a chauffeur. He declined the honor but led the work of reconstruction, with the understanding that part of his time could be devoted to his "Kingdom of God" organization.

After many years of meditation upon the principles of Christian love and brotherhood, Toyohiko Kagawa came to believe that co-operation was the answer to the problems of the underprivileged. He organized the most abject of the wage earners, only to be jailed by a suspicious government. During his prison sentence, officials, impressed by his practical views on nonviolence, consulted him on labor problems. Released, Kagawa fought the Communists and all who urged violence, to be denounced as a traitor to the cause of the working man. Refusing to be silenced, he formed co-operatives among the poor farmers.

At the suggestion of Kagawa, in December, 1934, the National Christian Council of Japan, resolved to carry on relief measures among the children of destitute families in the northeastern famine districts. He proposed that all the Protestants unite and place one thousand children in Christian homes and support them for a year.

Kagawa was called a pacifist and a socialist. Actually, he was something

other than either of these; he was an advocate of nonviolent coercion, as were Tolstoy and Gandhi. Kagawa hoped to end militarism in Japan through achieving social justice. Out of tenant farmers and fishermen, linked to the "Kingdom of God," he hoped to achieve the dawn of a new social order by way of co-operatives.

During his lectures in the United States in 1936, Kagawa explained the point that co-operative trade spelled death to war. The co-operative movement was considered by him to be the means of maintaining the capitalistic system under a new form. "We must start co-operatives. Even for capitalism, that would be a good dose of medicine." [2] Toyohiko Kagawa believed with John Ruskin that "in all things co-operation is brotherhood and life."

CHRISTIANITY IN WORLD WAR II

It was announced in June, 1941, that all Protestant denominations, excepting the Episcopalians and the Seventh-Day Adventists, had united in one group, the "Church of Christ in Japan." The Reverend Mitsuru Tomita, of the Presbyterians, was elected head of the new church. The Old and New Testaments were made the standards of faith. Each of the old sects, considered "branches" of a united church, was allowed to maintain temporarily its individual statement of faith which made the innovation more of an administrative change than a theological revolution.

Church unification was made permanent on November 24, 1942, when the "Nippon Church of Christ in Japan," an organization functioning under close governmental supervision, declared that: (1) the Church relinquished the idea of "Nipponese Christianity" and proclaimed the *Nippon Kirisu-kyo* or Christianity of Japan; (2) the 11 blocs of 34 denominations within the "Church of Christ of Japan" were to be dissolved; (3) the larger portion of the Episcopal Church of Japan, up to this time outside the "Church of Christ in Japan," was merged with the latter; and (4) the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the Associations of Women's Temperance Unions were to be incorporated into the new body.

A wave of religious persecution swept over Japan in 1943. Decrees were promulgated forcing pastors to perform national labor services on a seven-day-per-week schedule which kept Japanese Christians from attending church. The clergy was conscripted for "special services" overseas. Nationalistic propaganda was distributed in the churches. Christian leaders were arrested. Many were tortured in order to force them to renounce their belief.

At the end of World War II, however, Catholic and Protestant alike believed that the renewed missionary work would be affected by the be-

[2] Kagawa was arrested in September, 1942, and charged with violating the military regulations. The Tokyo radio on April 21, 1943, quoted him as saying that "prayers are being said daily for an early conclusion of the war and restoration of peace throughout the world."

havior of the occupation forces. A prominent official in the Vatican, Archbishop Celso Constantine, Secretary of the Congregation for Propagation of the Faith, declared in August, 1945, that if the Japanese learned to admire the American soldiers during their residence in Japan, Christianity might be strengthened. The Japanese government made an official gesture toward Christianity on September 20, 1945, when the Premier, Prince Haruhiko Higashi-Kuni, personally apologized to a group of foreign missionaries for their "inconveniences and unpleasant experiences" during the war.[3]

[3] There were about 112,000 Japanese Catholics and about 209,000 Protestants in the country in 1942, out of a total population of 72,800,000. Foreign Protestant missionaries in Japan in 1945 numbered 22 Canadians, Americans and British, as compared with 2,000 in the peak year of 1934. Foreign Catholic priests totalled about 290 in 1942.

35 Pawns in Power Politics—Tibet, Mongolia, and Sinkiang

TIBET

Tibet, highest region in the world, is a country of a million square miles, inhabited by a folk whose ancestors invaded India, China, and Turkestan. The population is about five millions, settled mainly between Lhasa and the Chinese border. Few strangers have penetrated Tibet, owing to its location and climate. Chinese, Indians, and Mongols gazed with fear upon the extreme cold of an area 16,000 feet above sea level and dared not traverse the great lonely plains and narrow dark valleys. Pilgrim trails were marked around Tibet by way of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) and the mountain ranges of northwest India.

There were two dominant classes in Tibet: landlords and priests. The peasants were virtual serfs who turned over to their masters the products of the soil, keeping only enough for existence. These workers left the estates when given permission by their lords and were obliged to furnish transportation and food for all officials and other travelers.

Buddhist monasteries were found in all parts of Tibet. Some of these retreats supported 10,000 inmates. Each institution received a land grant from the state. There were great contrasts between these huge, well-built, rich cloisters and the near-by mud huts of the people.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Tibet had a cultural spurt. Artists entered from India. Block printing had been introduced in the fifteenth century and by 1650 the monastic libraries contained thousands of books. Tibet, on the fringe of civilization in modern times, guards the legacy of a bright intellectual past.

According to Tibetan records, Lhasa was captured by the Chinese about A.D. 650. Despite this defeat, Tibet soon regained its strength, acquiring control of Turkestan, Nepal and parts of Western China. Proud China paid tribute to Tibet in order to save the capital, Ch'angan, and when payment was not made about A.D. 763, Tibetan troops captured the city. A treaty followed this invasion in which Lake Koko Nor was designated as the northeastern boundary. In these years, Tibetan and Nepalese soldiers marched over the Indian border to occupy large areas.

Lamaism, the Tibetan form of Buddhism, grew powerful in the twelveth and thirteenth centuries. Priests spread their control by working upon the popular belief in the spirit world. Kublai Khan in 1270 was

converted to Lamaism and gave one of his monastic advisers sovereignty over Tibet. Aided by the influx of holy men from India, the faith grew rapidly until the rule of priest-kings was achieved. The government was centralized at Lhasa. The forts were torn down. It was not long before Buddhists held all authority.

Tibet remained beyond the pale of world imperialistic politics until the nineteenth century, up to this time contacts with the outside having been maintained by Chinese Residents, serving as agents of the imperial administration of Peking. England now took an interest in the country Colman Macauley, a secretary in the Bengal Government, obtained permission in 1885 from Peking to take a mission to Lhasa. The Tibetans refused to allow its entrance, however, being suspicious of British designs. The Chinese also grew distrustful, telling the Tibetans the white man would destroy their religion by substituting Christianity and then steal all the gold in their mines. After long negotiations, a treaty was signed in March, 1890, which recognized British protection over Sikkim. Three years later, a commercial agreement instituted trade at Yatung, eight miles within Tibetan territory. These understandings being signed only by the Chinese Resident, under orders from Peking, the Tibetans ignored the stipulations. It was not until 1889 that the Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, was able to deal directly with the Lhasa government.

The Dalai Lama, religious and secular ruler of Tibet, hoped to thwart all English maneuvers. He turned for support to Russia. The Dalai Lama selected as his envoy a remarkable individual, a Buriat, Dorjieff, who knew the Russian language and in his earlier capacity as tutor to the Dalai Lama had urged him to seek the assistance of a true friend, the Tsar of Russia. The Tibetans were told that since the Russians had entered Mongolia, many had embraced Buddhism. The Tsar, himself, was pictured as a possible convert. Dorjieff was given a warm welcome in the Russian capital. The Russian press emphasized the fact that the Dalai Lama realized that Russia was capable of blocking the English.

Lord Curzon suggested in 1903 that a mission be detailed to Lhasa in order to negotiate with the Dalai Lama and bring about commercial and political contacts with Great Britain. This deputation was headed by Sir Francis Younghusband. Younghusband attempted for four months to gain an audience with the high Tibetan officials. Finally, losing patience, he advanced, after having been reinforced by a military escort. The British marched toward Lhasa in the face of resistance. The Dalai Lama fled to Urga, Mongolia, and the victors extracted a convention on September 7, 1904, which opened trade centers, abolished all imposts between Tibet and India, obligated Tibet to pay an indemnity of half a million pounds, and bound the defeated country neither to cede nor lease concessions for roads or mines to any foreign power without the consent of Great Britain.

Russia was not satisfied with this British success. The St. Petersburg government was able to induce London to come to terms in 1907. Russia recognized Great Britain's "special interest in the maintenance of the

status quo in the external relations of Tibet." The powers pledged themselves to refrain from interfering in Tibetan domestic affairs, to negotiate with Lhasa only through China, excepting when the convention of 1904 was affected, to send no official agents to Tibet, to seek no concessions, and to allow the Lhasa government to utilize all revenues as it saw fit. This agreement worked for the removal of suspicions between the two powers and aided in paving the way for co-operation in World War I, but it offended China and Tibet, who had not been consulted regarding the provisions.

At the end of 1909, the Dalai Lama returned to his capital. He was faced with a delicate situation. Eastern Tibet was occupied by Chinese troops. Chinese soldiers were forcing the people to change their customs and renounce the faith of their fathers in order to embrace Chinese ways of thought. There were cases of Chinese destroying monasteries and using the scriptures of the Buddha for boot soles. When Chinese forces moved in the direction of Lhasa, the Dalai Lama gave orders not to offer opposition, realizing that Tibetan arms were no match against the intruders.

Despite promises made by the Chinese Resident that no more than 1,000 troops would be stationed in Lhasa, about 2,000 soldiers entered the capital in February, 1910. A detachment of cavalry killed some Tibetans and attempted to kidnap several high officials. In fear of death, the Dalai Lama and his staff sought shelter over the Indian border. The Chinese government defended its actions on the grounds that Tibet had defaulted on treaty pledges.

At this stage, England re-entered. Lhasa was informed in May, 1910, that London had no intention of interfering in the quarrel between Tibet and China but would recognize the administration created by Peking in Lhasa. This friendly stand on the part of England prompted the Chinese to go one more step and proclaim Nepal and Bhutan as feudal appendages of the Chinese Empire. In desperation, the Dalai Lama turned to England and Russia for aid. Russia gave an encouraging reply in contrast to the noncommittal note of the English. London was more interested in maintaining cordial relations with China at this time than in giving active assistance to a weak Tibet.

The Chinese Revolution of 1911–1912, reverberated in Tibet. President Yüan Shih-k'ai decreed that the land was to be "regarded as on an equal footing with the provinces of China proper." England desired to stifle any such policy, fearing that Tibet would be driven into the camp of Russia.

Pressed upon all sides, Tibet now turned toward England in order to find a buffer to Chinese infiltrations. London needed to move quickly, otherwise Lhasa might seek out Russia. The Tibetan question was discussed at a conference in Simla, ending in a convention agreed to by the British, Chinese, and Tibetan plenipotentiaries on April 27, 1914. This convention stipulated that: Tibet was to be divided into two spheres,

"Outer" and "Inner" Tibet; Chinese suzerainity was recognized, but Peking promised not to create a province out of the country; England guaranteed not to annex any portion, the autonomy of "Outer" Tibet was accepted; in "Inner" Tibet, the Lhasa government was to maintain all rights, although China was allowed to send troops, officials, and colonists; a Chinese Resident was to be reinstated at the capital with a military guard limited to 300; and a British agent was permitted to enter Lhasa in order to negotiate all matters incapable of solution from English headquarters at Gyantze.

The Chinese in Eastern or "Inner" Tibet, anxious to deal directly with Lhasa in 1915, threatened the Tibetans with dire punishment if the British were not cast off. In answer to these intimidations, the Dalai Lama offered 1,000 Tibetans for services with the British Expeditionary Forces and ordered that special prayers be chanted in all monasteries for an Allied victory in World War I. China, uncertain of the turn of war's fortune in 1917, and unable to break down the pro-London stand of Lhasa, made a surprise attack. The natives resisted valiantly and drove the Chinese out of most of "Inner" Tibet.

Since the end of World War I, Tibet has not been forgotten by England, Russia, and China. England hoped to see eventually a strong and independent Tibet, offering a neutral buttress for India. With the friendship of the Dalai Lama, British interests could enter Mongolia and offset Russia. In opposition to this policy was the Tibetan National Assembly, a body composed of delegates from the large monasteries and the official class, many of whom were in sympathy with China.

Until World War I, Russia was feared by the Tibetans as the greatest nation on earth. Russia, moving into Mongolia, might be used as a wedge with which to destroy all British influences. The Soviet Union, however, between 1917 and 1946, was considered too weak to affect Tibet's future.

It was China whose presence and imprints were permanent. Both countries had common racial roots. Both acknowledged the value of the Dalai Lama, head of a great organization, with temples in Peip'ing, exercising a beneficent supervision over Mongolia and Manchuria. Many of the prominent officials admired Chinese civilization and quoted an ancient saw which foretold a future of mutual prosperity. The value of China as a center of learning was not ignored. The might of imperial China was not forgotten. The chief monasteries of Tibet retained over their entrances the name tablets given to them by Manchu emperors. The homes of the aristocracy contained Chinese paintings and other Chinese decorations. Dress and food were Chinese. Chinese tea was the main import.

Any dreams of the Tibetans for independence were shattered in 1930. At that time, the Chinese government instituted a Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs. This body of 15 to 21 members made annual visits to these distant regions in order to prepare agenda for the construction of modern governmental agencies, restrict the excessive privileges of the landlords, create an efficient police force, enlarge the health services,

develop communications, promote education, reorganize the judiciary, revive industries, and gain the goodwill of the Dalai Lama by granting special donations to the religious houses.

The Chinese made one step more to ensure mastery over Tibet. A Ministry of Tibetan Affairs was initiated in 1940 which aimed to make the state no longer subservient to the Dalai Lama but have it function under the Panchen Lama, a temporal chief, supported by China.

MONGOLIA

The history of Mongolia until the twelveth century consisted of the forays of nomadic cattle raiders. In these years, the Mongols were skilled horsemen and archers, whose energies were galvanized by the Tatars under Hopulê, better known as *Chu Yuan Huang Ti,* or "original emperor." Yeshukai, a grandson, controlled the regions north and south of the Gobi but died before consolidation was complete. His son, Tehmutzen, subjected all the land adjacent to the desert. Tehmutzen held a gathering in 1206 and was made the Genghis Khan, the "Universal Emperor," the T'ai-tzu of Mongolia.[1] Genghis Khan pressed into the south in 1209. He marched west in 1219. His warriors looked upon the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus in 1225. He was succeeded in 1227 by a son, T'ai-tsung, who in 1237 invaded Muscovy and marched to the borders of Italy. T'ai-tsung was followed by Kublai Khan, conqueror of the Chinese Sungs and first emperor of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty which began in 1279.

Mongolia never fell completely under the mastery of China. The more urbane Chinese considered the Mongol a barbaric creature, made to be exploited by charging him high rates of interest and draining out of his country the horses and sheep when debts were not paid. An alliance was made between the Manchus and the Eastern Mongols before the former moved into China in the middle of the seventeenth century. These years mark a period when Mongolia considered itself a vassal state of the new masters of old China. After Manchu power ended in 1912, China regarded the region as part of the Republic.

CHINA AND INNER MONGOLIA

Inner Mongolia was divided into the provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ninghsia. These three provinces suffered from Chinese encroachments. Mongols were pushed back some 70 miles within their own territory to make room for Chinese farmers. The Manchus deliberately weakened the

[1] Genghis Khan was known by many names: "The Mighty Manslayer"; "The Scourge of God"; "The Perfect Warrior"; "The Master of Thrones and Crowns"; and "The Emperor of Mankind."

Some explorers of the homeland of the Mongols, including Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews, believe that great cities are buried here, birthplaces of the Sythians, Celts, Goths, Huns, and Uighurs.

Mongols. Small units were created in 1613, the "banners," who were given local authority under officials appointed by Peking. Anti-Chinese movements were suppressed by troops of the imperial government encamped on the borders.

Before the Revolution of 1911–1912, Chinese immigration brought temporary prosperity to the Mongols, but it was not long before Chinese colonial agents collaborated with corrupt priests, avaricious princes, and selfish officials to engross agricultural and grazing lands. As the Chinese entered in large numbers, Chinese administration increased. The natives leased extensive areas to the Chinese. Many Mongols soon were landless.

After the occupation of Manchuria in 1931 by Japan, the Chinese realized that enslavement of Mongolia played into the hands of the invaders. China now hoped to exploit the natural resources of the region in association with the Mongols as equals, an ideal visualized by Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

In line with this new policy, Inner Mongolian autonomy was announced on April 23, 1934, after a conference between Mongol and Chinese officials. This new type of government for Inner Mongolia represented the 28 "banners" residing in Manchuria, Jehol, and Inner Mongolia. The administrative organ of the state, the Mongolian Political Council, was set up in the lamasery at Pailingmiao. The guiding hand of this movement was Teh Wang (Prince Teh), hereditary chief of the West Sunnit Banner of the Silingol League, who claimed descent from Genghis Khan.

In these first months of the young regime's existence, a situation arose which destroyed any dreams Teh Wang might have had for a strong Mongolia under the protection of China. It was discovered that Dorlchi, head of the West Oriat Banner of Western Suiyuan, was retaining part of the opium tax. The Mongolian Political Council attempted to punish Dorlchi by dismissing him from his post, but he refused to relinquish the office on the ground that his title was hereditary. He sent to Nanking for an arbiter, but this move was resented by some of his subordinates, who saw no reason for outside interference in a local dispute.

The passivity of the Chinese Nationalist government was evident when General Fu Tso-yi of Suiyuan detained some of the western delegates en route to a conference of the Political Council at Pailingmiao. A Japanese officer present at this session suggested that Dorlchi be allowed to hold his post after apologizing for his disloyalty. Teh Wang, however, sensing a loss of prestige for the Council, refused to listen to this advice. Mongol representatives were sent to Nanking to protest against General Fu, who was disregarding an institution the Chinese had nurtured. Nanking remained indifferent. The Dorlchi case was tabled in the office of General Fu. The Mongolian Political Council thus was made impotent.

China played one more losing hand in Mongolia. A new political assembly was formed at the suggestion of the Suiyuan authorities, for the western Mongols. Teh Wang and his eastern Mongolian associates were forced to seek Japanese support, in spite of their wishes to remain loyal

to the Chinese government. In a final effort to maintain influence over Mongolia, Teh Wang was proffered the office of Peace Preservation Commissioner of Chahar, but the prince saw no reason to bargain with a perfidious China. The first stirrings of a united Inner Mongolia were strangled.[2]

JAPAN AND INNER MONGOLIA

Japan took advantage of Chinese defeats in Inner Mongolia. The southeastern portion of Chahar was converted into the autonomous state of South Chahar (Ch'a-nan), with headquarters at Kalgan. The autonomous state of North Shansi (Chin-pei) was carved out, with its capital at Tatung. The largest, the United Leagues of Mongolia, including all Suiyuan and most of Chahar, was administered from Kweisui. A fourth unit, the Federal Council of the Mongolian Borderland (Meng Chiang), was planned by the Japanese. The governments of these marionette states were held by the bayonets of the Japanese Kwantung Army. One public relations expert from Tokyo poetically characterized the rule as that of "benevolent elders" who "take it upon themselves to rule the state." The Kwantung Army, however, saw to it that only those in sympathy with Japanese policies were given important positions.

The economic achievements of the Japanese in Inner Mongolia were not impressive. Workers were exploited as never before. There was an unfavorable trade balance. The coming of the new masters resulted in the consumption of goods formerly available for export. The currency was inflated. In September, 1938, the Bank of Inner Mongolia had $30,000,000 in circulation. One year later this amout was $42,000,000, to be doubled by September, 1940.

The Japanese maintained that stagnation within the land was not due to their penetration but was brought about by war and the more permanent features of Mongolian conservatism confused by new plans and new procedures. They laid down far-reaching reforms in order to improve sheep and wool production and instituted industries such as telephone and telegraph services, motor factories, petroleum companies, transportation systems, and newspaper chains, all under the direction of the Federal Council of Inner Mongolia, with an invested capital of 21,700,000 yen.

The Mongols regarded the Japanese merely as more efficient slave drivers than the Chinese. They awakened to the reality that their new friends were not aiding home rule aspirations but were seeking co-operation only for greater conquests. The Japanese "new order" in Inner

[2] In December, 1946, delegates from Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang met with Nanking officials and attempted to gain virtually complete autonomy by way of changes in the Chinese constitution. The Mongols supported the Nanking government but were opposed to the provincial control exercised by the Kuomintang.

The Mongols sought self-rule based upon their old system of leagues and banners instead of being controlled by Chinese commissioners and the Chinese system of town magistrates.

Mongolia was no brighter than in other regions held by these temporary overlords.

OUTER MONGOLIA AND THE RUSSIANS

Outer Mongolia contained about 580,000 square miles and a population of 900,000. This region compared in size to one-fifth of the United States.

After the Mongols weakened in the seventeenth century, the Manchus placed Outer Mongolia under their sway. Chinese merchants entered the country and fattened themselves as bankers, collecting interest in cattle. Dominance by the Chinese continued until November, 1911, when Outer Mongolia, aided by Russia, declared its independence of Peking. One year later, the young government at Urga signed an agreement with St. Petersburg which recognized Mongolian autonomy. A treaty concluded in June, 1915, by Russia, China, and Mongolia, stipulated that Outer Mongolia would accept Chinese suzerainity, and Russia and China would acknowledge the right of the country to self-government as a part of the Chinese Republic.

After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the struggling Soviets were unable to enter into active relations with their protégé for almost four years. The Allies sent forces in 1918 into Siberia, and Japan, supporting White Russians under Baron Ungern von Sternberg, endeavored to have the Mongols declare for total independence. In February, 1921, Baron von Sternberg seized Urga (Ulan Bator Khoto), only to be driven out in July by the Red Army and the Revolutionary Party of Outer Mongolia. The "Mad Baron," as he was called, was defeated by Budenny of World War II fame and later executed.[3] A new regime was proclaimed at Urga as the People's Government, under the guidance of the "Living Buddha." [4]

Moscow and Urga signed a convention in February, 1923, in which the former was given the right to station troops in the land. This agreement was made public despite the protests of the Chinese. Peking was appeased, however, in 1924, when the newly appointed Soviet ambassador, Leo Karakhan, and the Chinese Foreign Minister, Wellington Koo, concluded a treaty whereby China recognized Russia, and Moscow acknowledged Outer Mongolia as part of the Chinese Republic. When the "Living Buddha" died in May, 1924, a republican form of government was introduced, the Mongolian People's Republic. The constitution made the country an "independent republic" in control of the people, with officials elected by them through the Great Khuruldan, an "assembly of the peo-

[3] This Russo-Magyar served in the Russian Navy in 1905 and in World War I. He married a Manchu princess and became interested in Buddhism. He aimed to create an empire out of Mongolia, Manchuria, and Tibet. Japan used his slogans, "Asia for the Asiatics" and "Pan-Mongolism" in its propaganda.

[4] The so-called "Living Buddha" was one of several church officials who possessed political power. He was named *Bogda Khan*, the Mongolian nomenclature for the Manchu emperors, and assumed the office of the Peking representatives. The "Living Buddha" never exercised extensive authority but was used by the Mongols to serve after the Manchu collapse until a more stable organization could be constructed.

ple's representatives," which elected the governmental officials, the Little Khuruldan. The natural resources were made public property; all foreign loans made prior to 1921 were held to be null and void on the ground that they were contracted for under duress; religious freedom was proclaimed, with separation of church and state; and ranks of nobility were abolished.

In fear of Japanese movements in Manchuria after 1931, Urga and Moscow signed a treaty for military co-operation in 1936. The Chinese protested against this pressure from the north, and the Soviet Foreign Office maintained that the agreement of 1924 was in no way weakened and that Outer Mongolia was regarded as belonging to China.

The Russian policy was not the old imperialistic technique of the iron glove. From the military viewpoint, any attack upon Outer Mongolia endangered Siberia. The Soviet Union, consequently, was eager to promote native industries and raise the material level of the people in order to build a defense against possible blows. Moscow employed the methods found to be successful in the Russian villages. Agents preached the class struggle. They wiped out the Chinese merchants and curtailed the activities of Russian traders. They purchased large quantities of wool and thereby gained the friendship of Mongolian business groups.

The main occupation in Outer Mongolia consisted of cattle-raising. A large leather and textile enterprise employed 1,300 workers at Urga. A steam wool-washing plant built in 1934 was lucrative. The capital also contained motor repair shops, machine shops, a brick factory, a printing press, and power stations. One of the most important undertakings was the completion of a railroad, the first in Outer Mongolia, between Urga and the coal fields of Nalaikla. Radio also was developed, and telegraph lines were erected connecting with the Soviet Union.

Foreign trade, a government monopoly, was dominated by Russia. This activity consisted of traffic in livestock, hides, wool, hair, casings, butter, meat, furs, and game. Imports included flour, meal, tea, sugar, tobacco, leather goods, petroleum, textiles, metal products, automobiles, and bicycles. Mongolian imports reached 2.5 per cent of the total Soviet foreign trade in 1937 and exports were 3.8 per cent. The many Russian loans for the encouragement of this commerce were extended for 25 years, with no interest attached.

The Mongolian People's Republic was moving in the direction of a collective state. In theory, all land was nationalized. By 1928, 83 per cent of the people possessed 55 per cent of all livestock, and by 1936, only 1 per cent of the herds were in the hands of the monasteries. The state controlled all banks, schools, "movies," publishing houses, and public health stations. The practices of witch doctors were curtailed by modern scientific procedures. As in Russia, traditional beliefs were assailed by those eager to travel down new paths into what they claimed would be a better world for more peoples of the state.[5]

[5] The independence and sovereignty of Outer Mongolia was recognized by China in the agreement made with Russia on August 14, 1945. This agreement was confirmed by a plebiscite in which 493,291 voted in favor of independence, and no votes were cast expressing a desire to be a part of China.

The Mongolian Army was of special concern to the Soviet Union. It stood as a buffer to Japanese penetration. There were three years of compulsory military training for all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. About 30 per cent of the "People's Revolutionary Party" and one half of the "Revolutionary League of Youth," an organization based upon that of the Soviet Communist Youth League, were in the various services containing about 250,000 well-trained men in 1940. The Army was modeled upon that of the Red Army, with Russian equipment and uniforms, identical except for insignia.

Outer Mongolia was being prepared to enter war as an active partner of the Soviet Union. If the Japanese were to invade the region it would place them within 150 miles of the Trans-Siberian Railway. It was not difficult to understand, consequently, why Soviet soldiers trained Mongol troops. For better or worse, the destinies of this remote part of Eastern Asia, numbering about 670,000, were linked to that of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.[6]

SINKIANG—THE "NEW DOMINION"

The "New Dominion," Sinkiang, or Chinese Turkestan, on China's northwestern frontier, is a region containing 638,802 square miles and is inhabited by about 4,360,000 peoples of mixed origins. It is the most cosmopolitan of all China's provinces. Here were 14 ethnic groups, including the Chinese, the Turki (Uighurs), the Kirghis, Solum, Sibo, Uzbeks, Tatars, and the White Russians.

Sinkiang was the East-West crossroads. Before 1500, it was China's chief link with the outside world. Through this province passed China's silk which was taken to Rome and exchanged for gold. Through Sinkiang, Buddhists and Mohammedans, Jewish merchants, Nestorians, and Franciscan priests, traveled into China. Marco Polo in 1237 journeyed into China over the "Silk Road," first used in the second century B.C. This road crossed the Pamirs from modern Kashgar into India, Iran, and Syria.

Movements into Sinkiang were handicapped by lack of easy communications. Travelers entered by way of western Mongolia from Kalgan and Suiyuan province or through Kansu by mule carts. Camel caravans were used in the east over the Gobi. In the north, the nearest railway in recent years was more than ten days journey away by way of sleds or carts. In the west, horses were ridden over the high mountains. In the south, were the world's highest mountains, the ranges of the Kunlum, Karakorum, and the Himalayas, which could be traversed in about two months in the spring and autumn.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was anxious to develop communications into Sinkiang. He planned a 3,000-mile railway from near Shanghai into the province. This project was too costly and the Ministry of Railways sent Sven Hedin

[6] In June, 1946, the Mongolian People's Republic applied for admission into the United Nations.

in 1933 to survey conditions for a motor road. The "Silk Road" was converted into a motor route from Sian in Kansu to Tacheng, on the Soviet-Chinese border, in 1939, by way of Lanchow, Baboon Pass, and Tihwa, a distance of about 1,300 miles.

Sinkiang is not a barren province. Here is found wheat, the basic food of the people, as well as rice, silk, and cotton. Gold is located in the Altai Gold Range. Iron and coal are not absent. The Sungaria basin in the north contains excellent pasture land. There were forty million sheep, two million horses, and two million cattle in the province in 1944. The furs and hides of Sinkiang are known in Europe and the Americas.

The short rivers of Sinkiang flow into deserts and the waterheads are used for irrigating the farms, located on the foothills of the mountain chains. Sinkiang is important because it is part of the seven industrial regions of China and is the keystone to the development in the northwest.

China has not been the only nation with eyes upon Sinkiang. Great Britain maintained close relations with the province, but it was not until recently that serious efforts were made to gain an economic foothold. The British sent a trade mission to Sinkiang in 1935, in order to negotiate an agreement by which British commerce could attain the same footing as that of the Soviet Union. In September, Sir Eric Teichman, first secretary of the British Embassy in Peip'ing, reached the province en route to India. Teichman later declared that his country was not eager for political intrigue but was interested only in peace and commerce. "We regard it as in British interests that the New Dominion should remain Chinese. Sinkiang has always in our experience been Chinese territory; we know and understand the Chinese as neighbors in the East; and any change would almost certainly bring some other Asiatic Power up to the Indian North-West Frontier."

The Japanese also had plans for the New Dominion. The Pan-Islam Committee of Tokyo looked forward to the construction of an independent Turkestan sultanate, utilizing the anti-Chinese Moslems of the region who were prepared for many years before World War II to wage a holy conflict with the Chinese. Japanese agents traveled about in order to counteract the Mohammedan movement fostered by the English, which was striving to unite all the Mohammedans of India. The Japanese, before their defeat, moved among the people, dressed as Chinese, and armed with copies of the Koran, warning their listeners to be on guard against the Russians and the English.

Russia watched Sinkiang because the Siberian boundary lies along two-thirds of the province. Russia exported to the region cotton goods, tea, sugar, clothing, motors, petroleum products, shoes, and metals. Sinkiang sent to the Soviet Union live animals, hides, wool, cattle intestines, furs, raw silk, and cotton. Trade with the Soviet Union was aided by the Turkestan-Siberian Railway (Turk-Sib), completed in 1930. This line is tracked near the frontier and is connected to the province by a motor highway. Russian technicians and Russian machinery entered Sinkiang in 1932. In the fall of 1943, however, owing to the cordial rela-

tions between the government of Sinkiang and China, the Russians with their equipment began to leave the province.

Sinkiang was made a regular province of the Chinese Empire in 1882, although the eastern portion was a part of China in Han and Sui days. During the T'ang dynasty, all southern Sinkiang was incorporated into the empire and two garrisons were located within the region, one at Tihwa, and one at Kuchi. The peace of the province was disturbed by the efforts of the Chinese officials to gain power. After World War I, Chinese troops from Manchuria were stationed in Sinkiang to serve as protectors of the Chinese administration. Conditions were not improved by the presence of White Russians, many of whom were employed by the Chinese to eradicate subversive movements directed against China.

General Sheng Shih-tsai was made governor of Sinkiang in 1933.[7] Following Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's policy, he embarked in 1937 upon a three-year plan for exploitation of the mineral resources, development of communications, promotion of irrigation schemes, land reclamation, and social services. By the end of 1941, 22 new canals had been dug and 14 radio stations were installed; 358 miles of electric wires and 720 miles of long-distance telephone services were in operation; 42 new factories for the development of spinning and weaving and the manufacture of woolen goods, flour, and matches had been built. There were some educational innovations. A university was founded, and by 1940 there were 1,556 schools and 150,000 students.

General Sheng Shih-tsai resigned his post in August, 1944, and was replaced by General Wu Chung-hsin, former chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission. The removal of General Sheng improved Sino-Russian relations as well as relations between China and the province. He was a soldier of the old type, who had antagonized the Russians with highhanded tactics and also was unpopular with those in China laboring to eradicate war-lordism. Before his resignation, General Sheng reversed his independent stand against Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and proclaimed his complete loyalty to the marshal. This change was cemented by the appearance in Sinkiang of Madame Chiang Kai-shek and later a visit of Henry Wallace, representing the United States.

Regardless of Sinkiang's future as an economic Mecca or a bone of contention to be grasped by rival powers, the leaders of modern China were determined not to allow their political influence to die out in the New Dominion.[8]

[7] Sheng came into power after a Moslem rebellion. Moslem outbursts against China have been common. There were four in the nineteenth century. In 1933, Ma Chung-ying attempted to form a Moslem empire, but General Sheng obtained Russian support in quelling Ma.

[8] The Turki of Sinkiang, representing about 90 per cent of the population, in December, 1946, desired recognition of a "Federated States of Sinkiang," comparable to the status of a dominion within the British Empire.

36 Empire Builders in the Pacific

KOREA, THE YELLOW MAN'S BURDEN

Korea Before the Japanese Conquest

According to legend, the Korean race was founded by Tan-gun who instituted his rule in 2333 B.C. The dynasty of this mythical figure was supposed to have lasted for 12 centuries. Recorded history in Korean sources begins with Kija, a Chinese statesman, who left his native land in 1122 B.C. with 5,000 followers and settled in Korea. Kija is credited with establishing the Korean social order.

The Koreans came from Manchuria, in the region of modern Harbin. They moved south to an area bounded on the north by the Sungari River, and on the south by the "Ever-White Mountain," headwaters of the Yalu and the Tumen rivers, the northern border of modern Korea. This country, including the Liaotung Peninsula, expanded eastward beyond the Taedong River. It was known as the Kingdom of Kokuryu.

In 108 B.C., the Emperor Wu Ti of the Chinese Han dynasty, invaded the northern part of the region and annexed it to the Chinese Empire for 70 years. Three independent states were created in the following century: Silla in the southeast in 57 B.C.; Kokuryu, in the north in 37 B.C.; and Pakche, in the southwest, in 17 B.C. These states warred with each other and frequently called upon China to aid them.

The Kingdom of Pakche, an agricultural society, being near China, was influenced by Chinese civilization. In A.D. 374, a College of Chinese Literature was founded. In 384, contacts with India having been made, many Buddhist temples and monasteries were constructed. The first Korean Buddhist missionaries were sent to Japan from Pakche in the sixth century. The oldest historical works of Japan, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi,* are rooted in the records of Pakche. It was from this kingdom that Japan received many of the refined elements of her civilization.

The Kingdom of Kokuryu was recognized by the Chinese in A.D. 9. This state fought many wars, against China, against incursions from Manchuria, against Pakche and Silla. The Sui emperors of China invaded Kokuryu three times within 30 years during the seventh century. These invasions were repulsed. Chinese failures at this time were partly responsible for the decline of the Sui dynasty. Kokuryu finally was conquered.

In 660, the T'ang rulers of China supported Silla against Pakche. The Chinese overthrew Pakche and in 664 conquered Kokuryu, ending a rule of seven hundred years.

The Kingdom of Silla strengthened Japanese society. Agents from Silla visited Japan in A.D. 25, bringing mirrors, jade, silk, and swords. Silla reached the highest point of all Korean civilization between the seventh and ninth centuries when it was linked to China. The capital, Kyongju, was famed for its artistic and scientific activities. Astronomical studies were carried on and the world's oldest observatory (640) is found in Kyongju.

Silla declined early in the ninth century. In 935, Wang Keun, a descendant of the kings of Kokuryu, welded into a single area all the peninsula (Koryu) and built his capital at Songdo. The Wang dynasty which remained in power for about 450 years, encouraged the growth of Buddhism. Temples and monasteries were built. A law was passed making it obligatory for one out of a family of three sons to enter the priesthood. In these years the scholar had as much prestige in Korea as in China. In 957, the government instituted official examinations (*Kwagu*), which included the writing of poetry.

Surrounded as it was by warlike peoples, Koryu suffered defeat. In 1015, the kingdom lost some land in southern Manchuria to the Khitans of Manchuria. Since that time the boundaries have remained unchanged.

Koryu was attacked by Genghis Khan in the thirteenth century and was twice invaded by the Mongol ruler who used the country as a springboard into Japan. Despite wars, and the status of Koryu as a vassal state of the Mongols, cultural pursuits were not neglected. Missions were sent to China and returned with the classical literature of the Middle Kingdom. The syllabary (*Nido*) created in the eighth century by the Silla scholar, Chul Chong, was an aid in the interpretation of Chinese characters and was instrumental in extending education. Many Buddhist books were printed through the technique of woodblock cuts. Officials were examined in Buddhist literature and philosophy.

The Wang dynasty lost its authority in the fourteenth century. Inefficient administration, corruption, and conspiracies of Buddhist bishops turned the people against it. The Yi dynasty, which lasted until its overthrow by Japan in 1910, conquered the Wangs in 1392 and made Seoul the capital of the new state. Many reforms were introduced. Buddhism, no longer the respected state religion, was supplanted by Confucianism. An equitable system of taxation was initiated. The world's first movable metal printing type was invented in 1403, making possible rapid literary growth. In the early years of the century the world's first encyclopedia was published. The ceramic art made great progress. Korean artisans laid the foundations for the later famed Japanese wares of Satsuma, Nabeshima, Yatsushiro, and Imari.

The first Japanese invasion occurred in the sixteenth century. In 1592, the Japanese general, Hideyoshi, hoped to utilize Korea as a pathway into China. After seven years of conflict, the Japanese were repulsed. The

Korean success was partly owing to the ironclad war vessel, "The Turtle-ship," which destroyed the enemy fleet.[1] The war with Japan, however, weakened Korea which was placed under the control of the Manchus, in 1644.

After this defeat, Korea adopted a policy of extreme isolationism which led to a lowering of all intellectual life. This policy was not changed until May 22, 1882, then pressed by the Western powers, a treaty of amity and commerce was signed with the United States, whereby the independence and territorial integrity of Korea was recognized.[2]

The Japanese Conquest of Korea

In 1884, Japan, seeking greater imperial strength, plotted to use a small faction of pro-Japanese in the Korean court to obtain control of the government. A detachment of Japanese troops entered the palace and apprehended the king. China acted swiftly and drove the Japanese and their Korean friends from the capital. As a result of this abortive coup d'etat, two hostile camps were formed, with one pro-Japanese, and the other pro-Chinese but representing Korean interests. Elsewhere in these pages, the story of the clash between the rivals in 1894 has been told.[3] In this conflict, the Japanese eventually pushed their way into the country and proclaimed the "independence" of the Kingdom of Korea.

The steps of Japanese conquest were rapid between 1894 and 1910. Japan signed a treaty with Korea on February 3, 1904, guaranteeing the latter's independence and territorial integrity. Japan took over the financial and diplomatic affairs of Korea in August, 1904. Japan gained control of Korean foreign affairs in November, 1905. A Korean delegation visited The Hague in 1907 pleading for rights as an independent nation. Japan used this as an excuse to force the ruler of Korea to abdicate. Korea became a Japanese province on July 25, 1907. The country was annexed formally on August 22, 1910, and renamed Chōsen.

The governmental machinery for the administration of Korea was an undisguised military occupation force. The Imperial Edict of August 29, 1910, provided for "the establishment of the office of governor general of Korea. The governor general will, under our direction, exercise the com-

[1] This ship was developed by Admiral Yi Sun Sin. It was 120 feet long, 30 feet wide and propelled by 20 oars. It was covered on the top and sides with iron plates and lined with spikes. The iron turtlehead was used for ramming enemy boats, and arrows, cannon, crude bombs, and grenades were fired through the mouth. An opening in the rear and the many portholes also were used for fire arrows. During action, sulphur, and saltpeter were burned in the hold, giving the vessel the appearance of a living monster forming a smoke screen.

[2] For details of early American efforts to gain a treaty, see *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1871,* 131 *ff.* This treaty also is called the "Shufeldt Agreement," after the admiral who headed the mission. For firsthand account of treaty negotiations see Ensign William G. David, "Treaty of Commerce and Amity—United States and Korea," *The United States Naval Institute Proceedings,* July, 1942, 949-958. The understanding was followed by similar treaties with Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, Italy, and Austro-Hungary.

[3] See Chapter 22.

mand of the army and navy and a general control over all administrative functions of Korea." The governor general was appointed from the *Shin-nin* rank and was to be either a general or an admiral; he was directly responsible to the emperor; he issued ordinances, the violation of which could be punished with penal servitude or imprisonment not exceeding one year, detention, or a fine of not more than 200 yen, and he was given authority to abrogate all orders and regulations promulgated by those under him. Six departments were created, composed of General Affairs, Home Affairs, Finance, Agriculture and Commerce, Industry, and Justice.

Marquis Hirobumi Ito was made the first Japanese Governor General of Korea. He was a wise official who meant well in his role as representative of the emperor and supervisor of the interests of his Korean charges His administration, however, suffered because he was an instrument of the Japanese military expansionists, and therefore was a dictator. Such was the character of succeeding masters of Korea until the end of World War II, although General J. Minami, who assumed the office in 1936, estimated that Korea would be able to govern herself in about 30 years, provided the land was entirely Japanized by that time.

Between these years, some material progress was made. The old, inefficient Korean administration was destroyed. A stable currency was maintained. Railways were built. Roads were modernized. Afforestation was encouraged on a large scale. Agriculture was developed. Health conditions were improved. All this was done without the slightest effort taken to consider the people as anything more than eventual loyal subjects of the Empire of Japan, the land as anything more than a strategic spot for military operations, and the farms as excellent areas for Japanese colonists. These aims can be seen in every move made by the conquerors, from the seizure of the resources of the land to the shackling of education.

Economic control was exercised through the Oriental Development Company. A large portion of the stock of this enterprise was in the coffers of the Imperial Family of Japan and millions of dollars were borrowed from American bankers for its expansion. This company dominated the agricultural development and industrial exploitation of Korea. It owned 179,840 acres and averaged as rentals from this land about $4.60 per acre in 1917. The Japanese at this time constituted only 1.8 per cent of the total population yet the Oriental Development Company controlled 2.2 per cent of all tillable land. This enterprise was responsible for the rapid change of Koreans from free men into virtual serfs. According to Korean figures, about 75 per cent of the farmers were controlled by Japanese landlords or pro-Japanese Koreans in 1929. Three per cent of the Korean farmers made a profit in 1929; 96.9 per cent of the tenants were in debt and 95.9 per cent of the part-tenant farmers were also in arrears.[4]

The plight of Korea can be judged when the importance of agriculture

[4] There were about 600,000 Japanese in Korea in 1943. Most of these were officials or persons connected with the political administration. They had no roots in the land and most of them made their profits or obtained a pension and retired in Japan. (See *Voice of Korea*, December 22, 1943.)

is considered for the 1938 population of 24,326,000. The table on this page shows how the people were employed in 1938.

Occupation [5]	Per Cent of the Population
Agriculture	75.7
Fishing	1.5
Mining	1.2
Industry	2.6
Commerce	6.5
Communications	0.9
Public and professional services	2.9
Other occupations	7.0
No occupations	1.7

The relatively large percentage of those in commerce did not signify that the Koreans were interested in commerce or had any special aptitude for it or that Korea was a highly developed country commercially. It signified that under the colonial system there were few opportunities open for Koreans. Industrial concerns started by the natives were restricted by the police or entered bankruptcy because of Japanese monopolistic price regulations. The low percentage of those engaged in mining, industry, and communications, show that the development of Korea under the Japanese was slow.

The banking system of Korea was centralized in the Bank of Chōsen, under Japanese control. As a result of this concentration, the Japanese government had a complete supervision of all taxes. For example, the Japanese budget for administrative expenses in Korea in 1917 was 62,589,309 yen ($31,290,000). The value of the resources was reported at 336,000,000 yen ($168,000,000). The Korean, therefore, paid 18.5 per cent of his gross earnings and income in taxes to Japan.

The largest item in the 1917 budget was for public projects such as highways and harbors, amounting to 20,802,634 yen ($10,400,000), which were improved in order to facilitate the movement of the Japanese military. The second largest item, one out of proportion to similar expenses in other countries, was the 6,965,499 yen ($3,480,000), for police and courts. This was necessary in order to maintain Japanese supremacy.

The courts of Korea and the police issued exacting regulations. There was a policeman or gendarme for every five families in 1929. The life of every Korean was under police supervision. Searches for concealed weapons were constant. Freedom of speech was unknown. Household expenses were audited. All judges and clerks of the courts were Japanese subjects and in the court procedure only Japanese lawyers were recognized. Bail was not allowed in criminal cases. Habeas corpus was not considered. The fundamental Anglo-Saxon principle that a man is presumed to be innocent until guilt was proven was not accepted. In 1916–1917,

[5] *The Voice of Korea*, April 27, 1944.

out of 82,121 offenders arrested, 30 only were able to prove their innocence.[6]

All education in Korea was conducted in the Japanese language, although after World War I, as a concession to the patriotic revolts, four hours weekly were permitted to be given in the Korean tongue. No Korean, however, was eligible for entrance into the government university or into the technical schools until he had mastered the Japanese language. The mission schools were maintained only under strict Japanese supervision. Scores of petty regulations prevented many Christian schools from operating.

The total enrollment in the elementary public schools in 1926, according to the Koreans, was 427,315, out of a total population of about 20,000,000. By contrast, out of a population of 400,000 Japanese in Korea in 1926, there were 57,128 in schools or about 10 per cent.[7] There were 901,200 Korean children in primary schools in 1937, or one child out of every three of primary age, although most of them never entered high schools. There were 20,300 in industrial schools, of whom 7,000 were Japanese. In the one government university, the Seoul Imperial University, there were 350 Japanese and 206 Koreans. There were 4,000 Koreans in colleges or universities, chiefly in the missionary institutions, excluding those educated in China and Japan. It was clear that Japan was not anxious to encourage the education of her wards.

Korea Opposes Japan

World War I had its reverberations in Korea. Stirred by the idealism of the Allied leaders who denounced militarism and especially impressed by the ringing words of Woodrow Wilson on the self-determination of small nations, 33 Korean nationalists on March 1, 1919, declared for independence in a proclamation sent out by the Korean National Association of San Francisco:

"We herewith proclaim the independence of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. We tell it to the world in witness of the equality of all nations, and we pass it on to our posterity as their inherent right. . . .

"We have no wish to find special fault with Japan's lack of fairness or her contempt for our civilization and the principles on which her state rests; we, who have greater cause to reprimand ourselves, need not spend time in finding fault with others; neither need we, who require so urgently to build for the future, spend useless hours over what is past and gone. Our urgent need today is the rebuilding of this house of ours and not the discussion of who has broken it down, or what has caused its

[6] The Japanese report, *Reforms and Progress in Korea, 1916–1917*, 128 *ff.*, shows that the Japanese were able to convict a majority of criminals without a trial. In 1913, there were 21,483 convictions without a trial out of 36,953 arrests; in 1915–1916, there were 56,013 convictions without a trial out of 81,131.

[7] In 1926, 20,198,755 yen was appropriated for the Police Department and 6,684,442 yen for educational purposes.

ruin. Our work is to clear the future of defects in accord with the earnest dictates of conscience. . . .

"Our part is to influence the Japanese Government, dominated as it is by the old idea of brute force which thinks to run counter to reason and universal law, so that it will change and act honestly and in accord with the principles of right and truth.

"To bind by force twenty millions of resentful Koreans will mean not only loss of peace forever for this part of the Far East, but also will increase the ever-growing suspicions of four hundred millions of Chinese upon whom depends the danger or safety of the Far East—besides strengthening the hatred of Japan. From this all the rest of the East will suffer. Today Korean independence will mean not only life and happiness for us, but also Japan's departure from an evil path and her exaltation to the place of true protector of the East, so that China, too, even in her dreams, would put all fear of Japan aside. This thought comes from no minor resentment, but from a large hope for the future welfare and blessing of mankind."

The high aims of this pronouncement were communicated widely in Korea. Students organized the peasants to carry on in an orderly manner and gain the sympathy of the Western powers. The leaders of the independence movement visited Peking and declared that 3,000,000 patriots were supporting their Nationalist Party.

The Japanese moved swiftly against Korea. Six battalions of soldiers were sent to quell the disturbances. Many police were killed and police stations and post offices were burned by the Koreans. The homes of Japanese also were attacked. The Japanese arrested many missionaries who were accused of permitting the use of their residences for the printing of revolutionary material.

It was a blot upon the honor of Japan that the measures taken to eradicate the movement took the form of a cold-blooded, methodical, ruthless brutality, not justified by the passions aroused in the heat of battle. Police and soldiers charged into unarmed crowds. Churches were burned. Villages were reduced to ruins. Women and girls were outraged. The hands of little children were cut off because they were guilty of holding aloft the flag of their country.[8]

Police and gendarme maintained a bayonet peace over Korea for 10 years. Then, in 1929, protests were renewed. The nationalistic uprising of December began in a small way. A Japanese student insulted a Korean schoolgirl. The Koreans were enraged and demanded an apology which was not given. Most of the Korean school bodies struck, paraded on the streets, sang patriotic songs, and waved the banned flag of old Korea. The entire country was aroused.

The Japanese military answered the outburst in the usual manner of soldiers confronted by peoples they considered inferior. Thousands of students were thrown into unheated prisons where they existed on a

[8] See *Report of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ on the Korean Atrocities,* read into *The Congressional Record,* July 17, 1919, 2845–2865.

handful of beans a day. The jails were filled and warehouses were turned into detention centers. News of these disturbances reached the outside world only after Koreans safely crossed the Yalu River under fire from Japanese guards.

Korea once again was beaten into subjection to remain a camp of guards and prisoners until changes were made at the end of World War II, changes both satisfactory and unsatisfactory, in so far as the Koreans were concerned.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The Coming of the Americans

Long before the conquest of the Philippine Islands by the Spanish in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the peoples of this region had evolved a culture which included written languages, arts, and industries. The inhabitants were mainly Malayan with strains of Indonesian and Mongolian.

The Spanish occupation of more than 300 years resulted in the introduction of Christianity and of European jurisprudence, language, and customs. It also centralized political power but did little to stimulate economic life. The development of democratic forces in the West had their effect upon the Filipinos. Between 1807 and 1872 there were 11 revolts against Spanish rule.

By 1896, the natives had laid the foundations for a life-and-death struggle with Spain. In that year, Jose Rizal, leading Filipino patriot, was executed for his efforts to obtain freedom for his country. The death of this popular figure resulted in the spread of a powerful revolutionary movement, dominated by the *Katipunan* association. The Spanish government answered this opposition by agreeing to improve the judicial system, grant Filipino representation in the Spanish Cortes at Madrid, separate church and state, and generally permit wider autonomy for the Islands.

The Spanish failed to put into execution these agreements. The Filipinos, under the leadership of General Francisco Macabulos, offered strong resistance and set up a provisional government. By the time the United States declared war upon Spain (April, 1898), the Filipinos were pressing hard against their masters. Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipino leader of the rebellion against Spain in 1896 and the United States in 1899–1901, was induced by the American commander, Admiral George Dewey, in May, to aid in the capture of the Islands. Manila was seized on August 13.

Between September 1, 1900, and June, 1901, the Islands were governed by the Taft Commission and the United States Army. The commission had legislative powers and the military held executive authority. This system was converted into civil government through the inaugura-

tion of William Howard Taft, president of the commission, as first civil governor. The introduction of civil administration had been delayed because of native resistance to American control which began on February 4, 1899, when American soldiers and Filipino "insurgents" clashed.

The head of the central government was a governor general, appointed by the President of the United States with consent of the Senate. There was a vice-governor, appointed in the same manner, who served as head of the Department of Public Instruction, which included the Bureaus of Education and Health. An auditor, also appointed by the President and the Senate, examined and settled all accounts relating to revenues and receipts. The supreme court was under the control of the United States and its nine judges were appointed by the President, with approval of the Senate.

There were six executive departments under the governor general, the heads of which, excepting the department of public instruction, were Filipinos. Filipinos, all elected by popular vote, controlled the local Senate and the House of Representatives. All general legislative authority, including appropriations, was exercised by the Filipino Legislature. The Filipino Senate had the right to accept or reject all appointments made by the governor general.

Francis Burton Harrison, Governor General from 1913 to 1921, was a liberal who gave the Filipinos a virtually autonomous government. Cabinet leaders were selected from the members of the party successful at the elections. The policy of Harrison was not continued by his successor, General Leonard Wood, (1921–1927). Henry L. Stimson (1927–1928) resumed some of the policies of Harrison and thereafter the governors general have been careful not to restrict the Filipino officials.

There were 865 municipalities in the Islands in which the authorities were Filipinos. These had elective councils. The president of the council appointed all nonelective officers upon councilor consent, with the exception of the treasurer, teachers and justice of the peace, who were provincial or national appointees.

There were 40 regular provinces and nine non-Christian provinces. The officials in the former were Filipinos, excepting the treasurer, who was appointed by the national government. All municipal and provincial officials were responsible to the Executive Bureau of the Department of the Interior which had supervision over all local authorities. The non-Christian provinces were administered by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, a branch of the Department of the Interior. The aim of this bureau was to assimilate these provinces, although there were criticisms that this work was being undertaken too rapidly.[9]

[9] About 92 per cent of the 13,000,000 Filipinos were Christians; 4 per cent were "pagans"; and 4 per cent were Mohammedans. The Mohammedans were the Moros. All had the same racial roots. The non-Christians united with the Christians in the revolt against Spain.

The Moros and others never protested vigorously against Christian domination of governmental posts. The frequently cited claim that the United States was obligated by a treaty with the Moros to guarantee that Moros would not be governed by Christians was disclaimed by Governor General W. Cameron Forbes, General Leonard Wood, and General John J. Pershing, who subdued the Moros in 1899 and 1913.

American Achievements

The American occupation of the Philippines resulted in some impressive progress.

When the Americans landed in the Islands, the average death rate was 47 per thousand. In 1935, it had been reduced to 18. At the same time the birth rate was increased from about 35 to 50 per thousand.

The Spanish Government was negligent in regard to educational opportunities. There were virtually no free public schools conducted by the Spanish. The Catholic Church, through parochial schools exercised influence in every city and many of the towns but was not able to furnish a general education. A complete system of free public schools was instituted by the United States. This system included primary, intermediate, and high school training as well as the University of the Philippines. In 1895, under the Spanish, there were fewer than 2,000 schools, public and private and only 1 per cent of the natives were literate. In 1939, there were 8,232 schools of all kinds, with 6,000 students in the University and 38 American and 28,000 Filipino teachers for the entire educational system. Illiteracy was reduced to about 50 per cent.

Newspapers and periodicals which in 1900 had a total circulation of about 100,000, by 1939 had increased 20 times. Every town of more than 1,000 had its hospital, dispensary, high school, movies, public playgrounds, and tennis courts. There were 35,000 radio sets and three broadcasting stations in 1939. There were 15,000 miles of good roads in contrast to 50 miles when the Americans arrived.

The Path to Self-Government

The United States did not long delay in encouraging self-government for the Islands. At the beginning of American occupation in 1898, President McKinley proclaimed the aim of the United States. "The Philippines are ours, not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, and to train in the science of self-government. This is the path which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us." The Filipinos were given control of municipal government in 1901. The people were permitted to elect provincial governors in 1903. Under the provisions of the Cooper Act, the first elective assembly was initiated in 1907. President Theodore Roosevelt, in his message to Congress in January, 1908, said that "the Filipino people, through their officials, are therefore making real steps in the direction of self-government. I hope and believe that these steps mark the beginning of a course which will continue till the Filipinos become fit to decide for themselves whether they desire to be an independent nation." President Woodrow Wilson in 1913, in a message to the Filipino people stated that "we regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view

to ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence."

Under the Jones Act, passed in 1916, the people of the Islands were given more extensive participation in government. This act provided for an elective Senate and House of Representatives as the legislative department of the government. The governor general no longer was the presiding officer in the upper house but continued to serve as the chief executive official. The secretaries of all departments, excepting the vice-governor, were Filipinos, appointed by the governor general upon the recommendation of the party in power in the legislature and confirmed by the Filipino Senate.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt on March 24, 1934, signed the Tydings-McDuffie Act. This act was accepted by the Philippine Legislature on May 1, 1934. The act stipulated that political and economic independence would materialize on July 4, 1946. Meanwhile the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines was initiated on November 15, 1935.

At the time the Philippine Legislature accepted the Tydings-McDuffie Act, it was stated that "although the Philippine Legislature believes that certain provisions of said Act need further consideration, the said Legislature deems it its duty to accept the proffer of independence thus made by the Government of the United States: (a) because the Filipino people cannot, consistent with their national dignity and love of freedom, decline to accept the independence that the said Act grants, (b) and because the President of the United States in his message to Congress on March 2, 1934, recommending the enactment of said law, stated: 'I do not believe that other provisions of the original law (Hawes Cutting Act) need to be changed at this time. Where imperfections or inequalities exist, I am confident that they can be corrected after proper hearing and in fairness to both peoples,' a statement which gives to the Filipino people reasonable assurances of further hearing and due consideration to their views."

During the visit of President Manuel Quezon to the United States in 1937, the Independence Act was attacked. He maintained that the American market was essential for Island products but also American commodities found a profitable center in his country. He was confident that his people would be capable of conducting themselves well under independence. He desired no curbs from the High Commissioner, an official supplanting the governor general, or Congress and declared that independence should be given in 1938 or 1939.[10]

As a result of Quezon's visit, a committee was appointed of American and Filipino experts who investigated the trade relations of the two countries and offered recommendations for the adjustment of Island economy.

[10] Quezon was born in 1878. During the Spanish revolt he was a staff officer. He was graduated from Santo Tomas University in 1903. As a lawyer he was prosecuting attorney for Mindoro and Tayabas provinces. In 1905, he was made governor of Tayabas, his native province. In 1909, he was Resident Commissioner in Washington. During this time he gained the appellation of the "Patrick Henry of the Philippines." In 1916, he was President of the Senate and headed the National Party. He died at the age of 65, on August 1, 1944, at Saranac Lake, New York.

Then, when Japan began driving into China, President Quezon, in an address to the Philippine National Assembly on October 18, 1937, stated that if the Islands were afraid that complete independence would menace their security, it would be better to remain "under the protecting wing" of the United States and leave the future for their children to determine and not delude themselves "with the groundless hope that by 1946 every danger will have vanished." President Quezon informed the press in November, 1937, that he was willing to discuss proposals for a dominion status and "if there is any reason why we should not be independent in 1946, we had better start talking about something else."

High Commissioner Paul McNutt, in March, 1938, suggested a permanent political and economic agreement between the two countries because an independent Philippines "faces a very real threat of racial extinction" from near-by nations. President Quezon, one year later, suggested that relations with the United States could be arranged provided all treaty making powers were in the hands of the Commonwealth.[11]

Defense of the Philippines

In May, 1936, Major General Douglas A. MacArthur, former United States Army Chief of Staff, appointed military adviser to President Quezon in 1935, made public plans for defense of the Islands. This included 400,000 trained reserves, an air force of 250 planes, and about 100 small fast-moving vessels. By 1940, many a Filipino who had protested the armed preparations of his country under American guidance, was impressed by the fate of small, unarmed nations in Europe, and was reconciled to foreign support. President Quezon, on January 31, 1941, declared that defense of the Philippines rested with the United States and that the Filipinos were ready to aid if war came to the Pacific. The following month, the United States War Department announced its plan to extend training for one year of 5,000 Filipino reservists. Quezon was supported by Aguinaldo, the old die-hard patriot, who urged the people to support the defense plans of his one-time enemy, the United States. As proof of co-operation, the Commonwealth offered in March, 1941, to shut off exports of war materials such as hemp, iron ore, and chrome, to all countries except the United States.

[11] In November, 1936, after one year of the Commonwealth, it was realized by Filipino leaders that the Islands' economic future was mainly dependent upon obtaining some kind of preferential consideration in the markets of the United States. The export trade of the Philippines was based upon commerce with the United States. In 1900, 11 per cent of all export-import trade was with the United States. In 1910, it was 41 per cent; in 1920, it was 65 per cent, and in 1935, it was 72 per cent.

It was recognized by realistic business interests in the United States as well as in the Philippines that both countries would suffer if independence materialized without measures taken for reciprocal trade concessions. In April, 1938, Roosevelt and Quezon reached an agreement to have preferential trade contacts gradually end by 1960. American and Filipino economists in 1939 began to lay the foundation for an independent country by emphasizing the exploitation of chromite, iron, copper, manganese, lead, and zinc.

The Philippine Army was co-ordinated by the United States in April, 1941. Civilian defense was linked to military plans. An executive order created volunteer guards for cities and towns. During the Loyalty Day parade in Manila on June 19, 1941, President Quezon proclaimed that his people "to the last man" would rally to the side of the United States. At this time, the Islands were being converted into the first line of defense, in co-operation with the British measures being undertaken at Singapore. The United States sowed mines in the entrances to Manila and Subic Bays. In July, the United States granted the Commonwealth $10,000,000 for defense purposes and General MacArthur was made commander in chief of all American forces in the Pacific.

These preparations were too late and too little President Quezon admitted on November 28, 1941, that the Islands were not ready for war. He accused the American "imperialists" of blocking defense plans in order to have an argument against independence. And yet, optimism prevailed among many. They believed that Japan's power was limited, that Japan had no long-range bombers capable of striking Manila. They were convinced that Japan was unable to make a successful landing. Some Americans were confident that any large task force could be held off owing to the rugged coastline and the ideal guerrilla conditions offered by forest and jungle. Other Americans, an unpopular minority, regarded all defenses as precarious. They knew that air raids could be launched from Formosa, visible on clear days from the most northern tip of the Islands. They accepted the fact that the Islands were to be held as long as possible, a symbol of empire, of American prestige in the Pacific.

THE NETHERLANDS IN INDONESIA

The Netherlands Indies Archipelago, part of the Kingdom of The Netherlands, in 1941, was a group of islands extending from 6° north latitude to 11° south latitude, and from 95° to 141° east latitude. Its widest extension from north to south was 1,300 miles. The entire Archipelago was Netherlands territory, excepting part of the Island of Timor (Portuguese), the British portion of Borneo, and the eastern part of New Guinea (Australia), and contained a total of about 1,190,215 square miles. The chief island groups were the Greater Sunda Islands, the Lesser Sunda Islands, the Moluccas, and New Guinea.[12]

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to establish trading posts in the East Indies and ship the commodities of the East to Lisbon. From this port, vessels of the Netherlands carried the treasures of the Orient to other European centers. After Spain acquired Portugal in 1580, Holland struggled against the conquerors and was debarred from the harbors of Portugal. The Netherlanders, realizing that the loss of Eastern trade

[12] The Greater Sunda Islands are Java and Madura (51,034.6 square miles); Sumatra (182,867.1 square miles); Netherlands territory in Borneo (208,294.5 square miles); Celebes (72,989.5 square miles); and Netherlands territory in New Guinea (153,367.1 square miles)

spelled death to their maritime commerce, sent a ship eastward in 1596 which, after a year and three months, reached the Malayan Archipelago.

In order to thwart the Portuguese, the Netherlands East Indies Company was founded. This company obtained from the home government a monopoly for the Eastern trade, the right to wage war in the fight for Netherlands supremacy, the power to make and enforce laws, and the authority to coin money. Agreements were reached with the two local regimes, the empire of Mataram in the eastern portion of Java and the Sultanate of Bantam in the west. The city of Batavia was constructed on a spot between these two states.

It was not long before the little colony grew strong under the leadership of the Calvinist Governor General, Jan Pieters-zoon Coen. During the seventeenth century Batavia developed into the center of distant and lucrative enterprises. The mart of Holland expanded until the American War of Independence period ended its control in the Malayan Archipelago. Defeated by the English, Holland was forced to grant the victors trading privileges in the Archipelago which led in 1800 to the end of the Netherlands East Indies Company.

After a period of indifference toward colonization, a new Netherlands Indies government, in 1816, found itself without funds and opposed by the hostile Javanese Princes in a five-year war (1825–1830). Holland increased her military budgets and built up defenses on the island of Java.

In the 30's of the nineteenth century, Holland was confronted with the problem of either obtaining financial support for the colonies or relinquishing the regions held in the Pacific. In order to strengthen their position, the Netherlands' possessions on the Burmese coast and the Malayan Peninsula were exchanged for Southern Sumatra, held by the English. The "Culture System" was introduced into Java, under the direction of the state which resulted in relieving financial shortages and led to exploitation of the natives by the officials. Following the Revolution of 1848, the liberals in Holland were able to introduce some social reforms into the colony.

Government in the Indies

Politically, the Netherlands Indies was a part of the Kingdom of The Netherlands. The Queen and the States General constituted the highest legislative authority. General supervision of executive power was vested in the Crown. The governor general of the Netherlands Indies ruled the region in the name of the Queen. In his legislative and executive capacity he was guided by an advisory body, the Council of the Netherlands Indies, and in his duties he was aided by the heads of the various departments who, functioning with the army and naval commanders, constituted a council of departmental chiefs. In the conduct of official correspondence and the execution of decrees, the governor general was assisted by a cabinet, the general secretariat.

A representative body, the People's Council (*Volksraad*), was created in 1918. This organization, in 1946, consisted of a President and 60 members (25 Europeans, 30 natives, and 5 others), partly elected and partly appointed by the governor general. The governor general consulted this body on matters relating to the budget, loans, bills, and general governmental measures.

The Netherlands Indies was divided into 22 sections or provinces, under the supervision of Governors or Residents. The areas, politically, were divided into directly administered territory and self-administering territories. The self-administering territories had native executive bodies in control, subject to supervision by the central government to which they were obligated by contract or treaty. These executive bodies had the administration of their own budget, judiciary, and legislature. The most prominent so-called Principalities were those of Sourakarta and Jogjakarta in Java and Deli, Langkat, Serdang, Asahan, and Koetei in the Outer Provinces.

Education

There were about 250 languages used in the Netherlands Indies. It was impossible to offer instruction in all these tongues. In 1940, courses were given in 25, with Malayan the "lingua franca" among groups too small to justify, according to official Netherlands frugality, the writing and printing of special books.

One of the most difficult tasks was to induce many of the natives to see the value of some learning. Coercion frequently was employed to get obdurate parents to allow their children to experience the blessings of the "3 R's." There were cases of schools being set afire by natives who hoped to thus destroy all traces of the white man's insistence upon mental training.

During the first years of the nineteenth century, education of the Javanese was ignored, although schools functioned for Western children living in the Indies. The first move in the direction of native education was made in 1845 when the Minister of Colonies stated that there were too few trained Indonesians for service in the colony. Three years later, appropriations were made for schools in which natives could be educated. Until 1893, however, the government concentrated upon educational facilities for the local aristocracy. Then, two types of institutions were evolved, one for the nobility and the other for the masses. The democratic schools had limited expansion and by 1928, about 29 per cent of the children between the ages of six and nine and 14 per cent between the ages of six and thirteen were being educated. In Holland, during these years, by contrast, about 20 per cent of the total population were in schools and in the Netherlands Indies only about 3 per cent.

Holland waited three hundred years before instituting higher education. An engineering school was founded in 1920. A law school was

opened in 1924. A medical school was started in 1927. In 1935–1936, there were 1,020 undergraduate students in these institutions, composed of 239 Europeans, 265 Chinese, and 516 natives.

Secondary education equally was limited. In 1935, there were 83 schools. Of this number, 60 were upper primary (*mulo*). Of the 23 remaining, five offered only a three-year course. There was one modern secondary school outside Java. The dearth of educational facilities was shown by the island of Lombok, with a population of about 700,000 and not one higher elementary school. Children in many villages failed to receive daily instruction because of teacher shortages. There were many free native schools in which the teacher lived on the small contributions given by the students. In the entire Netherlands Indies there were only 11 institutions equal to Western schools which in 1935–1936 were attended by about 500 natives.

The system of education cost too much for its returns Less than 25 per cent of the natives completed their higher education. In the lower schools, it was about 37 per cent. The cost of education was maintained at a high level in order to block the training of too many for the professions Scores of natives who were graduated from the high schools in the Indies carried on advanced studies in Europe. They returned to their homeland to live lives of futility under white paternalism. It seems that Holland was slow to advance native education, hoping thereby to obtain semi-educated and loyal servants for the administrative services and business houses.

Economic Development

Before the coming of the West, agriculture was the basis for native economy. A law passed in 1870 allowed exploitation by private individuals. This regulation stipulated that lands not in private possession were considered to be public domain and could be exploited by Westerners on long-term leases.

In the twentieth century, the government has attempted to protect the rights of the natives, but a struggle marked the scene when the question arose regarding the amount of land to be acquired by Europeans. After 1910, the government bought back private lands, partly to satisfy the natives and partly to bring them more fully under control.

Java has an active economic life owing to access to raw materials and markets, cheap labor, and the encouragement of foreign capital. Here in 1938 were about 1,750,000 workers of whom some 10 per cent were engaged in factory work making tinned foods, bicycles, biscuits, medical supplies, furniture, soap, glass, paints, paper, leather goods, and cement. About 15 per cent of the investments were held by Netherlanders, 61 per cent were Western foreign interests, and about 23 per cent were owned by residents of the Netherlands Indies, most of whom were Chinese.

The Netherlands Indies ranked among the world's most valuable sources for rubber, tin, petroleum, sugar, quinine, coconut products,

vegetable oils, spices, and fibers. The table on this page shows the relationship between the Netherlands Indies and the world market in 1939.

Commodity	World's Total Production	Netherlands Indies Production
Petroleum	2,076,000,000 barrels	61,580,000 barrels
Rubber	1,055,000 tons	372,000 tons
Tin	183,000 tons	32,280 tons

Nationalism in the Indies

The material results of Holland's occupation of the Indies have been admirable. Private enterprises have been allowed to develop. The land rights of the natives have been protected in recent years. Foreign trade has been encouraged. Exploitation of natural resources has been extensive. The railway system of Java is one of the most efficient in the world. Postal and telegraph services are excellent. The proverbial cleanliness of the mother country prevails on the streets of Javan cities and towns. The Health Service has eliminated epidemics. Order is the rule. The Indies supports 10 times the number of people it did 130 years ago. The authorities do not inflict physical punishment upon the natives for trivial offenses. Cases of brutality on the part of the police are rare. There is less of a color barrier than is found in the English and American centers. Intermarriages are common, and persons with European fathers enjoy the same legal status as Westerners. And yet, the articulate natives, comprising about 5 per cent of the population, despite the blessings conferred by white masters, were not happy.

Many believed they were exploited more harshly than any peoples in the East, with the exception of the Koreans. They resented the strict paternalism exercised over them. They were anxious to receive more education and reduce illiteracy. Some did not approve of the restrictions regulating the work of missionaries. Others chafed under rules whereby those natives who produced rubber were taxed heavily in order to prevent competition with the Europeans. These also were outraged by the curtailment of civil liberty, affecting Westerners as well, which hampered public meetings and suppressed newspapers. Many of the Eurasians plotted against Holland as they saw themselves pushed to the wall economically by aggressive native leaders. All, moderate and fanatic, wondered if the sentimental thought of being a part of the Government of Holland could compensate for the policies of the home authorities which thwarted their development. These sought relief in the many nationalistic movements.

The first association of natives, the *Boedi Oetomo,* was created in 1908. This organization, which had a reported membership of 10,000 in 1909, soon was dominated by a small faction of Indonesian officials who were

concerned over local distress but had no desire to encounter government censure. In 1917, the *Sarikat Islam,* a radical nationalistic body, came to the front. This association encouraged strikes which spread to railways, printing offices, and tailor shops between 1917 and 1927.

The Communist Party (*Partai Kommunist Indonesia*) was formed in 1920. By 1924, there were 1,140 members in 36 "cells," who directed the native Soviets (*Sarikatrajats*), numbering 31,000 adherents. The government did not long delay in blocking the Communists. In 1927, out of 13,000 suspected of radical activities, 4,500 were imprisoned and 1,308 were sent to a special detention camp in New Guinea. This action dampened communistic movements, although in 1928 a labor association was founded, the *Sarikat Koaem Boeroeh Indonesia,* which carried on correspondence with foreign organizations. The leaders were apprehended in 1929 and tucked away safely in New Guinea.[18]

Owing to official repressions, there was a tendency in 1927 to depart from communistic ideologies and swing toward more nationalistic approaches. The National Indonesian Party (P.N.I.), was organized and cooperated with Indonesian students living in Holland who worked with the anti-colonists of Europe. This body brought together into a federation the many nationalistic associations in the Indies. This federation was led by the Javanese engineer Soekarno, who came to prominence at the end of World War II. The P.N.I., containing 10,000 members in 1929, was proscribed by the government, and Soekarno was given a four years' prison sentence. Other nationalistic groups were created only to be broken up by the Netherlands officials who in 1931 organized the "Patriots Club," a conservative body which attempted to repress all native aspirations. It was not until after the defeat of Japan that the struggles of the nationalists reached proportions the government of Holland was forced to recognize.

THE FRENCH IN INDO-CHINA

The Coming of the French

Early in the seventeenth century, French missionaries entered Indo-China. Between 1747 and 1774, official relations with Indo-China were carried on. During the first half of the nineteenth century, French missionaries were subjected to torture and death. In order to protect them, the French government sent a war vessel to Cochin China in 1845. Two years later, warships anchored at Tourane with instructions given to the naval authorities to obtain from the emperor religious liberty for Christians. The Indo-Chinese resisted and the French bombarded the coast but were not strong enough to occupy the area.

The government of Indo-China took advantage of the Revolution of 1848 to restrict foreign encroachments. A decree was issued in July, which

[18] At this time, a Communist from the Indies, Roestem Effendi, was a member of the lower chamber of the Netherlands States General.

stated that "the religion of Jesus . . . is evidently a perverse religion. . . . Consequently, the European masters of this religion are to be thrown into the sea with rocks tied to their necks. A reward will be given for everyone seized. The Annamite masters of this religion shall, if they refuse to recant, be branded on their faces and exiled to the mountains and banished to the most unhealthy parts of the empire." [14]

In order to defend the realm and prevent Western aggression, a commission was appointed which analyzed the French menace. "We say that in order to arrest the undertakings of the European barbarians, it will be necessary to increase the hazards of our coasts in order to remove from them the possibilities of approach. These barbarians are very firm and patient; the works they have not been able to complete they hand on to their posterity to bring forth to completion. They relinquish no undertaking and are disturbed at no difficulties. It is this which merits our greatest concern. These barbarians enter every land with neither fear nor weariness; they conquer all peoples, regardless of expense. What is their aim here, if not to seize the land and poison it with their perverse doctrines? This is the sole purpose of their machinations. . . .

"The barbarians frequently dare to penetrate here and remain a long time at anchor, without taking any account of His Majesty's defenses.

"These men, akin to sheep and dogs by their manners, cannot be persuaded by the language of reason; reason to them is the voice of the cannon. In the art of making the cannon speak, they are extremely clever."

This proscription did not discourage the entrance of missionaries. Despite imprisonment and death, they persisted in their efforts to enter Indo-China. Napoleon III, in 1855, appreciating the fact that protection of missionaries well could serve as an excuse to occupy the peninsula, sent agents to Tourane with instructions to obtain trade privileges and guarantees for the protection of Christians. The court refused to negotiate with the French. This insult to France gave Napoleon an excuse to uphold French honor and Christianity in the Orient.

The French sent to Tourane a force consisting of 14 vessels, a landing party of marines, two infantry battalions, and an artillery battery. They were supported by a corps of Tagals from Manila. This punitive expedition routed 10,000 Annamites and by September 17, 1858, the forts and peninsula of Tourane were in French hands. It was not until 1897, however, that the French were able to quell all extensive organized opposition to their presence.

The Development of French Administration

In 1861, the French civilian services took over control of those portions of Indo-China held by French bayonets. Not only was the authority of

[14] All quotations in this section are based upon French sources contained in Thomas E. Ennis' *French Policy and Developments in Indo-China*, 1937, 34 ff.

the emperor destroyed but also all native administrative units were placed under French "Inspectors of Native Affairs." Local laws were "reformed" in 1864 by native interpreters who traveled throughout Cochin China and introduced the Napoleonic Code. The entire body of French legislation was applied to Annam and Tongking in 1879.

The French, with their passion for "order," constructed a smooth-working bureaucracy for their Asiatic possession. At the head of the government was a governor general who held the authority in France given to the various ministries. As an aid to this official was a cabinet which centralized the affairs of state. The army and navy were prominent in the administration, which was headed by a general, assisted by three brigadier generals, a chief of the Health Services, a colonel of engineers, and a colonel of artillery. The navy included, in normal times, a naval division in Cochin China, the arsenal of Saigon, and garrisons in Tongking and Port Beaumont. The Bureau of Civil Affairs, comparable to the Ministry of Interior, concerned itself with administrative routine. There were also other services including the Judicial Service, the Administrations of Customs, Public Works, Agriculture and Commerce, Posts and Telegraphs, and the Treasury.

There was direct French administration through a lieutenant general in Cochin China. He was assisted by a Colonial Council, some members of which were elected by the French and native residents, and others were appointed by the Privy Council. Chief Residents were located in Annam, Tongking, and Cambodia, who were aided by Councils of these protectorates.

The French administration was made more efficient in 1897 by Governor General Paul Doumer. As a result, the financial and economic structures were strengthened. Commerce doubled within five years. Doumer also centralized the government by freeing the provincial native officials of control by the Residents and created a Consultative Commission of Notables in 1898 which was given the authority to discuss matters pertaining to provincial budgets and public projects.

Paul Beau, Governor General from 1902 to 1907, saw the need to bring about more co-operation between French and Indo-Chinese. His successor, Klobukowsky, also was determined to embark upon this policy of association and bring an end to the anti-French agitations which had been intensified by the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905. Klobukowsky outlined his plans in 1919:

"All our policies should center upon giving the natives a reasonable administration. We should be more considerate of their interests, as far as possible, respect their traditions and beliefs, and elevate their standards. The natives must be associated with us in bringing about progress.

". . . Everyone in the administration should go out among the people, converse with them freely, and inquire concerning their needs. It is absolutely essential that we have the support of the natives, which will be given when they understand that their cause is linked closely to ours and that we are both traveling over the same road toward the same goal."

Antiforeignism persisted, and Klobukowsky was supplanted by Albert Sarraut in 1911. Sarraut held no brief for those in Paris and Indo-China who plotted to have the military play a dominant role in the peninsula. He hoped to be able to guide the natives toward liberal institutions. In keeping with his aims he revised many of the penal codes and civil statutes without destroying native traditions. Sarraut asked in 1919 for more freedom in the administrative services. He saw the evils of paternalism. "There must be co-operation, with the natives duly elected to responsible positions by a larger electoral college. A Franco-native association will combine all efforts for the development of this great country."

No important moves were undertaken in Indo-China until 1925. At that time, Alexandre Varenne, Socialist, was appointed Governor General. This official, more than any other occupant of this post, realized that Occidentalism should be introduced in Asia without injuring Asiatic traditions. He outlined his objectives in December, 1925:

"In order to view the general aims of the French in Indo-China, it is necessary to consider a historic fact regarding the arrival and installation of French authority in the peninsula. The French are in Indo-China. This is a fact. They are here by virtue of treaties, most of which were imposed by force. Preceded by an advance-guard of marines, missionaries, and merchants, the French came, harmed the people, and installed themselves in a forceful and violent manner. . . .

"The French, however, in working for themselves have worked also for the natives. They have brought about peace, security on the frontiers, and domestic tranquillity. Ancient Annam, before the coming of the French, was exposed to periodic incursions of pirates, who robbed the peasantry of their harvests. The peace and order now established is in contrast to the revolutions, strife and eternal bloodshed of the past. Peace having been secured, the French brought to Indo-China the benefits of a civilization which, in the technical field, has proved to be supreme. The work accomplished by our engineers and our industrialists need not be lauded. It is written in flaming letters over the face of the land. Roads, railroads, hospitals, schools have been constructed. . . .

"France after the war [World War I] proclaimed to the world the principles of law and democracy upon which her victories were founded. Should she not ask herself if her methods of colonization correspond to her ideals? Should she not ask herself if her colonial policy, particularly in the Far East, be revised? Should she not ask herself if this policy is adapted to the new age?

"To those questions we definitely reply, yes. Yes, because the war which covered Europe with blood has proved that nothing durable can be erected upon force alone and that the peoples of the universe have other aspirations than physical well-being. Yes, because the war has awakened in lands far distant from us, in regions remote from our political turmoils, a feeling of independence. This feeling has entered the confines of the ancient world. Yes, because the Orient, for a long time closed to the West, this Orient which European travelers have discovered

and crossed the seas to gaze upon, has now crossed these same seas to view us and delve into the secrets of old Europe which clings fiercely to the principles of democracy. These peoples demand that we teach them these concepts in order that they might apply them to their own countries. Yes, because all has changed in the past few years. Both men and ideas, and Asia herself, are being transformed. The Orient today stands upon the path leading to the higher forms of modern civilization. . . .

"What will the future hold? If peace is preserved for us, if Indo-China is able to develop freely, she ought to aspire to a more independent higher life and become some day a great nation. France is able to aid in this mighty work. France will aid. She will group about her these people. Her mission being achieved, one can think that she will claim no longer a part in the life of the peninsula, neither to direct nor to advise, and that the peoples who have profited by her guidance will have no other links with France than those of gratitude and love."

These words of Varenne brought forth storms of protest. He was attacked in the Chamber of Deputies and accused of following the precepts of the Third International. He was recalled after Socialist losses in 1928, and replaced by Pierre Pasquier, who was governor general until January, 1934.

Pasquier, a career official, was firm in his policy of opening more opportunities for the Indo-Chinese. Educated natives were given responsible positions in the administration. Exploitation of the land was undertaken through the co-operation between French and native capitalists and laborers. No other significant administrative changes were made in Indo-China until after World War II.

Indo-Chinese versus French

Like some of the peoples in the Netherlands Indies, many in Indo-China were benefiting from the material aspects of Western civilization, especially the extension of modern medical science. And yet, like subject peoples elsewhere, many were intensely hostile to the presence of the Europeans.

Anti-French feeling disturbed the masters since the Russo-Japanese War and were accentuated by the ideals of Woodrow Wilson, Gandhi, and the anticolonial pronouncements of the Soviet Union. After the Japanese victory over Russia, many Annamites traveled to Japan and entered schools, hoping to learn the techniques of Japanese success. The sentiments of the students were well expressed by one who wrote to his friends in 1905:

"All powers, all profits are in the hands of the masters with the blue eyes, the red barbarians. And we, the yellow race, we are subjected by force to demoralization, to complete degradation. In order to obtain allies, it is necessary that we have recourse to representatives of our own race. I, your humble servant, an obscure student, having had occasion

to study new books, and new doctrines, have discovered in a recent history of Japan how they have been able to conquer the impotent Europeans. This is the reason why we have formed an organization. . . . We have selected from among the young Annamites those most energetic, with great capacities for courage, and are sending them to Japan for study. . . . . Several years have passed without the French being aware of this movement. This is why we have been able to increase our forces. At the present time there are about six hundred students from Indo-China in Japan. Our only aim is to prepare the population for the future. . . . Have you created any organization for this purpose in your region?"

Revolutionary movements were widespread in 1908. The attitude of the native leaders is seen in the expressions of a leading nationalist, Phan Chau Trinh, who had been condemned to death for a political crime and later pardoned:

"Twenty months have elapsed and only a few petty things have been accomplished for the Annamites. But these are like candy given to a child in order to efface the memory of blows. . . . The education we have asked for has been denied. . . . The people of Annam wish to be educated, they wish to be respected. They desire to obtain gradually their independence. The day when the people of Annam receive their freedom, they will become the friend and ally of the French. Your interests should point out to you the path to be taken. You should accord the Annamites what is right, the reforms they demand which are suppression of the alcohol monopoly, prohibition of the use of opium, freedom of education, an adequate political and judicial system for Indo-China, recall of all exiles, an amnesty for political prisoners, and adoption of a decent manner toward the natives as a whole."

The feelings of the Annamites also were expressed at this time by a patriot who criticized some of his countrymen for establishing scholarships for the education of Indo-Chinese in French schools:

"For more than 20 years prior to 1903, France intended to seize Annam and make it a colony. She employed in this undertaking all the means possible in order to weaken us and destroy us. At this time we did not know liberty. We were not aware of the great forces working in civilization. We were ignorant of other peoples. We knew little of oceans and continents. We dozed in the deepest of slumbers. Today we are awake. We are disturbed by the formidable movements which are rolling over the Far East. This movement is the Russo-Japanese War in which victory has gone to the stronger. Since then, we have directed our footsteps toward Japan, in the hope that by so doing independence would follow.

"The French, however, have attempted to stop this emigration. They say that the Annamites are now alert. Reforms are demanded. The minds of the people are open. Patriotism is rampant. Now, as we cannot suppress these movements, we will give them satisfaction by abolishing the literary composition [a reform of 1905, modernizing the procedure for the official examinations], and allow them to study abroad. With this in mind, they engage one of our old and capable servants, a high man-

darin, to take charge of the studies. Yes, the French have used our countrymen, but always under their supervision. In this manner, we young ones will become, after a dozen years of study, also servants. Consequently, we are unable to escape from French domination. . . .

Asiatics in general, and Indo-Chinese in particular, were attracted by the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen of China and Lenin of Russia who saw the day when young Asia would be supported by the proletariat for the freedom of the world. A group of students and teachers plotted to destroy some of the French buildings in Tongking in 1920. The Third International was ready in 1924 to undermine the great powers by way of their colonies. The first signs of direct Russian influence in Indo-China were seen in an appeal written by the Executive Committee of the Comintern to the Communists of Annam:

"O my brothers! O my brothers! direct the destiny of your own land. Come to the desires of heaven and no one can conquer you. For five years an association has been functioning in Russia which plans to unite all the workers of the world. . . . It is especially interested in the fate of the unfortunate peoples living in colonies, such as you Annamites, whose lot has been frightful ever since the day the French barbarians came to loot and destroy. . . .

"Energy and courage are needed today. It is necessary not only to fire the rifle and wield the sword against these barbarians who have enslaved you, who oppress you, but it is also necessary to defy these hypocrites. Their words are lies. They appear to aid you and bring you to the path of progress but in reality they have poisoned you and even are attempting to exterminate the Annamite race. . . . In all the lands of the earth there are tremblings as the red flag of our Association flies. The hour of victory approaches, O my brothers! O my brothers! Workers of the world unite!"

The Indo-Chinese Communist Party was founded in 1929. By 1931, agents of this body had laid the basis for Peasants' and Workers' Unions and Young Communists "cells" in every province of Indo-China. All were supervised by the Third International. The French Foreign Legion and the Colonial Legion were detailed in 1933 to destroy this radicalism, By 1935, calm was enforced by the stern measures of the military who pushed the opposition underground. Japan entered the peninsula and aided the pro-Hitlerites among the French officials and business interests and at the same time curtailed the nationalistic movements. The agitation for freedom in Indo-China was not vigorous until after the defeat of Japan in World War II.

37 The "China Incident"

NANKING RESISTS TOKYO

Japanese subjects were killed and Japanese property was destroyed in China in 1936. The many acts of violence gave Japan an opportunity to test the strength of Chiang Kai-shek's government. Tokyo in October demanded: (1) a military pact for the eradication of communism; (2) autonomy for the five provinces of North China whose development was to be under Japanese supervision; (3) tariff revisions favoring Japanese commodities; (4) Japanese advisers in Nanking in equal number to those from Western nations; and (5) a direct air route between Shanghai and Japan.

Nanking, in replying, asked for: (1) Japanese co-operation in the suppression of Japanese, Korean, and Formosan coastal smugglers; (2) abolition of the demilitarized zone created around Shanghai in 1932; (3) evacuation of all Japanese forces, excepting those authorized by the Boxer Protocol, from the provinces of Chahar and Hopei; (4) cessation of unsanctioned flights by Japanese pilots over Chinese territory; and (5) dissolution of the Japanese dominated autonomous regime in eastern Hopei province.

During the negotiations both countries made significant moves. The Chinese forces in Suiyuan province prepared to oppose the advances of a Sino-Mongol army under Japanese command. Chiang Kai-shek journeyed to Shensi province to inspect defenses. Governmental records in Nanking were shipped to centers of safety. The Japanese garrison in North China planned maneuvers south of Peip'ing. In the spring of 1937 China waited for the blow soon to be delivered.

The clouds of war gathered on July 7, 1937, when Chinese and Japanese soldiers clashed outside the city of Peip'ing. The Chinese accused the Japanese of attacking the village of Wanpinghsien. Troops from Manchukuo were brought into Peip'ing on July 11. The Japanese claimed this move was necessary after Chinese snipers fired on them from Marco Polo Bridge.[1]

After 15 days of sporadic fighting an understanding was reached on July 23 providing for: (1) the elimination in China of persons "impeding"

[1] This incident occurred at Lu-kuochiao. Near here is Reed Ditch or Marco Polo Bridge over the Yung-ting Ho ("ever-lasting-settled-and peaceful river"). Marco Polo was the first Westerner to mention this bridge.

Sino-Japanese relations; (2) the suppression of Communists; and (3) more vigorous control of anti-Japanese organizations. This truce was not lasting. Several Japanese were killed on July 26 in Peip'ing. The mechanized army of Japan at once captured Marco Polo Bridge (July 30) and advanced with slight opposition into Changsintien, a railway center 20 miles southwest of Peip'ing. The Peip'ing-Tientsin Railroad was captured on August 1. The Japanese held, by October 11, most of the area of North China's five provinces (Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi, and Shantung), containing the country's richest coal, iron, and cotton resources. The "China Incident" was now a war.

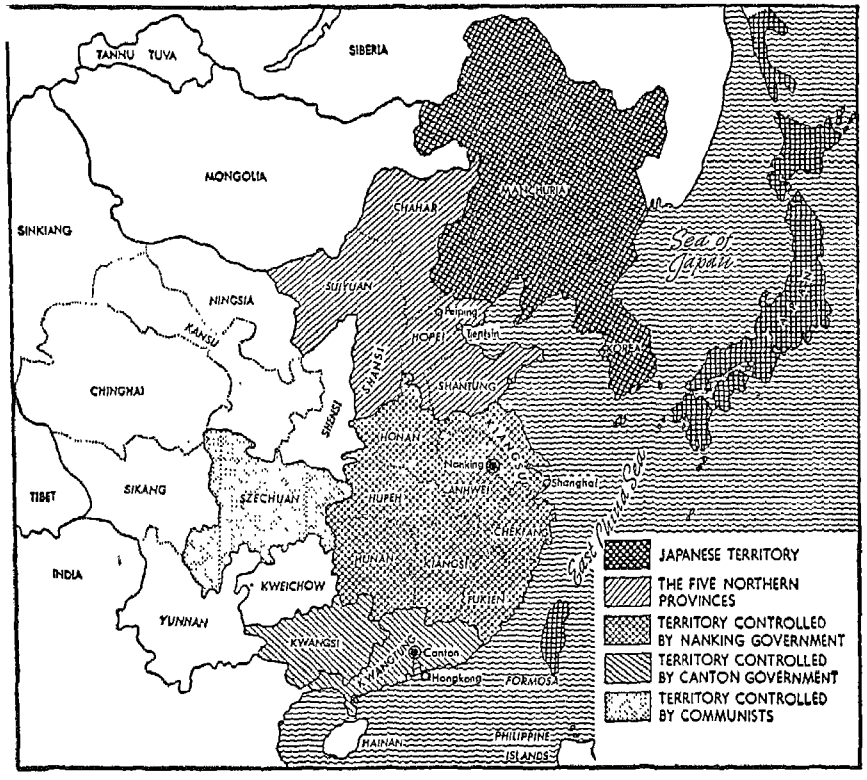
Tientsin was one of the first cities to be damaged. Japanese planes destroyed sections of China's second largest commercial mart in July, 1937. Shanghai, foremost port of the Republic, suffered in August, 1937, when 27 warships anchored in the Wangpoo River shelled Pootung, the industrial area, opposite the Bund. Eleven square miles were in flames on August 21. The defenders were unable to withstand the enemy forces, and on October 27, 1937, the flag of the Rising Sun was raised over the North Station.

The Chinese Government evacuated the capital, Nanking, in November. The reign of looting and murder which broke out within the month stained the honor of the Japanese Imperial Army. The capital of Chekiang province, Hangchow, was captured on December 24, 1937, and its residents also were subjected to days of terror and death.

The Japanese in February, 1938, moved toward Soochow, large railway junction, which fell into their hands on May 20. This victory gave the invaders a line of communication north and south and forced the Chinese to retreat into the mountains. In March the Japanese captured Taierhchwang and advanced to seize the Lunghai Railway. It was in this region on April 7 that the Chinese destroyed an army of 7,000. This defeat was the first in modern history suffered by the Japanese Imperial Army.

The Japanese in April, 1938, launched a powerful drive into northwestern China in the attempt to block the supply routes from Russia by way of the provinces of Kansu, Ningsia, and Tsinghai. Canton, fourth largest city, was bombed in May and June. By the fall of 1938 one half of the city's approximately 1,000,000 inhabitants were dead or in flight. The invaders in October landed at Bias Bay and cut all contacts between Hong Kong and Canton.

The Wuhan cities (Hankow, Wuchang, and Hangyang), trade and industrial center of the middle Yangtze Valley, were defended in 1938 by troops unable to oppose the Japanese for long. The enemy struck Wuchang a heavy aerial blow on July 12. After an intense bombardment the mountain fort of Tienchiachen, gateway to Hankow, was lost in September. Hankow was occupied on October 25. General Shunroku Hata, commander of the armies in this theater, predicted that the Chinese would collapse after the loss of these cities. Operations, however, in this and other sections reached the stalemate stage, despite the Japanese victories.



China on the Eve of the "Incident," 1936

The rapid advances of the Japanese in the first year of the war were owing to several features: (1) There was Japanese control of sea communications. (2) There was powerful Japanese naval support. (3) There was Japanese air support. (4) Chinese reconnaissance was inadequate. (5) Landing parties were unopposed. (6) The Chinese lacked naval strength. (7) There was a dearth of Chinese artillery making possible the establishment of beachheads by the invaders. (8) The Japanese used planes for dropping supplies and bombs which decreased the problems of landing troops in the first stages of operations. (9) The Japanese took advantage of lack of opposition and brought their transports near the shore before transferring troops into landing craft. (10) Many of the surprise moves were achieved by selecting difficult landing sites and maneuvering in periods of stormy weather.

During the rest of the war, none of the operations were as sensational or conclusive as those thus far mentioned.

The capture of Nanchang, strategic Kiangsi base, in March, 1939, resulted in the severing of the east-west Chekiang-Nanchang-Changsha Railway and left the Chinese without rail contacts for supplies entering through the coastal ports. This move also opened the road for Japan into

French Indo-China. In October of 1939 the defenders held the enemy drive into Changsha, capital of Hunan province. This battle showed that when equally armed with bayonets, rifles, and machine-guns the Chinese were a match for the enemy.

The gloom of the days following the Pearl Harbor attack was brightened somewhat by the Chinese gains at Changsha in January, 1942, where the first land victory over the Japanese in World War II was achieved.

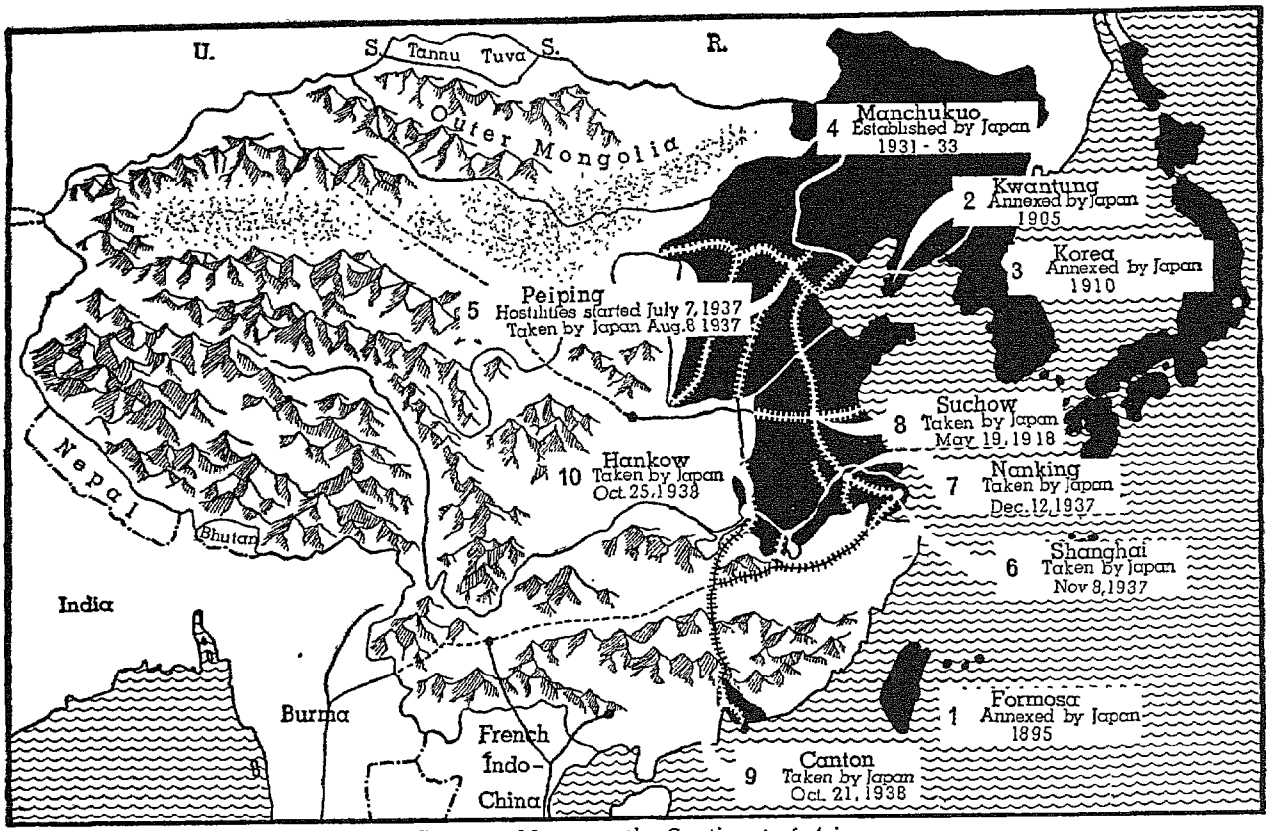
The Japanese made a drive along the Chekiang coast in May, 1942. This operation aimed to remove any possible positions for the air attacks of the Allies against the islands of Japan. The last important air base in Chekiang province, Lishui, was taken in June, 1942. The seaports, Wenchow and Juian, 225 miles from Shanghai, were lost in July. Control of Chekiang gave the Japanese an overland route through China into French Indo-China, Siam, Burma, and Malaya.

The Chinese offensive in the region of Tungting Lake, the "rice bowl," in May and June, 1943, was successful. The Chinese held off an attack in October above this lake and made a counterattack in November. Two Japanese forces numbering 80,000 soldiers on November 21 moved toward Changteh, west of the lake. They were blocked by the Chinese who won special praise from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The Japanese encircled Changteh on November 28, to threaten Changsha. Chinese forces, supported by the United States Army 14th Air Force, closed in on the foe at Changteh but lost the city on December 7. Changteh was retaken on December 9, with American aid, in a savage fight. By the end of 1943 four fifths of the region was held by the Chinese.

A new Japanese offensive against Changsha began in 1944 and this city fell on June 21, after five years of gallant resistance. The Japanese moved at the same time into the rail junction of Hengyang. The invaders massed 120,000 for an attack in August, 1944, against Kweilin and Liuchow, bases for the American 14th Air Force. Kweilin was razed by the Americans on September 27 and on November 11 this strategic center was taken over by the Japanese. Chinese troops in November recaptured Lungling, on the Burma Road, second most important Japanese base in Yünnan province.[2]

The year 1945 began with serious losses for China. Kukong, last foothold on the Canton-Hankow Railway, was seized by the Japanese on January 31. This victory made possible the use of the seacoast where American landings could be opposed. A strong enemy drive was opened, supported by tanks, northwest of Hankow in March, 1945. The Japanese set out to gain control of the wheat fields in northern Hupeh and southern Honan and eliminate the Chinese threat to the Peip'ing-Hankow Railway.

[2] A less known road, the "Ledo Road," connecting Myitkyina in Burma with Lungling, was started in 1943 by the United States Army Engineers. This road was called "Gateway to Hell" by the construction gangs, in their more gloomy moments, because every mile of this life line (1,044) cost the life of an American soldier. It was renamed "Stilwell Road" in January, 1945.



Japanese Moves on the Continent of Asia

The last weeks of conflict were brighter for the Chinese. They were encouraged by the victories in Europe and the growing American assistance. The Chinese, in June, 1945, drove the enemy out of Fukien province and also recaptured the American bomber base of Liuchow. Nanking was reoccupied and Japan's overland route to French Indo-China and Singapore was severed. Kweilin was retaken in July.

It was evident before the Allied Powers took the offensive in the Pacific that Japan had made a mistake in using too few men to conquer China. And, now, at the end, the invaders held coastal ports and interior cities but were unable to maneuver far from these areas. The Japanese had won many battles without conquering China. Lieutenant General Yasutsuga Okamura, commander of the Japanese forces in central China, and his superiors in Tokyo realized this fact on August 17, 1945, when negotiations for a surrender were discussed with General Ho Yin-chin, commander in chief of the Chinese Army.[3] Transports of the American 10th Air Force, on September 5, flew Chinese soldiers to Nanking to take over the billets occupied by the Japanese. General Ho on September 9, 1945, accepted the surrender in the auditorium of the Central Military Academy in Nanking.

The Nanking surrender document read: "The Emperor of Japan, the Japanese Government, and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters, having recognized the complete military defeat of the Japanese military forces by the Allied forces and having surrendered unconditionally to the Supreme Commander of the Allied forces, and the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers having directed by his General Order No. 1 that the senior commanders and all ground, sea, air, and auxiliary forces within China (excluding Manchuria), Formosa, and French Indo-China north of sixteen degrees of north latitude shall surrender to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

"We, the Japanese commanders of all Japanese forces and auxiliaries in the areas named above, also recognizing the complete military defeat of the Japanese military forces by the Allied forces, hereby surrender unconditionally all the forces under our command to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. . . . .

"Henceforth, all the Japanese forces hereby surrendered will be subject to the control of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Their movements and activities will be dictated by him and they will obey only the orders and proclamations issued, or authorized, by him or the orders of the Japanese commanders based upon his instructions. . . ."[4]

[3] The map of the Japanese order of battle submitted to General Ho by General Okamura, showed a total of 1,090,000 Japanese troops in China. (See *China at War*, Sept.-Oct., 1945, 37. This publication was one of the magazines put out by the China Information Service)

[4] Chinese casualties were more than 1,800,000 dead and 1,700,000 wounded and missing.

James H. Brady of the American University made a detailed study of the cost of World War II. He estimated this to be $1,154,000,000,000 in armaments and war materials alone. There was no data available on Chinese expenditures. (See *Congressional Record*, December 12, 1945, A5884.)

For the first time in more than eight years the people of China could sing, without fear of Japan, the Flag Song of the Republic:

Men of China proud and free,
Let the star your garment be,
As you plow uneven soil,
Reap the harvest of your toil.

Fight for your land,
Freedom's at hand,
Mankind march on,
Speed ye the dawn.

Heaven blue, sun of white,
Field of red, standard bright.

THE "UNSUNG HEROES"

An ancient Chinese proverb reads: "Though all the world be at peace if the art of war be forgot there is peril." In her unprepared way, China battled against a prepared Japan. The unheralded hero of these struggles was the *Chiupa* or Chinese doughboy. The *Chiupa* was underfed, ignorant of letters, unaware of things political, interested in keeping alive and solacing himself with a little rice, tea, tobacco, or opium. He was of peasant stock, the best man power for the armies because most high school and college students were not accustomed to severe hardships.

The Chinese soldier was not an impressive looking fighter. A potato-masher type of bomb was stowed about him. The large straw hat hanging on his back was camouflaged. Steel helmets were worn by a few. All carried umbrellas and one or two spare pairs of cloth or straw shoes or sandals. Nevertheless, until the victory of the Americans at Guadalcanal, he was the first soldier to defeat the Japanese in open combat. For the first time in modern history, the Chinese soldier marched outside his country to take a stand by the side of his British and American friends in the fierce battle of Toungoo, Burma (March 19–31, 1942).

General Joseph W. Stilwell, when Allied Chief of Staff in China, praised the Chinese fighter. "To me the Chinese soldier best exemplifies the greatness of the Chinese people, their indomitable spirit, their uncomplaining loyalty, their honesty of purpose, their steadfast perseverance. He endures untold privations without a whimper. He follows wherever he is led without question or hesitation and it never occurs to his simple and straightforward mind that he is doing anything heroic. He asks for little and always stands ready to give all."

The Chungking Government attempted to raise the intellectual level of the *Chiupa* by simple educational methods. He was told how to view

himself in relation to the nation and the people. Units in training and in the field received "spiritual talks," in which an outline prepared by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was the text. Officials, civil and military, soldiers and students, were required to recite the 12 rules of conduct, based upon the principles of loyalty, courage, and obedience.

The Chinese guerrillas, especially the famed Eighth Route Army, was given wide publicity during the war. These fighters realized that positional warfare meant defeat and therefore they specialized in unorthodox tactics. Lacking heavy guns effective against Japanese tanks, they buried shells on the roads over which the enemy passed. They manufactured weapons out of rice kettles. The Chinese guerrilla often was a farmer in the morning and a sniper in the night. He chuckled over the Japanese expenditure of 20,000 yen to blow a hole in the ground with bombs which he refilled for ten dollars.

Yenan, headquarters of the Eighth Route Army and the Communists, contained a university. At this center those soldiers with superior qualifications were trained to fight as well as promulgate social ideologies. The citizen soldiers were taught that every Chinese should have sufficient clothes to wear and food to eat, have a fair chance for education and leisure, labor without oppressing others, and strive for freedom and equality.

PUPPET STATES IN CHINA

The Japanese planners of "autonomous" states in China did not characterize the new regimes as "annexations." Overt annexation would have rallied all China against them. The setting up of puppet regimes would bring many a Chinese into their camp, eager for wealth and prestige. They realized that indirect rule was more profitable than direct rule, giving them most of the profits and few of the responsibilities.

The first Japanese inspired organization, the "North China Political Affairs Council" was created in Hopei and Chahar provinces and in the cities of Tientsin and Peip'ing in 1935. The Japanese selected the war lord, Marshal Wu Pei-fu to head the new "state." Marshal Wu was willing to accept this position provided he was permitted to raise a modern army and given guarantees that the Japanese would withdraw from the region in four years. He promised complete economic co-operation with Japan and execution of an anti-Communist policy. Unfortunately for the Japanese, Marshal Wu died, depriving them of their strongest support in the north.

The city of Hankow came under the new masters on November 25, 1938. The victory was symbolized by display of the old five-barred flag by the "Chinese Peace Maintenance Commission." The change in Shanghai was observed on December 14, 1938, when the mayor entertained German and Italian officials. The Canton regime was inaugurated on

December 20 by installation of the "Kwangtung Provincial Government," in Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, shrine of Chinese nationalists.

The headquarters for Japanese control of China was Nanking. It was announced from this city in 1938 that a central government "based upon the will of the people" was to be created. The plan involved a loose federation of Peip'ing, Nanking, Hankow, and Canton. The first blows against British and American interests in these cities were delivered on December 22, 1938, when the United Council of the provisional governments of Peip'ing and Nanking make plans to control all export trade and customs activities. They aimed a second blow at the enemies of Japan on March 30, 1939, by repudiating all loans and credits from foreign powers to the government of Chiang Kai-shek and denouncing all nations assisting Chungking.

Chungking ordered the arrest on January 2, 1939, of all persons participating in these abnormal governments. The decree was directed especially at former premier Wang Ching-wei. Wang had been expelled from the Kuomintang and relieved of his posts for "deserting his position and suing for peace [with Japan] in contradiction to national policy."

The Japanese military authorities in Shanghai proclaimed the establishment of a new government on July 10, 1939, the "All Peoples' Government" (*Chunmin*) or the "Anti-Communist Kuomintang," under the leadership of Wang Ching-wei. The state was described as one which Tokyo desired to make strong in order to use it as a base for the reorganization of Eastern Asia.

The government of Wang Ching-wei came into being with formal ceremonies on March 30, 1940. The chief puppet proclaimed his program: (1) a good neighbor policy in order to obtain independence for China through the channels of diplomacy "for the establishment of permanent peace and a new order in East Asia"; (2) respect for all legitimate rights and interests of friendly powers; (3) co-operation with all friendly powers for defense against the "subversive, peace-disturbing elements of the Communist International"; (4) reorganization of troops for the "pacification" of guerrilla forces and creation of a "national army" in order to "destroy military dictatorships"; (5) the strengthening of public opinion favoring the initiation of democratic government; (6) convocation of a "National Assembly" for enactment of constitutional government; (7) economic reconstruction and industrial development to be extended through the participation of capital and experts from friendly countries; (8) extension of foreign trade and creation of a central banking system; (9) equalization of taxation; and (10) educational reforms based upon anti-Communist ideologies, with emphasis upon scientific training.

Tokyo stated on June 3, 1940, that the "China Incident" now was settled by recognition of the Wang regime. The height of Wang's co-operation occurred on June 18, 1941, when he was received by Emperor Hirohito on the porch of the palace. The emperor warmly shook the hand of the old revolutionist who held for the Son of Heaven paper control of 90,000,000 Chinese.

THE "INCIDENT" AND THE JAPANESE HOME FRONT

Japan entered the war against China convinced that the time had come to exercise leadership throughout Eastern Asia. The Soviet Union was concerned with domestic affairs. Great Britain and the United States were poorly armed.

Yosuke Matsuoka, Japanese representative on the Council of the League of Nations, was the chief civilian mouthpiece of the expansionists. He spoke in 1937 of "constant and hearty co-operation" between his country and China as the only way to "work out the destiny of Asia." He believed that the main barrier to amity was the "drunken orgy of China's own war lords and politicians" and the Communists. "Nippon is out today to put a potter's field cross over these common enemies of the Chinese people and of the lasting peace of Eastern Asia." Japan, Matsuoka repeated, had no quarrel with the people of China. He believed that without Japan there would be no China because the Japanese had beaten back the Russians in 1905 to save China from becoming a "crazy quilt of European colonies." The development of Japan had annoyed the world but all nations in a state of expansion had been criticized. Japanese expansion, however, was as natural as that of the United States and the empire was waging war in order to "keep Asia from becoming another Africa." The Japanese spokesman was fond of telling the story of the two brothers who had inherited a great house called Eastern Asia. Misfortune sent them both to the depths of poverty. The elder brother turned into a rogue and drug addict but the younger, more alert and aggressive, dreamed of recovering ownership of the state. The younger brother began, in rage, to beat the elder in order to induce him to have a sense of shame and pride in his lost heritage. After many such scraps, the younger finally decided to stage a "showdown fight." "And that is the fight now raging" between China, "the elder brother," and Japan, "the younger brother."

During the first months of the "Incident" the people of Japan knew little of the campaigns.[5] The press wrote that the tiff would not last six months, that nothing could stop the efficient Japanese Army advances against the impotent and disorganized Chinese. At the end of the first year, the newspapers spoke more seriously of the conflict. Stories of Chinese unity under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek were printed. Editorials commented upon China's ability to withstand the blows given by the Imperial divisions. When Hankow and Canton fell, the press admitted that these victories would not "bring Chiang to his knees."

The military factions urged on the strong-arm policy for China. The business groups were patriotic but speculated on the effects of expansion upon their economic interests. They feared governmental restrictions on

[5] The Japanese knew nothing of actions such as those printed in H. J. Timperly's *Japanese Terror in China* (1938), the most revealing documentary study of Japanese excesses.

raw materials, and the enforcement of the foreign-exchange license system.

The most glaring mistakes were recognized by the Japanese living on the home front before the attack upon Pearl Harbor. They realized the army had failed to ally itself with any Chinese class or powerful political group. From the beginning of the struggle, Chiang Kai-shek as well as the Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, were criticized. Some of the Japanese politicians were eager to seek an entente with the agricultural and banking interests or the peasantry, but the army brushed these suggestions aside. Propaganda technique was not logical. "Co-operation" was advocated by some and at the same time others recommended the use of violence. Shintōism with its exaltation of the emperor held no appeal for the Chinese although some might have been impressed by ideologies advancing the superiority of the yellow race. Many Japanese officers enriched themselves at the expense of the Chinese and in order to placate their men, tolerated rape and pillage.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESULTS OF THE "CHINA INCIDENT"

By the end of 1937 there were more than 10,000,000 people driven from their homes in the regions held by the Japanese and 90,000,000 remaining in the conquered areas existing under conditions comparable to those of refugees. A systematic destruction of property was initiated in the first month of the war. About four fifth's of the property damaged was accomplished by the Chinese. In the two coastal provinces of Kiangsi and Chekiang alone, damages reached $600,000,000 (silver) by July, 1938.

The cost of living mounted rapidly. The price of rice in June, 1937, was $11.00 (silver) per *shihtan* (175 lbs.); in June, 1945, it was $12,000 (silver) per *shihtan*. A glimpse of Thanksgiving Day, 1942, and the soaring values was furnished by a missionary living in Chengtu: "The American community always eats together upon that occasion. . . . For years the housewives in charge made an effort to produce the traditional menu, but this year it seemed not only not right but almost impossible. One chicken was priced at $200.00 mex. ($10.00 U. S.); coffee was $400.00 mex. ($20.00 U. S.) the pound. So we had a sort of hamburger steak, two vegetables, and squash pie. At the very end, one generous soul produced his last tin of coffee . . . and it was solemnly exhibited to a cheering crowd before the drink was made. While it was boiling, some one started to open a window but was howled down with cries, 'We want to smell it!' "

Higher education suffered great losses. Before the "Incident" there were 113 institutions of university or college status. By the summer of 1938, 82 of these were in war or occupied zones and 54 had been either totally destroyed or seriously damaged. Five of the 17 national universities were located in Peip'ing. These were occupied or looted by the Japa-

nese. The two national and five private universities, and the one national and seven private colleges in Shanghai, had losses estimated at $5,000,000 (U. S.). The Sinological Library of Nanking, containing the most valuable collection of Chinese books in the world, was destroyed. Nankai University, Tientsin, and four others were burned to the ground. The University College of Arts and Sciences of Soochow was wrecked and the College of Law was razed. The Christian College at Hangchow was burned. Eleven universities and six colleges only were open by 1939.

The war between China and Japan eradicated many of the old conventional patterns which were rewoven into new designs. (1) The family system was undermined. Many a Chinese placed country before family obligations. (2) The supernatural in religion declined. There was interest in the socially useful religions. Scores of temples were converted into shops. (3) There was respect for the pragmatic instead of the purely cultural activities. Science was more and more appreciated. The farmers of China, in the words of Edgar Snow, saw airplanes "flying overhead and dropping death, and realize there is a lot going on in a world Confucius never knew." (4) The status of the soldier rose. (5) The development of a national spoken language made rapid progress and accelerated political unity. Mass migrations, the concentration of schools from the different provinces in one center, constant travel, and use of the radio all enriched Chinese life. (6) The attitude of the student toward manual labor changed. Instead of the "long gown" (white collar) aloofness, students applied for jobs on farms and in labor corps. (7) The feeling of self-respect grew. A new interest in world affairs was noticeable. There was a consciousness that China was an important part of the family of nations.

38 War in the Pacific

PRELUDE TO STRIFE

The entente of June 10, 1907, between France and Japan, in which the two governments agreed upon a most-favored-nation arrangement in French Indo-China, was a fulcrum in the machinery of the Tokyo expansionists. Japan, after the signing of the agreement, took an active interest in French Indo-China. This colony, possessing limited means of prosecuting a war, far distant from Paris, and containing valuable undeveloped resources, was coveted by a Japan eager to gain land and raw materials.

The first overt move to gain a foothold in Indo-China was made in 1939 when Hainan Island was taken over. The Japanese Army on December 23 announced that troops had reached the border of Indo-China in order to cut the supply lines to China. The French military leaders in the colony, however, were confident that the 20,000 French and 100,000 native troops were equipped with sufficient artillery and light arms to offer resistance to any land attacks. Civilian officials and private individuals were not as optimistic. They had lost their savings in Paris banks. They no longer held the respectful fear of servants. They had grown soft in comfortable bureaus and to obey Vichy meant a continuation of pensions. Many knew that white prestige was suffering its most humiliating defeat since the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905.

The Japanese were not long in wresting control out of French hands. The new masters were "permitted" to maintain troops in Tongking by an agreement signed on October 22, 1940.[1] Japan increased imperial banknote circulation by having the Bank of Indo-China issue notes printed in Tokyo. Civilians poured into the cities. All elective bodies were abolished except a small hand-picked faction amenable to the designers of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere." Indo-China was ready to serve as a springboard for invasion of Singapore, Siam, Burma, and Malaya.

Arrangements had been completed in 1940 for American and British firms to fill 40 per cent of all Japanese oil needs for six months. At the end of this period, economic warfare began. The Netherlands Indies fol-

[1] General Georges Catroux, Governor General of Indo-China, requested planes and guns from the United States. He was informed on June 20, 1940, that Washington "did not believe that it could enter into a conflict with Japan and that furthermore it would take no action if this power attacked Indo-China." (See documents, New York *Times*, August 2, 1945.)

lowed the United States and Great Britain in freezing all Japanese assets and hoped that a fleet of "mosquito" boats could guard the coasts until American aid arrived. Netherlands patrol planes observed Japanese warships and transports at the entrance to the Gulf of Siam on November 30, 1941. Naval units were sent out, because of distrust of Japanese plans during the peace conversations in Washington. Alfred Duff Cooper, British Co-ordinator for the Far East, stopped off at Batavia on November 30, en route to Singapore, and expressed the belief that "the Japanese were only drawing out negotiations with the United States to gain time." Immediately following the attack on Pearl Harbor and the bombing of Singapore, the Netherlands Government in London declared war on the empire of Japan.

The march of the Japanese on the continent of Asia was a stimulant for defense plans in the United States. Great Britain, too, saw the need to rearm. The creation of Manchukuo in 1932 in which Japan flouted the League of Nations caused the United States and Great Britain to take stock of changing conditions. There was some talk in London and Washington that they would soon be called "to fight it out" with those countries antagonistic to their ways of life.

The Japanese and Chinese clashed near Peip'ing on July 7, 1937. Public opinion in the United States was mildly sympathetic to the Chinese. When some Americans were killed on ships flying the Stars and Stripes, sentiment clamored for the withdrawal of Americans from all zones of danger. Yet President Roosevelt did not invoke the Neutrality Act of 1937, fearing that the move would injure China more than Japan. The American executive made a vigorous speech in Chicago on October 5, 1937, in which he said that the aggressors in "international lawlessness" who were leading the world into "international anarchy" should be quarantined. "There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace."

Faced with dangers, Belgium invited the powers to discuss mutual problems at a conference in Brussels. Eighteen countries expressed willingness to participate. Germany and Japan were not among those seeking co-operation. The conference, meeting from November 3 to November 24, 1937, failed to accomplish anything constructive. All felt that force alone could block Japan.

An "incident" marked Japanese-American relations on December 12, 1937. Japanese pilots bombed the *U.S.S. Panay,* in the Yangtze River, killing 2 and wounding 30. Foreign Minister Hirota immediately called upon Ambassador Joseph C. Grew in Tokyo, apologized, and declared the Japanese commander had taken upon himself complete responsibility. Some American newspapers said that the affair was far more significant than the sinking of the *Maine* by the Spanish but calmness characterized most of the comments. The Yangtze River was far from American shores.

Japan moved to break the position of the Occidentals in China in June, 1939, by blockading the British Concession in Tientsin. Washington protested that actions of this nature would not be recognized. And then, without warning, the Department of State informed Tokyo on

July 26 that the commercial treaty of 1911 was not to be renewed when it expired at the end of six months. The Japanese were surprised by this stand, realizing that war supplies would be cut off from the United States.

The Japanese-American commercial treaty lapsed in January, 1940. There was no reason why Washington could not place an embargo upon all shipments to Japan but President Roosevelt hesitated, fearing Japanese retaliation in the direction of the weak Netherlands Indies. Japan, faced with a loss of "face," saw now an opportunity to take advantage of French defeats and British confusion. Foreign Minister Arita stated on April 15, 1940, that his government was "deeply concerned" over any changes in the Netherlands Indies. Secretary of State Hull replied that Washington also was not in favor of any changes except through peaceful means.

Japan announced on September 27, 1940, the signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany and Italy. Despite the fact that many felt this move was one of bluff, within two weeks the Department of State advised all American civilians to leave Eastern Asia. Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka stated on January 29, 1941, that Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura was to be sent as Ambassador to the United States to emphasize "what a catastrophe to humanity American entry into the war would mean." The new envoy, naval attaché in Washington from 1914 to 1918, and a friend of many senior American naval officers, was given a gloomy send-off by the Japanese press which had little faith that the amiable Nomura could change American opinion in regard to the Axis link and Japanese determination to be recognized as the "stabilizing factor" in Asia.

No secret was made in Japan at this time of war preparations. Pressure from the army and navy upon the Imperial Diet forced through extensive control measures, including a new National Security Defense Bill providing that even unwary official statements to foreign journalists could be interpreted as criminal offenses. American and British business men in Shanghai liquidated their interests. Australia and New Zealand were warned by London that anything could happen.

Admiral Nomura gave his first press conference in Washington on February 19, 1941. He expressed the belief that there would be no war provided the United States refrained from taking the initiative. This reassuring opinion was forgotten on February 21 when Foreign Minister Matsuoka declared that the continued preparations of the Anglo-American forces in the South Pacific were creating a situation "attended by considerable danger."

England too was not satisfied with Japanese movements in Southeast Asia. The situation was discussed on February 24 by Prime Minister Churchill and the Japanese Ambassador, Mamoru Shigemitsu. The Japanese diplomat stressed his faith in the Axis alliance and made it clear that the agreement was not directed against Great Britain. The neutrality pact between Japan and the Soviet Union was published on April 13.

This understanding gave the Japanese militarists the opportunity they had long sought, an advance into the southern regions.

The Konoye Cabinet fell in July, 1941, rebuffed by the military faction. In Europe Russia had been driven back. France had passed into the hands of Hitler. Tokyo demanded more concessions from Indo-China. President Roosevelt ordered the freezing of Japanese funds in the United States. Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada followed the same course. Tokyo answered by blocking American assets in Japan. There was war with everything except guns. And at sea on the Atlantic, in the meeting between the Americans and British in August, President Roosevelt was convinced that any warnings given to Japan "might hold off war for at least 30 days."

The reinstated Konoye Cabinet was defeated in October, 1941. General Tojo came to the front. He talked vaguely of a "peace with justice" and the patriotic press spoke of advancing along the road toward the "New Order in East Asia." The *Japan Times Advertiser* on October 10 commented upon the "menacing machine" of the United States and Great Britain built to be used against them. The official news agency, *Domei,* issued a statement on November 1 stating that Japan was completing its plans for a war now believed to be "inevitable," to be averted only if the United States discontinued economic pressure upon the empire. This statement was followed by one from Premier General Tojo who made it clear that a time limit had been placed upon the talks in Washington.

Negotiations brightened on November 6 after the news was received that Saburo Kurusu, a leading diplomat, and one with an American wife, was to be sent to assist Nomura. Tenseness settled again on November 10 over the words of Minister of Finance, Okinori Kaya, that Japan's purpose was to "force Britain and the United States to retreat from East Asia." The same day, Prime Minister Churchill informed the world that Great Britain would declare war upon Japan "within the hour" if the United States found conflict inevitable.

At the beginning of negotiations, the State Department had stipulated that the principles for discussion should include: "(1) Respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of each and all nations. (2) Support of the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries. (3) Support of the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity. (4) Nondisturbance of the *status quo* in the Pacific except as the *status quo* may be altered by peaceful means."

The Japanese replied that they too were anxious for peace but were blocked by embargoes and by the aid furnished China. Tokyo made one conciliatory gesture on November 20 by offering to transfer its forces from southern Indo-China to the north in return for American cooperation in obtaining commodities from the Netherlands Indies, the abrogation of all freezing orders, the restoration of the commercial treaty, the supplying of oil and the cessation of "such measures and actions as would be prejudicial to the endeavors for the restoration of general peace

between Japan and China." Tokyo was willing to evacuate all troops from Indo-China when peace came to the Pacific and agreed to make no moves of an armed nature into southeastern Asia or the South Pacific.

President Roosevelt saw war not far away in these November days. He believed it could be begun on American terms, after diplomatic channels were closed. The military was to be strengthened. The navy was to be augmented. Singapore was to be consolidated. Then, the United States could throw down the gauntlet and win as all American victories in the past had been won.

The State Department on November 18, 1941, is said to have suggested that the United States aid in the transfer of some or all of New Guinea to Japan, provided Tokyo evacuated China. The story of this and other purported secret negotiations[2] is told by one of the unofficial emissaries between the White House and the British and Japanese Embassies, E. Stanley Jones, a distinguished missionary, who was assisted by Dr. O. G. Robinson, pastor of the Calvary Methodist Church, Washington, D. C.

The State Department sent a final note to Japan on November 26. Tokyo was to take all forces out of China and Indo-China, aid the government of Chiang Kai-shek, and enter into a multilateral pact for maintenance of peace in Eastern Asia. The United States in return promised to give the Japanese a satisfactory commercial agreement, unfreeze all assets, assist in the stabilization of the dollar-yen exchange rate and urge the abolition of extraterritoriality in China.

The Japanese on December 1, declined to accept these "fantastic" American proposals, although they unofficially sought to have the talks continue. Neither nation was willing to compromise. The United States stood for total Japanese evacuation of China. Japan, in the midst of a costly war with China, would lose prestige if weakness were displayed. Japan's intentions were at last clear to all. Troops were being concentrated in Indo-China. President Roosevelt requested Tokyo on December 2 to explain this armed action and followed it with an unprecedented personal note to the Emperor on December 6, asking that peace be upheld by taking all forces out of Indo-China. The Japanese replied on December 7 that "the proposal in question ignores Japan's sacrifices in the four years of the China affair, menaces the Empire's existence itself and disparages its honor and prestige."

The destruction of American vessels at Pearl Harbor on that sleepy morning of December 7, 1941, brought an end to wavering policies. Senator Wheeler, staunch isolationist said that "the only thing now to do is to lick hell out of them." The United States Senate on December 8, by a vote of 82 to 0, passed a resolution that a state of war had been "thrust upon the United States." The House passed this resolution by a vote of 388 to 1, the only "nay" being greeted with boos and hisses when given by Representative Jeanette Rankin of Montana who had voted the same way in 1917.

China and Great Britain formally declared war on the empire of Japan on December 9. The Allied Powers thus gave answer to Pearl Harbor.

[2] *Asia* magazine, "Asia and America," D. . 9 194[illegible]

JAPANESE CONQUEST, 1939–1941

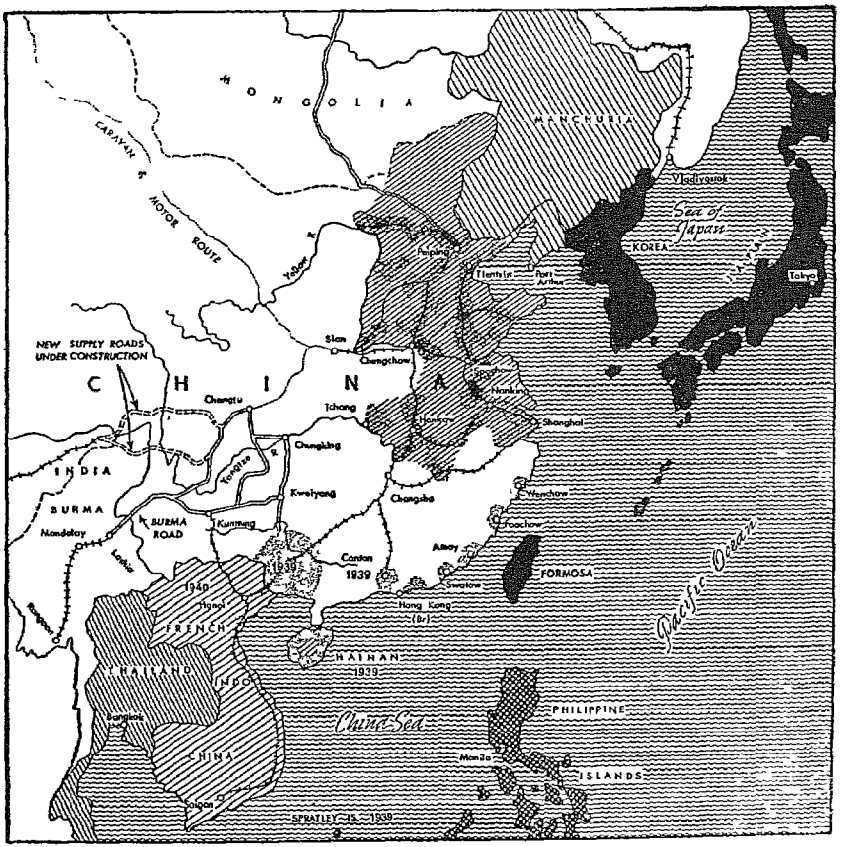
1939 February 10—Occupation of Hainan
March 31—Annexation of Spratley Islands

1940 June 19—Vichy French Indo-China stops war supplies to China
July 16—English close Burma Road
August 9—British withdraw from Shanghai and North China
October 8—Burma Road to be reopened

1941 May 9—Thailand-Indo-China Peace (Tokyo)
July 2—China breaks with Axis
July 28—Japanese land in Indo-China

As Chinese hesistance slowed down the campaign, the Japanese decided to strangle her into submission by cutting off all her supply lines on which the necessary tools of war were brought in.

After Japan joined the Axis (in September 1940) she began to call the areas she hoped to dominate "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." Through German influence at Vichy, Indo-China was made a part of the "Sphere" without incident. This move placed Japan in a position to strike at China from the south and to threaten the wealth of the Netherlands Indies from the north.



MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC

The Malay Campaign

The attack on the Malay Peninsula was as sudden as that upon Pearl Harbor. Before the evening of December 8, Siam had fallen. The enemy on December 9, moved into the region of Kota Bharu, the air base in northeastern Malaya. By December 17, Japanese forces had landed in British Borneo and crossed the Muda River. The British made an orderly retreat and organized a new line in northwest Malaya, south of the Krian River in Perak State. British Sarawak on Borneo was relinquished to the invaders on January 1, 1942. The Japanese, including the Fifth Division, veterans of the Chinese campaigns, landed along the Malayan coast in the region of Kuala Selangor, in order to force the defenders to evacuate their northern positions.

Japanese heavy tank and motor contingents severed the British lines in the upper Selangor State on January 9 and closed in on Kuala Lumpur, the route to Singapore, where English, Scots, Australians, Sikhs, Moslems, Gurkhas, and Malayans awaited them. Bombers struck the first heavy blows at Singapore on January 18, 1942, and two days later the Japanese had fought their way to within 20 miles of the fortress. The enemy threw all available troops into the assault on the island. The exhausted British Imperials gave up on the mainland of Malaya on January 31, and retreated to the besieged island. The great naval base was emptied of its men and ships, and the commanding officer, Lieutenant General A. E. Percival, proclaimed that "our task is to hold this fortress until help can come, as assuredly it will come."

The big guns on the north shore began to fire across the Strait of Johore at enemy communications on February 1. Singapore, the "City of the Lions," was at bay. Japanese shock troops on the 8th gained a hold on Ubin Island, at the eastern approach to the Strait of Johore. This landing was the beginning of the bloody end. Lieutenant General Tomoyuki Yamashita, Japanese commander, signed leaflets which were scattered over the city from planes, exhorting the besieged to surrender. Refusing to listen, the British fought with their backs to the gates. For three days courage held the city. And then, on February 15, 1942, Singapore, capable of resisting attacks from the seas but impotent in the face of movements from the jungles and from the air, came under Japanese control, to be renamed Shonan, "Light of the South."

The First Battle of the Philippines

The strength of the Philippines was a question of debate in the days between the two world wars. The test came on December 9, 1941, when Japanese bombers attacked Nichols Field, army air base, outside Manila,

and enemy troops landed on Lubang Island, 60 miles from the capital. On that afternoon, Fort Stotsenburg, the air base of Clark Field and the naval base of Cavite were bombed.

Manila, declared an "open city," was struck heavily from the air on December 27. General Douglas MacArthur, Commander in Chief of the United States forces in Eastern Asia, withdrew on the 28th to a position in South Luzon, about 30 miles from Manila and also evacuated most of Laguna province. The Japanese advanced rapidly and on January 2, 1942, entered the ruined naval base of Cavite. The Americans moved into Bataan, the peninsular province west of Manila Bay, and into the provinces of Pampanga and Zambales.

The Japanese launched an air attack upon Corregidor Island, the fortress defending Manila Bay. Specially trained units, parts of six divisions (150,000), supported by artillery and planes, were thrown against the American mobile lines in Bataan province. The enemy was determined by continuous assaults to crush the defenders, regardless of costs. The morale of the Americans would have been higher if planes had been sent to aid them.

The pressure of the enemy became strong on January 18. General Yamashita, victor in Malaya and Singapore, was sent on March 9 to replace General Masaharu Homma.[3] General MacArthur was named Supreme Commander of the Allied ground forces in the southwest Pacific on March 17, an announcement released at the time the general reached Australia, after a dramatic escape from the Philippines in a patrol torpedo boat. Lieutenant General Jonathan M. Wainwright was given command in the Islands. Five days later, the Japanese sent an ultimatum demanding surrender, "in accordance with the humanitarian principles of 'Bushido.'" In the last week of March almost continuous bombing of Corregidor Island and night raids indicated the big drive was near.

The defenders were forced back on April 1, although they repulsed with bayonets a powerful assault. Landing units were routed on April 5, and 5,000 of the 10,000 shock troops of the Japanese Empire were killed, yet new penetrations were wearing down the little band of Americans and Filipinos—36,853 opposing 200,000. The end at Bataan came officially at 5:15 A.M. on April 9, 1942, for the exhausted and sick and starving garrison which had withstood 15 days and nights of increasing battle and a total of 98 days of bitter warfare.

As the final hours of agony approached, a contingent was able to reach the fortress of Corregidor, where General Wainwright directed the defense from headquarters deep in the rocks. The Japanese shells, 9½ inches

[3] General Yamashita, first among the Asiatic war criminals, was hanged on February 23, 1946. In his military will, he confessed that in his opinion Japan had lost the war before the use of long-range bombers and the atom bomb. (New York *Times*, March 25, 1946.)

During the trial of General Homma, it was disclosed that the order for invasion of the Philippines was received in Homma's headquarters on November 20, 1941, 18 days before the attack on Pearl Harbor. General Homma was executed on April 3, 1946, for being responsible for the "Death March" which resulted in the death of 17,200 American and Filipino prisoners of war.

in diameter, fell upon Corregidor. The fortress received on April 27 its 250th air raid from dive bombers. The enemy landed on May 5, and the following day all organized resistance ceased when the 10,000 emaciated Americans and Filipinos on Corregidor and the near-by island forts of Hughes, Drum and Frank, hoisted the white flag.[4] The first battle of the Philippines, saddest in all American history, was ended.

The Second Battle of the Philippines

General MacArthur and Admiral Chester Nimitz, the American theater commanders in the Pacific, in April, 1944, agreed upon integrated plans for operations to recover the Philippines. The Japanese, in August, began to shift reinforcements into the Philippines, preparing for the American blows. Allied aerial attacks upon the Islands were increased and by the end of August, the enemy air force evacuated southern Mindanao. Carriers and surface craft from Admiral William F. Halsey's fleet struck Mindanao on September 6. Carrier planes set upon Cebu, Negros, and Panay Islands at the same time. Manila Bay was attacked on September 21–22, 1944, by carrier-based planes. By September 24, Japanese naval strength in the Philippines was broken.

American troops, 250,000 strong, on October 19, 1944, supported by naval power and Filipino guerrillas, landed on Leyte Island. Four days later, the capital of the island, Tacloban, became the temporary seat of the Philippine Commonwealth Government and was occupied by General MacArthur and President Sergio Osmena.

The remnants of the Japanese Navy were attacked by carrier planes from the Third Fleet in the Philippines on October 24. The Imperial Fleet was defeated and the American Navy thus placed in control of the Pacific Ocean. In this battle of Leyte Gulf, the Americans lost one light cruiser, two escort carriers, two destroyers, one destroyer escort, and some small craft. The Japanese lost 58 vessels sunk or damaged, including two battleships, four carriers, six heavy cruisers, three light cruisers, and three large destroyers.

The Japanese, in November, threw in picked men to stop the advances. The attempts to reinforce the Leyte theater ("Yamashita Line") were of no avail and 21,000 Japanese were lost in efforts to land at Ormoc, where hundreds of them perished in suicide charges. Ormoc, last center on Leyte for the landing of reinforcements, fell to the Americans on December 10. The Leyte theater, Radio Tokyo admitted, was the "decisive battle in which we cannot withdraw even a single step, for we have burned our bridges behind us."

The Americans landed on the Batangas coast of Luzon, 41 miles from

[4] General Homma stated on September 15, 1945, that the Corregidor defenses were strong and that he was about to cease the offensive here when the Americans surrendered. General Wainwright had difficulty in persuading Homma to accept the surrender and the Japanese shelled the island for 24 hours after the white flag was displayed. (New York *Times*, January 22, 1946.)

Manila, on February 2, 1945, to put the capital between two armies. First Cavalry Division detachments entered Manila on February 4. Cavite was seized on February 14. After three weeks of intense combat, the battle for Manila ended on February 24, 1945. About 12,000 Japanese were killed in the "Old City" (Intramuros) alone.[5]

With the words, "hoist the colors and let no enemy ever haul them down," General MacArthur on March 2 raised the flag on Corregidor. By April 21, the central Philippines were freed of the enemy. The Americans captured Santa Fe, center for defense of the Cagayan Valley, "bread basket of Luzon," on May 26. The Congress of the Philippines met on June 8 in Manila for the first time since the invasion. General MacArthur on June 28 proclaimed the liberation of Luzon, 5 months and 19 days after the landing at Lingayen Gulf (January 9, 1945). All the Islands were declared to have been recaptured on July 5 in the "greatest disaster ever sustained by Japanese arms."

Siam

Siam was attacked by the Japanese on December 8, 1941. The enemy entered by the sea routes at Singora, Surat, Dhani, Nakorn Sridharmarat, Pattani, and Praachuab Khirikhan in the southern peninsula, Bang Pu near the mouth of the Menam Chao Phya River, and by land in the east by way of Battambang and Cambodia, French Indo-China. For a short time, the gendarmerie made a move to resist. The Siamese Navy remained at anchor. The Siamese Air Force was grounded. Forty-eight hours after the war began, the Japanese were using five air fields in southern Siam.

The Netherlands Indies

Eastern Java, defended by Americans and Netherlanders, awaited the Japanese. Surabaya, chief naval base, was bombed on February 3, 1942. For the first time since December 7, United States fighter planes engaged in the defense on February 4. Batavia was attacked by planes on February 9. Troops landed on February 10 near Macassar for a pincers movement against Surabaya.

The Japanese had spearheads by March 5 within 13 miles of Batavia and 30 miles from Bandung, mountain fringed headquarters of the Netherlands army and base for defense of the interior. The exhausted garrison retreated to Bandung for a last stand, facing an enemy five times their strength. American bombers abandoned the island for lack of fighter plane support. The Japanese broke through the northern defenses

[5] Japanese officers ordered the execution or suicide of most of the 82,012 wounded. The conquest of Leyte and Samar Islands cost Japan 136,173 casualties. American casualties in the Second Battle of the Philippines were: 11,921 killed, 42,569 wounded, and 410 missing, a total of 54,891. About 420,000 Japanese were killed, including members of the 16th Imperial Division, in charge of the "Death March" from Bataan.

of Bandung on March 7. At 7:55 A.M. on March 8, the radio broadcast its last brave message: "We are now shutting down. Good-bye—until better times. Long live the Queen!"

Burma Theater

The Allied Powers were not long in seeking co-operative tactics after the attack upon Pearl Harbor. A "unified command" in the Southwest Pacific theater was announced on January 3, 1942, by making General Sir Archibald P. Wavell, commander in India and Burma, the Supreme Commander of all the Allied forces in the area. General Wavell was aided by Major General George H. Brett, Chief of the United States Air Corps, as deputy supreme commander, and Admiral Thomas C. Hart of the United States Navy, in charge of all naval forces in the region.

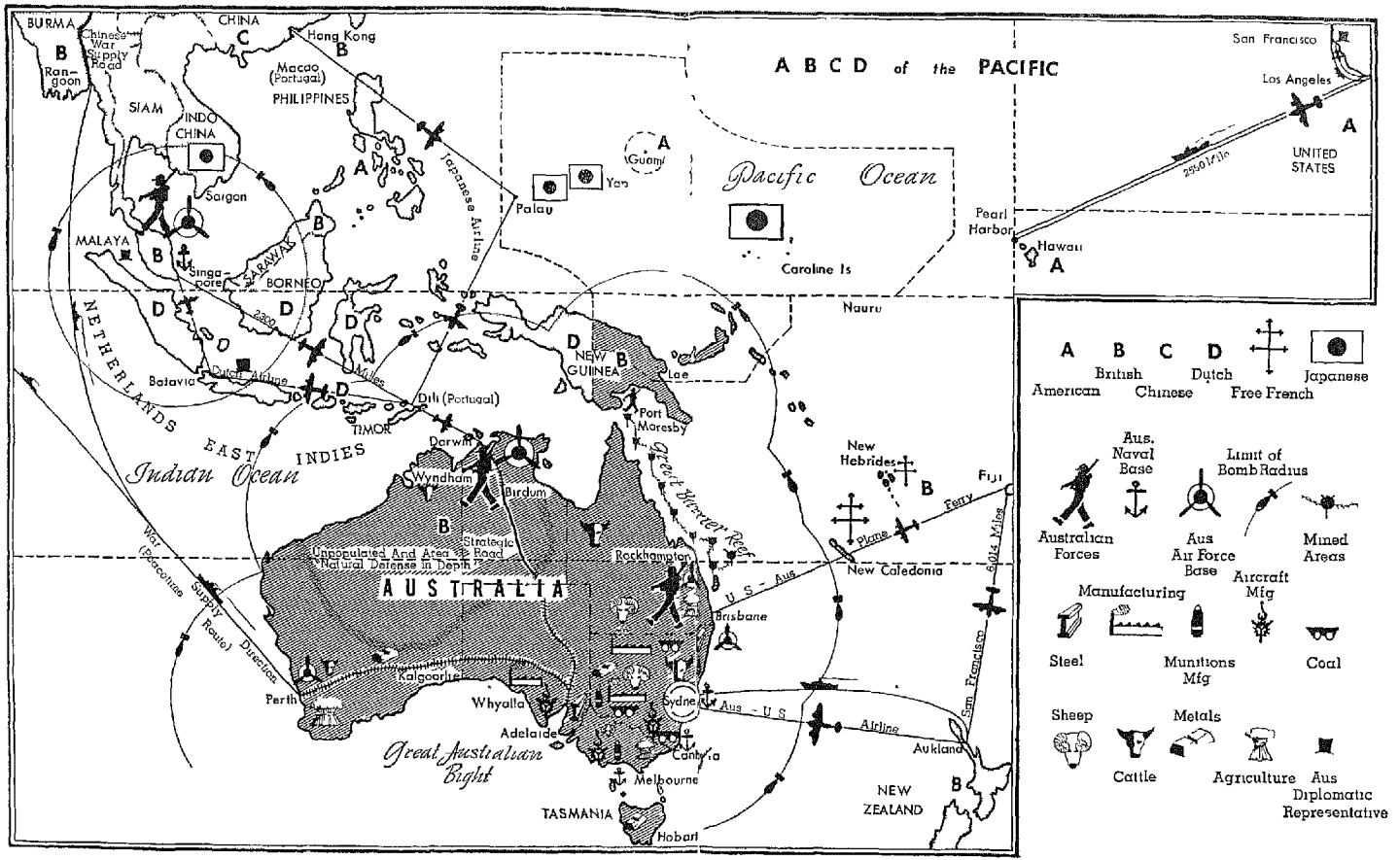
The British strengthened Burma in January, 1942, expecting the Japanese border patrol activities and air raids to develop into a major offensive. Imperial troops met the Japanese on January 16 at Myitta, 15 miles from the Siamese border. The enemy moved swiftly. Tavoy, a coastal port, was taken on January 19. At the same time, Siamese troops, under Japanese command, invaded Burma near Myawaddi, on the northern frontier. In order to counteract these penetrations, Chinese troops took positions on the eastern border, after a 1,000-mile march.

The Japanese, some of whom used elephants, moved without great opposition. By January 21, almost one third of lower Burma had been crossed. The vital port of Moulmein, defending the Burma Road, was lost on January 31. Martaban fell on February 12, despite the courage of the Gurkhas who failed to break the enemy lines. The seizure of Martaban left the Japanese a clear road along the coastal and railway routes to Rangoon.

Five thousand Japanese in a 16 ship convoy, seized Akyab on April 2, 1942. The following day, Prome was seized, giving the Japanese control of the Rangoon railroad. On the night of April 4, the city of Mandalay was laid waste by Japanese bombers who roared through the skies unmolested. It was admitted in London on April 13 that the British now were fighting rear-guard actions only to give India time to prepare for the invasion. The Japanese entered Lashio, terminus of the Burma Road, on April 29, to drive a wedge between India and China. Mandalay was occupied on May 2, and here General Joseph W. Stilwell and his Chinese met the enemy. The Japanese crossed the Indian border near Paletwo, 90 miles north of Akyab, on May 7, 1942.

The Allies Take the Offensive in Burma

The British did not lose hope after the loss of Burma. General Harold Alexander, when asked on May 30, 1942, in his New Delhi headquarters,


A B C D of the PACIFIC
BURMA
Chinese War Supply Road
Ran-goon
CHINA
Hong Kong
Macao (Portugal)
PHILIPPINES
SIAM
INDO CHINA
Saigon
MALAYA
Singa-pore
SARAWAK
BORNEO
NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES
Batavia
Dutch Airline
2230 Miles
TIMOR
Dili (Portugal)
Japanese Airline
Palau
Yap
Guam
Pacific Ocean
Caroline Is
Nauru
NEW GUINEA
Lae
Port Moresby
Darwin
Wyndham
Birdum
Indian Ocean
Great Barrier Reef
Unpopulated And Area Natural Defense in Depth
Strategic Road
AUSTRALIA
Rockhampton
Brisbane
War (Peacetime) Supply Route) Direction
Kalgoorlie
Perth
Whyalla
Adelaide
Sydney
Canberra
Melbourne
Great Australian Bight
TASMANIA
Hobart
New Hebrides
Fiji
Ferry
Plane
New Caledonia
6014 Miles
U S - Aus
Aus - U S
San Francisco
Airline
Aukland
NEW ZEALAND
San Francisco
Los Angeles
2540 Mile
UNITED STATES
Pearl Harbor
Hawaii
A B C D
American
British
Chinese
Dutch
Free French
Japanese
Aus. Naval Base
Limit of Bomb Radius
Australian Forces
Aus Air Force Base
Mined Areas
Aircraft Mfg
Manufacturing
Steel
Munitions Mfg
Coal
Sheep
Metals
Cattle
Agriculture
Aus Diplomatic Representative

about Burma, was quick to reply: "Of course we shall take Burma back; it's part of the British Empire."

The Burma offensive began on December 20, 1942, when British troops advanced to a position 60 miles from Akyab. The Japanese in the west lost heavily in March, 1943, in efforts to destroy the British north of Akyab. American bombers struck against the key enemy air field at Maiktila. By April, it was clear that Allied failure to recapture Akyab before the monsoon rains began made it necessary to withdraw to India and gain strength for a new campaign.

The final Burma campaign was announced in August, 1943. A separate Allied Southeast Asia Command was given to Lord Louis Mountbatten. Lieutenant General Brehon B. Sommerville, chief of the United States Army Services Forces and Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell, commander of American forces in the China-Burma-India theater, reached New Delhi in October, 1943, to aid Lord Mountbatten plan the drive. The large Chinese army in India, equipped with American supplies, was being prepared to march into Burma. Eighteen months after being pushed out of Burma, General Stilwell landed early in January, 1944, on a jungle air-strip in the Hukawng Valley of North Burma to reconnoitre for his American-trained Chinese fighters.

Units of American infantry, veterans of Guadalcanal and the southwest Pacific, under General Stilwell, went into action for the first time on the continent of Asia in the first week of March, 1944. These hardened soldiers, the "Merrill's Marauders," trapped 2,000 of the enemy near Maingkwan, chief center of the invaders in the Kukawng Valley. Anglo-Indian troops also scored a victory on March 13 by capturing Buthedawng, making possible the opening of extensive operations against Akyab. American gliders and transport planes landed British and Indians 150 miles behind the Japanese lines in northcentral Burma.

Commandos dropped from gliders on April 1, severed the main roads north and south in the region of Myitkyina, enemy base in north Burma. This gain was offset, however, by the Japanese penetration of the Imphal-Kohima road into Manipur, 40 miles from the Bengal-Assam Railway, supply line for General Stilwell.[6] By April 13, Anglo-Indians were encountering Japanese hand to hand northwest of Imphal. The enemy grip on Kohima was broken on April 19 and the battle for mastery of the State of Manipur favored the Allied Powers. The isolation of Manipur ended in June, 1944, after three months of fierce jungle conflict.

The first stage of the campaign to reconquer north Burma and connect with India by linking the Ledo and Burma Roads, began in May, 1944, when 20,000 Chinese crossed the Salween River. At the same time, the main aerodrome of Myitkyina was seized by "Merrill's Marauders," after a 25-day march of one hundred miles over 8,000-foot mountains between the Hukawng Valley and the valley of the upper Irrawaddy. The

[6] The Japanese were aided by Indians under Subhas Chandra Bose, head of the "National Indian Freedom Movement." These forces aimed to conquer the State of Manipur and use the region in order to consolidate their position for a later campaign in India.

Chinese on May 23, moving along the Salween, severed the Burma Road at Chefang and cut off the supplies for the Japanese operating in Yunnan province, southwest China. General Stilwell's Chinese forces gained control of Warong on May 27, to encircle the strongest enemy troops remaining in north Burma.

The Japanese lost Myitkyina on August 4. The capture of this last large enemy base in north Burma made possible a contact between India and China. The Japanese retreated toward Mandalay in the final days of November, 1944, without offering great opposition to the British. The Chinese seized Bhamo, terminus of the Burmese-Chinese caravan route and center for supplies shipped from Rangoon on the Irrawaddy River, on December 15.

The last enemy resistance at the junction of the Ledo and Burma Roads, Mongyu, was blotted out by the middle of January, 1945, and traffic with China was resumed. British tanks and artillery crossed the Irrawaddy and moved toward Mandalay. Gurhkas stormed the top of Mandalay Hill on March 9. The Japanese 15th Army in central Burma, 50,000 strong, was written off as no longer "an effective fighting force" on April 7.

The final operations in the Burma campaign were rapid. British and Indian tanks and infantry captured Yenangyaung on the Irrawaddy, second largest oil center, on April 25. The following day, Toungoo was entered by forces who had traveled 60 miles in three days. British amphibious troops landed 20 miles south of Rangoon on May 2 to join with the 14th Army, north of the capital. These captured the city on May 3. The three years' war for liberation of Burma was almost ended. The Allies made quick thrusts to block the remnants of the invaders, some 62,000, who attempted to escape capture and death by retreating into Siam. This move failed and by July 28, the Japanese Imperial Army (28th) was destroyed.

The surrender of the Japanese did not stop the fighting in lower Burma until August 24, when the enemy began to lay down their arms before the arrival of the Tokyo mission at Abya to acknowledge the end of war in this theater.

The New Guinea and Solomon Islands Campaigns

Operations in the southwest Pacific were based upon defense of Australia. With control of Australia, the Japanese would have held mastery of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

New Guinea held the position in the East that Tunisia did in the West. Occupation of this area, with the Solomons, was the path to New Britain and the Bismarck Archipelago. From here, the Allied path was clear to Truk, Guam, and Yap. With these held, a wedge was driven between Wake and the Marshall Islands and the Philippines.

The first Allied attack against New Guinea was made on January 21,

1942. Land forces entered Lae on March 7. Troops were landed at Buna and Gona on the north coast in order to drive by way of the Owen Stanley Range to Port Moresby. The Japanese had hoped to capture Port Moresby, capital of Papua, New Guinea, by September 21. The first part of the campaign was the move through the Owen Stanleys from Buna and Gona. The second part was planned to be the seizure of Milne Bay and a drive along the southern coast. The third move was to be naval penetration.

The first drive was blocked at Eoribaiwa Ridge. The landing at Milne Bay was checked in August and September, 1942. The naval thrust was foiled in the Battle of the Coral Sea.

The Japanese reeled from these three blows. The survivors of Milne Bay fled. The larger forces at Gona and Sanananda and Buna battled frantically for three months. The Japanese then attempted to capture Wau. This was the pivot which held the invaders in a small theater near Lae and Salamaua. These operations were followed by a seven months campaign in which the Japanese used some of their best soldiers to break through the mountainous terrain. Small Australian units exacted a heavy toll.

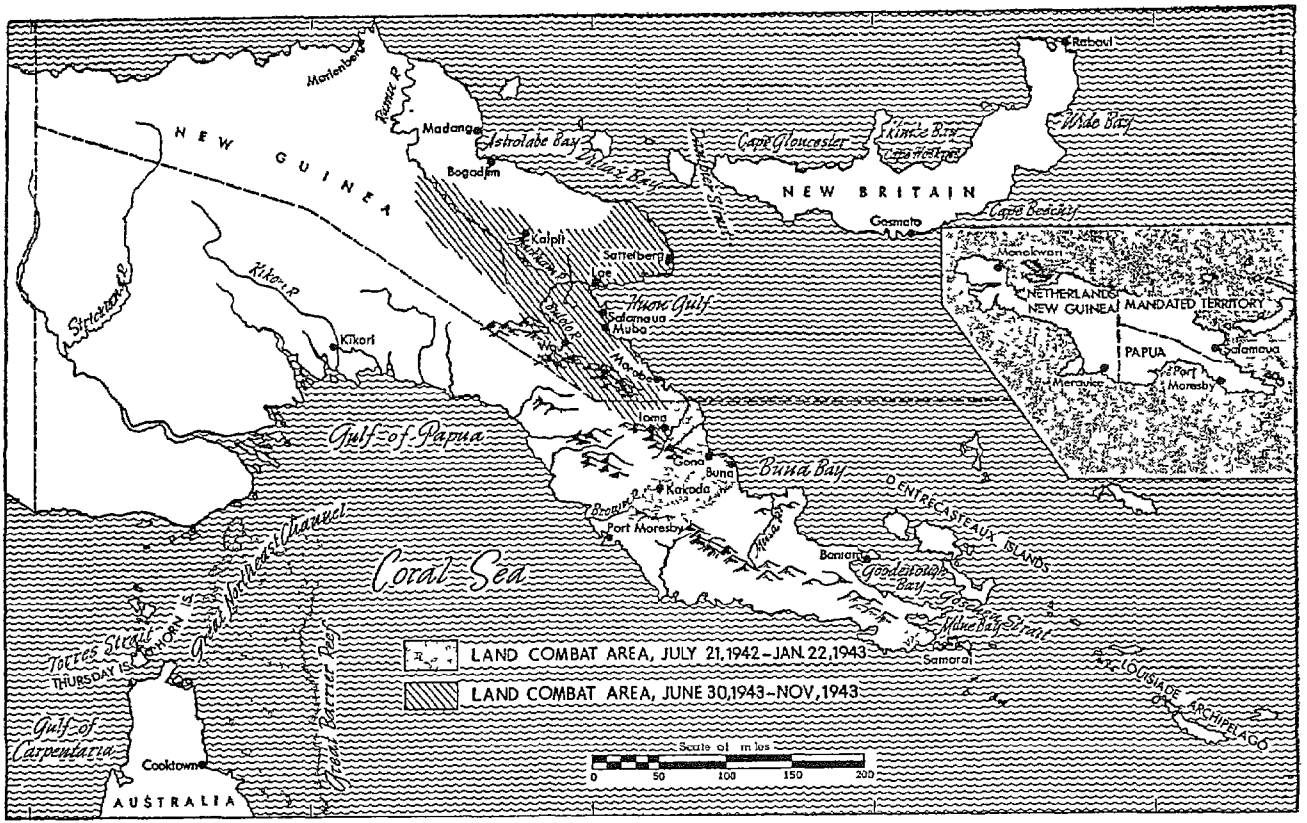
The seven-months' campaign was the prelude to the most impressive movements in the southwest Pacific area. Land, sea, and air services were employed. The chief Allied objective was capture of Lae and the ousting of the Japanese from the Huon Peninsula and the Markham and Ramu Valleys. Successes here cleared the way for American actions in New Britain and entrance into Hollandia and near-by centers. The New Guinea campaigns lasted more than two years.

The struggles in the Solomons can be divided into four phases, each ending in a decisive battle. In the first phase United States Marines, supported by ships and aircraft, made a surprise landing (August 7, 1942) on a beachstrip between the Tenaru and Ilu Rivers, east of Guadalcanal airfield.[7] Tulagi, Gavutu, and Tananbogo were in American hands on August 8. The Japanese struck along the lower Tenaru River on August 21. They advanced against the prepared lines of the marines and were piled up before them. Artillery cut down the protecting palm trees. Tanks rolled over the Japanese installations. The enemy retreated and those escaping to the sea were picked off by snipers. The Battle of the Tenaru River broke the Japanese attack upon the eastern flank of the marines. It did not destroy their offensive spirit, although experts in Tokyo realized the war was being lost in this theater.[8]

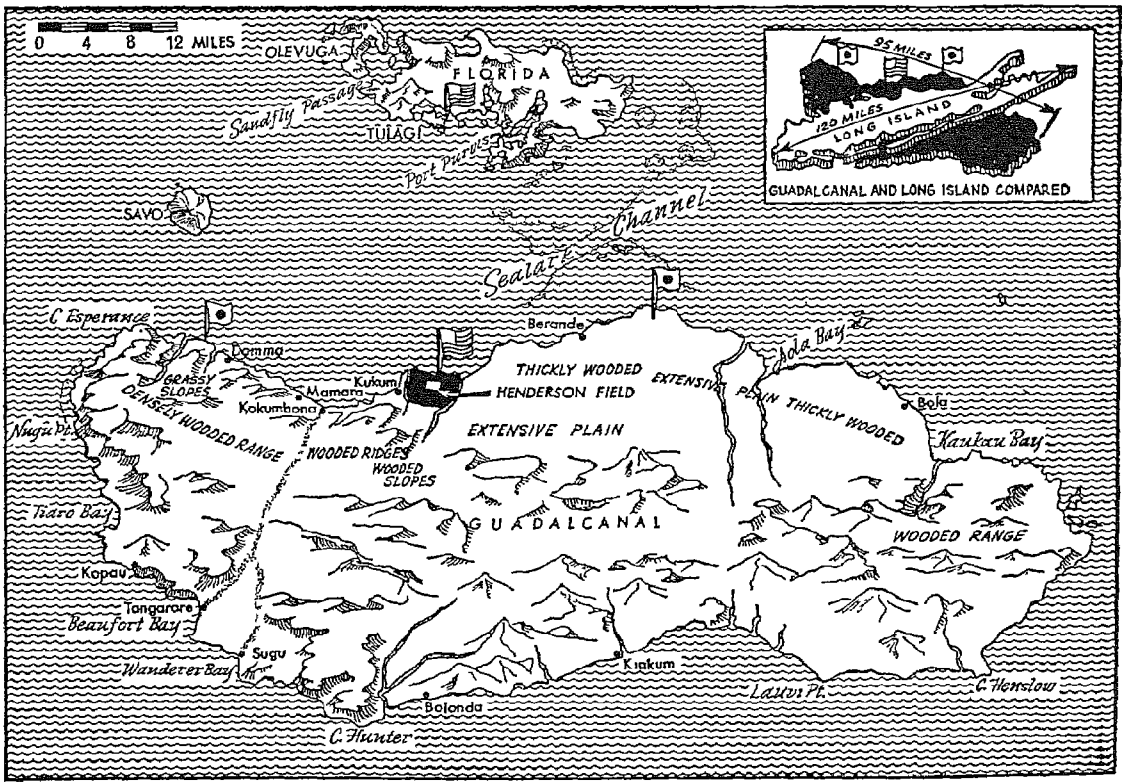
The enemy moved west and on August 23 a Japanese convoy was repulsed after some reinforcements were landed under plane protection.

[7] The Solomon Islands were held by a small garrison of British and Australians who were evacuated in April, 1942.

[8] On the night of August 8–9, 1942, a Japanese cruiser division and destroyers raided American patrol vessels in the channel between Guadalcanal and Tulagi Islands. They escaped undamaged after sinking the heavy cruisers *Astoria*, *Quincey*, and *Vincennes*, and the Australian cruiser, *Canberra*. This action was one of the most devastating blows delivered by the Japanese.



The New Guinea Theater



The Guadalcanal Theater

The Japanese made a charge on September 14 on Lunga Ridge, screaming as they fell, "Marine you die! Marine you die!" Fighting was so close the marines were unable to use artillery for fear of killing their own men. By the morning of the 15, the Japanese were in flight. The second phase was ended.

In the third phase the Japanese were determined to exhaust the Americans by throwing in overwhelming numbers, supported by air and sea attacks. They made five assaults between October 20 and 24. By the end of the month, the marines, aided by air power, broke the advances. In the fourth phase the Americans took the offensive to end all united resistance in this theater on February 6, 1943.[9]

The Aleutians

The United States Navy Department admitted on June 12, 1942, that the Japanese had landed on Attu Island in the western tip of the Aleutians and in Kiska Harbor of the Rat group and Agattu during the time that Dutch Harbor was being hit. No great concern was shown over the occupation of these desolate and foggy spots although it was recognized that enemy consolidations in these islands constituted a potential threat to Alaska and menaced American shipping routes to Kamchatka and Petropavlovsk.[10]

The United States Army and Navy Air Forces, joined later by Canadian fliers, moved to eliminate this danger. Bombers pounded enemy installations until May, 1943, when the Battle of Attu awakened the American public to the tenacity of the Japanese. At that time, the defending garrison of about 2,300 were met and defeated by a superior American landing force, after three weeks of savage encounter. Only fourteen prisoners were taken during the assault.

The Battle of Attu so impressed Yone Noguchi, Japanese poet, that he wrote "Two Thousand in the Valley of Death":

> The last order was given,
> In the valley of death they charged,
> Ah, the martial spirits,
> The brave two thousand.
> Has ever war book told the valor of such?
> What a raid at dead of night it was!
> Not one of the heroes felt fear,
> For the struggle was the sole possession of theirs,
> The faithful spirits sacrificed to the Fatherland,
> They knew only the march of death.

[9] The United States Marines fought in the Solomons for five months, a longer time in daily conflict than any other American unit in history. The First Division of the American Expeditionary Forces spent 223 days at the front during World War I, but this time included a period of training.

[10] The only white woman to be captured on American soil during World War II was Mrs. Etta Jones, a teacher, who was stationed on Attu. (For her dramatic story, see *Congressional Record*, December 18, 1945, A6033.)

To their left, to their right,
In their front, at their back
Raged a mad storm of shells,
Thundered the cannons in fire,
Raised (hell) the darkness of the Northern Sea,
The devils' lightning split the night,
The roar of the satans towered above the roar of the sea.

Ah, the brave, the brave two thousand, the glittering souls of
Burning fired and blood-red burning heroes,
They burned in death to be crushed as crushed gems,
They charged in the enemy's slaughter.
Alas! Their bloodshed in belief of 'one flesh and one mind'
Crimsoned their final Banzai cry.

The night of the northern sea is still, the spirit stars,
Faithful and brave, fall to the lonely isles of the sea.
Let us record (through) all the ages the heroes glorious
names, but

Carving the skies in the enemy's inglorious shame, we will
Declare the Anglo-American infamy forever and aye.
Ah, the martyr patriots, the loyal thousand,
The night assault in the valley of death inspires us with
heavenly Anger-flame.

Oh, oh, resolve to crush and conquer the enemy of the West,
Powerless would be heaven and earth to bid us to break it.

The Alaskan Theater

The Japanese bombed Dutch Harbor, Unalaska, 2,000 miles northwest of San Francisco, on June 3, 1942. The west coast of the United States expected to be bombed before the end of the summer and Secretary of War Stimson warned of raids upon the coastal cities.[11] Alaska awaited a Japanese landing, the regular army being reinforced by a band of guerrillas in the Territorial Guard, including Eskimos, prospectors, and bankers.

The United States Army Corps of Engineers was victorious in one of the most dramatic nonmilitary campaigns of the war—the opening of a route between Fort St. John, British Columbia, and Fairbanks, Alaska, 1,459 miles in length and connecting the Canadian railroad at Dawson with the Alaskan road. The workers were faced with 19,000-foot moun-

[11] Portland, Oregon, was especially concerned. During the war, the Japanese launched about 9,000 balloons made from mulberry-bark paper against the west coast. Small damage resulted.

tains, thick bushy terrain, swiftly moving rivers, frozen swamps, and mud, yet completed the task by November 3, 1942.[13]

SOME ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC

Wake Island

The exploits at Wake Island will never be forgotten by Americans who thrill to the exploits of fighting men. The Japanese hit this island on December 9, 1941. The garrison of 13 marine officers, 412 marines and 73 other naval personnel, under Major James P. S. Devereux, held until December 23. Equipped with light weapons and 12 fighter planes, they sank one cruiser, one destroyer, four submarines, and a gunboat. Major Devereux made the classic understatement of the war when the Japanese landed: "The issue is in doubt."

American planes appeared in the summer of 1943 to pound Wake. Surface and aerial naval units on October 5–6, began constant forays. It was at Wake that Japanese air strength began to weaken.

The Gilberts

Tarawa, chief enemy air base in the Gilbert Islands, was bombed by United States Navy Liberators on October 19, 1943. Makin Island, a subsidiary base also was bombed. It was here that the "Carlson Raiders" landed on August 17, 1942. The strategic outpost of Tarawa was captured on November 23, 1943, by the marines in the bloodiest engagement in their history, costing them 1,026 dead and 2,557 wounded in 72 hours of combat. Makin Atoll was captured the same day.

The Caroline Islands

The Japanese concentrated large forces north of Australia, mainly in the region of Truk, strongest naval base in the South Pacific. A powerful Japanese fleet was detailed to this area in January, 1943, as a protection for reinforcements at Guadalcanal and also as a barrier against the movements of the United States Navy.

The eastern portion of the Carolinas was struck for the first time in January, 1944, by American naval planes bombing Kusaie. United States Army bombers hit the naval and air base of Ponape, largest island in the Archipelago, in February. Planes from carriers on February 16 launched heavy attacks upon Truk. During the two-day battle, the Japanese lost 19 war-

[13] The late Lieutenant General William Mitchell, repudiated prophet for air power, once said that "he who holds Alaska holds the world."

ships, 2 light cruisers, 3 destroyers, 8 cargo ships, and 201 planes. American losses were 17 planes and 1 vessel hit.

Concentrated assaults were made by the United States Fleet in March, 1944, on the Palau Islands, 175 miles from Truk. Peleliu, key island of the group, was "secured" by the marines on October 24, the Americans fighting slowly with flame-throwers, grenades, and tanks to root out the enemy.[18]

Guam

The peace of a small American outpost was destroyed on December 9, 1941, when Japanese planes visited Guam. This island was the first American territory to be captured by the Japanese. The survivors of the garrison of 155 marines and 400 other naval personnel were captured on December 10. The loss of Guam made it possible for the enemy to block the routes to the Philippines, strengthen defenses on a 2,200-mile ocean front from the mainland to Truk, and gave them control of the harbor at Apra Anchorage, one of the best in the Pacific.

Planes from an American carrier task force bombed enemy positions at Guam on February 22, 1944, without opposition from antiaircraft fire. Attacks upon Guam were intensified in the spring and summer of 1944. In July vessels of the United States Pacific Fleet shelled the Japanese positions. An amphibious force on July 20, set up beachheads with such rapidity that the following day many Japanese officers committed suicide. The island was proclaimed American once more on July 27.

The Marshalls

As a result of Allied naval co-operation, the islands of Roi-Namur and Kwagelien, chief enemy base in the Marshall Islands (and the first Japanese-held territory possessed by Japan before the war to fall into American hands) was captured on February 3, 1944. The operation placed all the Marshall Islands under American control.

The Marianas

Saipan and Tinian, 1,400 miles from Tokyo, were blasted by American planes in February, 1944. By June 15, marines and soldiers had established beachheads on Saipan Island. The enemy attempted to land reinforcements and failed. The southern positions were captured on June 29. The two weeks of fighting cost the Americans 1,474 killed, 7,400 wounded, and 878 missing. By the middle of July casualties mounted to 15,053, of whom 2,359 had been killed, 11,481 had been wounded, and 1,213 were

[18] A small band of Japanese fought here until March, 1947.

missing. The Americans in this period buried about 10,000 Japanese defenders of the bloody island. Within six months, Saipan and Tinian were made into bases for B-29's.

Iwojima

Iwo, the main island of the Volcano group and the most important Japanese base between the Pagan Island (Marianas) and Chichi Island (Bonins) was first shelled in November, 1944, by American ships. Marines cleared the beaches on February 19, losing 4,000 and killing 20,000 to put the Americans 750 miles from Tokyo.[14]

The Ryukyu Islands

The air base of Okinawa in the Ryukyu Islands (Nansei Shoto), was attacked by carrier planes on January 2, 1945. The United States 10th Army landed without great opposition from the 70,000 defenders on April 1, supported by 1,400 vessels of the Fifth Fleet. Resistance soon developed, and the fighting was intense. By May 12, the village and castle of Shuri, key to the defense, were menaced, to be taken on May 30. The marines seized Naha, capital, on May 18. Organized fighting weakened on May 19 as the Japanese were killed in hand-to-hand battles or were rooted out of caves and cornered in the streets. Through to June 1, about 1,000,000 rounds of artillery shells, more than were expended in any of the Pacific campaigns in the same length of time, were laid down on Okinawa. Driving through machine-gun fire on June 9 to meet the Japanese with grenade and bayonet, the Americans forced the enemy to make a last stand in southern Okinawa along the cliffs of Yaeju-Dake Plateau.

For the first time during the war in the Pacific, the Japanese on June 12 were asked to negotiate an "orderly and honorable cessation of hostilities" by Lieutenant General Simon Bolivar Buckner, Sr., commander of the 10th Army.[15] Receiving no response, the Americans scaled the sides of the cliffs and fired down upon the Japanese. On June 14, the enemy landed, to be wiped out at Oroku Peninsula. On June 14, the 96th Army Division under Major General James L. Bradley, seized the 500-foot Yaeju Hill, center of resistance. On June 19, the Japanese were routed, the survivors fleeing to cast themselves over the cliffs. On June 21, after 82 days, in the longest and costliest campaign in the Central and Western Pacific, the guns ceased fire and "mopping up" proceeded.

The conquest of Okinawa made it possible for medium bombers with a

[14] One of the most dramatic pictures of World War II is that of the United States Marines raising the flag on Mount Suribachi. (See *Congressional Record,* March 13, 1945, A1255-56 and November 19, 1945, A5337-38.)

[15] General Buckner was killed on June 18. He was the first army commander to be killed in the war. General Joseph W. Stilwell was then given command of the 10th Army.

range of 750 miles and Superfortresses with a range of 1,500 miles to attack most of the Japanese inner defense zone.

ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY

The Netherlands Indies Air Force, with American-built planes, blasted a squadron of enemy warships and transports in the Strait of Macassar, east of Borneo, on January 23, 1942. The Japanese were caught as they moved south from Tarakan, off the northeast coast of Borneo and Minahassa Peninsula. The United States Asiatic Fleet also struck at the convoy, marking the first surface naval action of American vessels against the Japanese. The Battle of the Strait of Macassar cost the Japanese 11 warships, 17 transports, and 13 planes.

On the afternoon of February 27, 1942, an Allied force of cruisers and destroyers under the command of Rear Admiral Deoorman of the Netherlands Navy, made contact with a Japanese force between Bawean Island and Surabaya. The enemy had nine cruisers and two flotillas of destroyers, outnumbering their opponents eight to one. At the end of a three-day battle, the Allied fleet was wiped out. The British admiral, Sir William James, chief of the Portsmouth Naval Base, described the Battle of Java as "the most tremendous battle ever to take place against great odds. . . . Once we had to choose between guns and butter—we chose butter, but our enemy chose guns." [16]

A Japanese naval force of 17 vessels was destroyed by an American air attack from a carrier in Tulagi Harbor on May 4, 1942. This action was the first defeat inflicted upon the Japanese. The Japanese paid dearly for their attempts to oust the Americans from the Solomon Islands.

An American task force consisting of two carriers, cruisers, and destroyers hurried to the Coral Sea to block a formidable Japanese offensive aimed at the Australian mainland. Scout planes located and destroyed one of the carriers on May 7, 1942, north of Misima Island. The following morning two more vessels were hit. The Japanese lost 37 ships before the Battle of Coral Sea was finished. The United States lost 23 combatant vessels, including 6 destroyers, beached in order to prevent capture, and 9 damaged, including the carrier, *Lexington*. For the first time in history, a seaborne aerial force engaged in attacks far from the security of home bases. This engagement reduced Japanese strength to a position below that of the Americans operating in the Pacific Ocean.

Within 24 hours of the Japanese bombing of Dutch Harbor, Aleutian Islands, on June 4, 1942, forces of the American Army, Navy, and Marine Corps met a large Japanese invasion fleet seeking to gain control of Midway Island, about 1,100 miles west of Pearl Harbor. By the evening of

[16] The Allies lost the American heavy cruiser *Houston* and the destroyer *Pope;* the Netherlands lost the cruisers *Java* and *De Ruyter,* the destroyer *Kortenaer* and the destroyer *Evertsen* beached; the British lost the cruiser *Exeter* and the destroyers *Encounter, Electra, Jupiter,* and *Stronghold;* and the Australians lost the cruiser *Perth* and the sloop *Yarra.*

TABLE I. Total of Japanese Naval and Merchant Vessels Sunk During World War II

Data Given in the *Japanese Naval and Merchant Shipping Losses During World War II by All Causes*, Prepared by The Joint Army-Navy Assessment Committee, February, 1947.

Sinking Agent	*Naval Vessels* No.	*Naval Vessels* Tonnage	*Merchant Vessels* No.	*Merchant Vessels* Tonnage	*Total Vessels* No.	*Total Vessels* Tonnage
United States Forces [1]	611	1,822,210	2,117	7,913,858	2,728	9,736,068
Allied Forces [2]	45	69,636	73	211,664	118	281,300
British	28	50,365	42	87,981	70	138,346
Netherlands	7	8,099	15	57,471	22	65,570
Australian	5	6,892	8	24,910	13	31,802
Chinese	—	—	3	14,327	3	14,327
Russian	2	1,660	2	8,233	4	9,893
Netherlands and Australian	—	—	2	8,303	2	8,303
New Zealand	2	2,095	—	—	2	2,095
Netherlands and Indian	—	—	1	10,439	1	10,439
Australian and Indian	1	525	—	—	1	525
United States and Allied Forces [3]	10	14,864	12	57,923	22	72,787
United States and Australian	4	7,550	7	37,072	11	44,622
United States, Australian, and Netherlands	—	—	2	16,362	2	16,362
United States and British	5	5,102	2	3,500	7	8,602
United States and New Zealand	1	2,212	—	—	1	2,212
United States, British, and Netherlands	—	—	1	989	1	989
Marine Casualties [3]	13	50,338	97	268,948	110	319,286
Japanese Mines [3]	—	—	21	67,197	21	67,197
Unknown Forces [3]	7	8,598	26	98,519	33	107,117
TOTAL	686	1,965,646	2,346	8,618,109	3,032	10,583,755

[1] See TABLE II for detailed analysis.
[2] See TABLE III for detailed analysis.
[3] See TABLE IV for detailed analysis.

TABLE II. JAPANESE NAVAL AND MERCHANT VESSELS SUNK DURING WORLD WAR II BY UNITED STATES FORCES

DATA GIVEN IN THE *Japanese Naval and Merchant Shipping Losses During World War II by All Causes*, PREPARED BY THE JOINT ARMY-NAVY ASSESSMENT COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY, 1947.

Sinking Agent	*Naval Vessels* No.	Tonnage	*Merchant Vessels* No.	Tonnage	*Total Vessels* No.	Tonnage
Submarines	201	540,192	1,113	4,779,902	1,314	5,320,094
Surface Craft	112	277,817	11	43,349	123	321,166
Army Aircraft	70	62,165	240	639,667	310	701,832
Navy-Marine Aircraft	172	724,638	447	1,608,959	619	2,333,597
Carrier-Based	161	711,236	359	1,390,241	520	2,101,477
Land-Based	11	13,402	88	218,718	99	232,120
Army, Navy, and Marine Aircraft in Combination	9	48,750	23	114,306	32	163,056
Army and Navy Carrier-Based Aircraft	1	5,700	1	6,143	2	11,843
Army and Navy-Marine Land-Based Aircraft	6	21,250	14	49,978	20	71,228
Navy Carrier-Based and Navy-Marine Land-Based Aircraft	2	21,800	—	—	2	21,800
Army, Navy Carrier-Based, and Navy-Marine Land-Based Aircraft	—	—	8	58,185	8	58,185
Navy Shore Batteries	2	2,770	—	—	2	2,770
Mines	19	17,995	247	591,660	266	609,655
Laid by Army Air Forces	16	13,670	241	566,690	257	580,360
Laid by Surface Craft	2	3,800	—	—	2	3,800
Laid by Navy Land-Based Aircraft	1	525	1	6,417	2	6,942
Laid by Submarines	—	—	5	18,553	5	18,553
Aircraft and Other Agents	26	147,883	32	132,710	58	280,593
Army Aircraft, Navy-Marine Land-Based Aircraft and Surface Craft	—	—	3	20,607	3	20,607
Army Aircraft and Surface Craft	2	7,900	1	8,572	3	16,472
Army Aircraft, Navy Carrier-Based Aircraft, Navy-Marine Land-Based Aircraft, and Surface Craft	1	31,000	—	—	1	31,000
Army Aircraft and Army Mines	—	—	1	10,000	1	10,000
Army Aircraft, Army Mine, and Navy Carrier-Based Aircraft	1	17,000	—	—	1	17,000
Army Aircraft and Submarines	—	—	2	10,062	2	10,062
Army Aircraft and Sabotage	—	—	1	4,281	1	4,281
Navy Carrier-Based Aircraft and Submarines	3	24,780	6	27,309	9	52,089
Navy Carrier-Based Aircraft and Surface Craft	15	61,890	5	14,463	20	76,353
Navy-Marine Land-Based Aircraft and Submarines	—	—	1	6,550	1	6,550
Navy-Marine Land-Based Aircraft and Navy Mines	2	3,800	—	—	2	3,800
Navy-Marine Land-Based Aircraft and Surface Craft	2	1,513	—	—	2	1,513
Unknown Aircraft	—	—	12	30,866	12	30,866
Unknown Agents	—	—	4	3,305	4	3,305
TOTAL	611	1,822,210	2,117	7,913,858	2,728	9,736,068

TABLE III. Japanese Naval and Merchant Vessels Sunk During World War II by Allied Forces Excluding United States

Data Given in the *Japanese Naval and Merchant Shipping Losses During World War II by All Causes*, Prepared by The Joint Army-Navy Assessment Committee, February, 1947.

Sinking Agent	*Naval Vessels* No.	Tonnage	*Merchant Vessels* No.	Tonnage	*Total Vessels* No.	Tonnage
British Forces	28	50,365	42	87,981	70	138,346
Submarines	14	26,396	29	65,040	43	91,436
Navy Carrier-Based Aircraft	—	—	2	1,817	2	1,817
Navy Land-Based Aircraft	2	1,600	1	1,350	3	2,950
Surface Craft	8	19,287	—	—	8	19,287
Army Aircraft	1	270	—	—	1	270
Army Aircraft and Surface Craft	—	—	1	1,500	1	1,500
Mines	3	2,812	7	11,000	10	13,812
Sabotage	—	—	2	7,274	2	7,274
Netherlands Forces	7	8,099	15	57,471	22	65,570
Submarines	2	3,920	10	42,049	12	45,969
Aircraft	1	615	5	15,422	6	16,037
Mines	2	2,580	—	—	2	2,580
Shore Batteries	2	984	—	—	2	984
Australian Forces	5	6,892	8	24,910	13	31,802
Aircraft	2	400	2	10,369	4	10,769
Mines	3	6,492	6	14,541	9	21,033
New Zealand Forces	2	2,095	—	—	2	2,095
Surface Craft	1	1,995	—	—	1	1,995
Aircraft	1	100	—	—	1	100
Chinese Aircraft	—	—	3	14,327	3	14,327
Russian Forces	2	1,660	2	8,233	4	9,893
Aircraft	2	1,660	1	6,003	3	7,663
Unknown	—	—	1	2,230	1	2,230
Netherlands and Australian Aircraft	—	—	2	8,303	2	8,303
Netherlands and Indian Surface Craft	—	—	1	10,439	1	10,439
Australian and Indian Surface Craft	1	525	—	—	1	525
TOTAL	45	69,636	73	211,664	118	281,300

TABLE IV. Japanese Naval and Merchant Vessels Sunk During World War II by Combination of United States and Allied Forces, and Miscellaneous Agents

Data Given in the *Japanese Naval and Merchant Shipping Losses During World War II by All Causes*, Prepared by The Joint Army-Navy Assessment Committee, February, 1947.

Sinking Agent	*Naval Vessels* No.	*Naval Vessels* Tonnage	*Merchant Vessels* No.	*Merchant Vessels* Tonnage	*Total Vessels* No.	*Total Vessels* Tonnage
United States and Allied Forces	10	14,864	12	57,923	22	72,787
United States Army Aircraft and Australian Aircraft	4	7,550	6	30,579	10	38,129
United States Navy-Marine Land-Based Aircraft and New Zealand Surface Craft	1	2,212	—	——	1	2,212
United States Navy Carrier-Based Aircraft and British Aircraft	2	1,760	2	3,500	4	5,260
United States Army Aircraft and British Aircraft	1	1,500	—	——	1	1,500
United States and British Surface Craft	1	1,142	—	——	1	1,142
United States Surface Craft and British Aircraft	1	700	—	——	1	700
United States Army Aircraft and Surface Craft and Australian and Netherlands Aircraft	—	——	2	16,362	2	16,362
United States Army Aircraft and Surface Craft and British Aircraft	—	——	1	6,493	1	6,493
United States Army Aircraft and British and Netherlands Aircraft	—	——	1	989	1	989
Marine Casualties	13	50,338	97	268,948	110	319,286
Japanese Mines	—	——	21	67,197	21	67,197
Unidentified Forces	7	8,598	26	98,519	33	107,117
Aircraft	1	613	1	1,398	2	2,011
Submarines	—	——	1	940	1	940
Unknown	6	7,985	24	96,181	30	104,166
TOTAL	30	73,800	156	492,589	186	566,387

June 5, air control of the Midway theater was in the hands of the United States.

The Third Fleet of Admiral William F. Halsey, including British carriers, in August, 1943, was used for air attacks on northern Honshu where the Japanese had many airfields. Fleet carrier planes destroyed enemy fighter planes faster than they were built in 1944.

The efforts of the suicide pilots, the *Kamikaze* ("divine wind"), to wipe out the American Fleet in the summer of 1945 were of no avail, although 20 vessels were sunk by their frenzied flights. In the first days of July, carrier planes of Halsey's Third Fleet blasted the area about Tokyo and the Americans challenged the enemy to bring out its planes and ships for battle to the death. A task force steamed to within 8 miles of Tokyo on July 17 and pounded industrial installations. American and British warships and cruisers moved to within 10 miles of the coast on July 18 and shelled the capital. The remnants of the Japanese Imperial Navy, anchored at Yokosuka Naval Base, at the entrance to Tokyo Bay, was struck on the same day by carrier-based planes. By August 3, a tight blockade was drawn which cut Japan off from all outside supplies and isolated the armies on the mainland.

The End of Empire

Four months and 10 days after the attack upon Pearl Harbor (April 18, 1942), 16 American B-25 medium bombers, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel James Doolittle, raided Tokyo. After a delay of 2½ years (November 24, 1944) Tokyo was visited by 70 B-29's (Superfortresses).[17] Many civilians were evacuated from the capital on December 12, 1944.

About 1,500 carrier planes began to burn out Tokyo on February 16, 1945. More than 1,000 tons of incendiary bombs fell upon the capital on March 10 to raze the center of the metropolis for an area of 15 square miles. The largest land-based raid of the war occurred on April 6 when 300 Superfortresses blasted the factories of Tokyo. Before the end, 110.8 square miles of Tokyo were burned out by B-29's and 20.20 square miles of Yokohama received the same punishment. The Ōsaka-Kobe, the Kyushu, and the Nagoya regions also were bombing objectives of the Americans. Between June 15, 1944, when the Superfortresses from China swooped over the Yawata steel yards, to June 15, 1945, the empire of Japan was visited 77 times by winged terror and destruction and death.

Early in June, 1945, B-29's dropped pamphlets urging the Japanese to give up the struggle. The war leaders, however, called upon the people to "rise as one special suicide corps" and ignore the unconditional surrender talks. The Emperor addressed a message to his subjects on June 23 telling them that "the present crisis is unprecedented in scope in our national

[17] Premier Tojo informed the Imperial Diet on January 21, 1944, that air power would decide the war and admitted there was "only a hair's breadth between victory and final defeat."

history." The People's Volunteer Corps formed for combat, was ordered not to be captured or die dishonorable deaths. Tokyo announced that vital industries had been transferred to Manchuria where the war would continue if the empire were invaded.

After the meeting at Potsdam on July 26, 1945, the United States, Great Britain, and China made public a statement: "We, the President of the United States, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, representing the hundreds of millions of our countrymen, have conferred and agreed that Japan shall be given an opportunity to end this war. The prodigious land, sea, and air forces of the United States, the British Empire, and of China, many times reinforced by their armies and air fleets from the west, are poised to strike the final blows upon Japan. . . . The result of the futile and senseless German resistance to the might of the aroused free peoples of the world stands forth in awful clarity as an example to the people of Japan. . . . The time has come for Japan to decide whether she will continue to be controlled by those self-willed militaristic advisers whose unintelligent calculations have brought the empire of Japan to the threshold of annihilation, or whether she will follow the path of reason.

"The following are our terms. We will not deviate from them. . . . There must be eliminated for all times the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on a world conquest. . . . Until . . . a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed, points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied. . . . The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and such minor islands as we determine. . . . The Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives. We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. . . . Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established. Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those industries which will enable her to rearm for war. . . . The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people, a peacefully inclined and responsible government.

"We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction."

Premier Suzuki rejected this ultimatum and General Jiro Miname,

WAR EXPENDITURES, FISCAL YEARS 1940–45

(Millions of Yen)

DATA GIVEN IN THE UNITED STATES STRATEGIC BOMBING SURVEY, *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on Japan's War Economy*, APPENDIX A B C, OVER-ALL ECONOMIC EFFECTS DIVISION, DECEMBER, 1946.

	1940	*1941*	*1942*	*1943*	*1944*	*Apr–Oct 1945*
Total	5,723	9,487	18,753	30,787	75,052	47,412
Army	4,191	6,383	10,368	15,764	45,511	20,868
Navy	1,532	3,104	8,385	13,779	19,069	17,553
Munitions Ministry	—	—	—	1,244	10,472	8,993
Japan proper	4,441	6,562	14,074	20,984	31,601	34,842
Army	2,988	3,781	6,653	8,611	10,198	11,743
Navy	1,453	2,781	7,421	11,129	10,931	14,106
Munitions Ministry	—	—	—	1,244	10,472	8,993
Overseas	1,282	2,925	4,679	9,803	43,450	12,572
Army	1,203	2,602	3,715	7,153	35,313	9,125
Navy	79	323	964	2,650	8,137	3,447
Korea	91	222	239	230	605	1,433
Army	84	209	209	179	442	1,179
Navy	7	13	30	51	163	254
Formosa	49	120	148	280	557	1,403
Army	38	64	58	120	293	861
Navy	11	56	90	160	264	542
Manchuria	370	1,200	1,405	1,661	2,295	1,711
Army	369	1,198	1,405	1,661	2,288	1,711
Navy	1	2	—	—	7	—
China	772	1,062	1,512	4,301	27,828	6,837
Army	712	831	1,123	2,638	21,988	4,597
Navy	60	231	389	1,663	5,840	2,240
Southern Territories	—	321	1,373	3,328	12,166	1,186
Army	—	300	919	2,554	10,301	777
Navy	—	21	454	774	1,865	409
Discharge Allowances	1	2	2	2	3	2,583
Army	—	—	—	—	—	1,134
Navy	1	2	2	2	3	1,449
Net expenditures						
Japan proper	4,440	6,560	14,072	20,982	31,598	32,259
Total	5,722	9,485	18,751	30,785	75,049	44,829

MANPOWER TABLE: Population, Armed Forces, and Civilian Labor Force by Sex and Activity, Japan Proper, 1 Oct. 1930, 1 Oct. 1940, 22 Feb. 1944

(In 1,000's)

Data Given in The United States Strategic Bombing Survey. *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on Japan's War Economy*, Appendix A B C, Over-All Economic Effects Division, December, 1946.

	1 Oct. 1930			*1 Oct. 1940*			*22 Feb. 1944*		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total Population	64,450	32,390	32,060	73,114	36,566	36,548	77,044	38,605	38,439
Armed Forces	243	243	——	1,694	1,694	——	3,980	3,980	——
Civilian Population	64,207	32,147	32,060	71,420	34,872	36,548	73,064	34,625	38,439
Unoccupied	34,830	13,360	21,470	38,937	15,142	23,795	41,267	16,182	25,085
Civilian labor force	29,377	18,787	10,590	32,483	19,730	12,753	31,797 [1]	18,443	13,354
							(31,657) [2]	(18,411)	(13,246)
Agriculture and forestry	14,131	7,735	6,396	13,842	6,619	7,223	13,376	5,569	7,807
Fishing	568	515	53	543	476	67	464	380	84
Mining	316	271	45	598	529	69	805	681	124
Manufacturing and construction	5,876	4,428	1,448	8,132	6,178	1,954	9,494	7,243	2,251
Commerce	4,906	3,406	1,500	4,882	3,006	1,876	2,364	1,127	1,237
Transportation and communication	945	907	38	1,364	1,214	150	1,650	1,385	265
Government and professional	1,762	1,369	393	2,195	1,515	680	2,900	1,895	1,005
Domestic service	802	92	710	709	39	670	473	58	415
Miscellaneous	71	64	7	218	154	64	131	73	58

[1] The figures for the Labor Force and the Unoccupied in 1944 are subject to a bias relative to the corresponding figures for 1930 and 1940.

[2] Figures in parentheses are a total of the industry subdivisions below them. The total is somewhat smaller than the figures for the labor force given on the line immediately above, due to the exclusion of certain civil divisions of Japan Proper.

president of the Political Association of Great Japan, maintained that Japan would talk peace only after Eastern Asia was free from "Anglo-American colonial exploitation" and after Japan and other nations were guaranteed a life "based on justice and equality."

An atomic bomb, with the force of 20,000 tons of TNT, the equivalent of the load of 2,000 B-29's, fell upon Hiroshima on August 6, to destroy 60,000 out of the 90,000 buildings of the city and kill or injure 32,000 people per square mile, in the four square miles affected. Nagasaki was hit with a new type of atomic bomb on August 8, to raze 14,000 out of 52,000 buildings and kill or injure 43,000 people per square mile.

The Soviet Union declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945, accompanied by a remark from Senator Wiley of Wisconsin that "apparently the atomic bomb which hit Hiroshima also blew 'Joey' off the fence," although the entrance of the Russians had been decided at the Yalta Conference. Foreign Commissar Molotoff in announcing the move stated that in view of Japan's refusal to accept unconditional surrender, the Allies had proposed to the Soviet Union to enter the conflict in order to hasten the end, "reduce the number of its victims and help in the speedy restoration of peace."

Four Russian armies pushed into Manchuria and by August 10 had advanced 105 miles. Hailar, the rail junction, was seized, cutting off the supply route of the enemy in northern Manchuria. Korea also was entered and the southern portion of Sakhalin Island. The Trans-Baikal Army seized Kangpao, Inner Mongolia, 150 miles from Peip'ing, on August 15.

Marshal Alexander M. Vasilevsky, commander of the Soviet Far Eastern Army, on August 16, ordered the Japanese Kwantung Army to surrender by August 20. The puppet Emperor, K'ang-te (Henry Pu Yi) was captured, and the Russians freed 1,670 Allied war prisoners. Amphibious forces took over the islands of the Japanese Kuriles on August 26, which gave the Soviet Union control of the Sea of Okhotsk, fourth largest of seas, with an area of 580,000 square miles. All organized resistance in Manchuria ceased after a 12 day war between the Soviet Union and the Empire of Japan. (The Russians were informed of the Japanese formal surrender on September 2 in a broadcast by Generalissimo Stalin who also said that his country would retain the southern part of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands.[18])

The United States, China, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union on August 11 received the Japanese surrender agreement, with promises given that the Emperor was to take orders from the Supreme Allied Commander, General Douglas A. MacArthur.

The United States Third Fleet, with units of the British Navy, led by the *U. S. S. Missouri,* largest battleship in the world, entered Tokyo Bay on August 29. From the deck of the *Missouri,* General MacArthur on September 2 told the world that "it is the hope of all mankind that from this solemn occasion a better world shall emerge out of the blood and carnage of the past—a world founded upon faith and understanding—a

[18] A secret part of the Yalta Agreement included the Kuriles.

world dedicated to the dignity of man and the fulfillment of his most cherished wish—for freedom, tolerance, and justice."

Premier Prince Naruhiko Higashi-Kuni, cousin of the Emperor, signed the final surrender articles for Japan. General MacArthur signed for the Allied powers. The big guns were stilled at last. World War II was ended.[10]

SIGNIFICANT DATES

Dates given in The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, *The Fifth Air Force in the War Against Japan*, Military Analysis Division, June, 1947, Abridged

PHILIPPINE CAMPAIGN, DECEMBER, 1941 TO MAY, 1942

8 December. (Phil. time.) Japanese aircraft destroy approximately half of the Far East Air Force at Clark and Iba fields.
10 December. Japanese landings at Aparri and Vigan opposed by 10 B-17s, escorted by a few P-40s and P-35s.
21 December. The Japanese land at Lingayen Gulf.
2 January, 1942. Japanese occupy Manila.
17 March. General MacArthur reaches Australia.
11 April. Bataan Forces surrender to the Japanese.
6 May. Corregidor surrenders.

EAST INDIES CAMPAIGN, DECEMBER, 1941 TO MARCH, 1942

16 December. Japs land at Luton in Sarawak.
19 December. Organization of United States Forces in Australia under Brig. Gen. Julian F. Barnes.
24–29 December. Japs land near Kuching, and after sporadic fighting, capture it.
29 December to 1 January, 1942. Seven B-17s bomb Davao in first American raid from NEI bases.
10 January. Jap landings at Tarakan in Borneo and Menado in Celebes, using paratroopers. Gen. Sir Archibald P. Wavell arrives in Java to assume command of the ABDA (American, British, Dutch, Australian) Area.
20–24 January, 1942. Jap convoy in Strait of Makassar attacked by Allied planes and naval forces.
24–25 January. First American P-40s arrive in Java.
23–26 January. Kendari in Celebes occupied by Japanese.
25 January. Balikpapan is occupied by the Japanese.

[10] There were 170,596 United States Army casualties in the Pacific theaters, of whom 41,322 were killed or died of wounds. For complete report see, *The Winning of the War in Europe and the Pacific* (1945), Biennial Report of the Chief of Staff of the United States Army, July 1, 1943 to June 30, 1945, to Secretary of War, 107. The United States Navy announced on January 30, 1947, that killed or missing were: Navy, 62,548; Marine Corps, 24,479; Coast Guard, 1,912, total, 88,939. (See New York *Times*, January 31, 1947, for detailed statistics.)

30 January. Landings on Ambon and other near-by Dutch islands.
9–13 February. Makassar in Celebes and Bandjermasin in Borneo occupied.
14–17 February. Palembang in Sumatra is occupied with aid of paratroopers.
19 February. A total of 12 B-17s and 3 LB-30s score hits on Jap cruisers and destroyers near Bali. First American dive-bomber mission in the NEI against same targets results in claimed sinking of a cruiser and a transport. Approximately 150 carrier and land-based aircraft attack Darwin for its first and probably heaviest raid of the war.
20 February. Japanese forces, including paratroopers, land on Timor.
25 February. ABDA Command dissolved.
26–28 February. Allied Naval defeat in the Java Sea.
27 February. Seaplane tender Langley en route to Java is sunk by Japanese planes.
28 February. First Japanese landings on Java.
3 March. Severe Jap raid on Broome.

DEFENSE OF AUSTRALIA, JANUARY, 1942 TO MAY, 1942

20 January. More than 100 Jap carrier-based bombers and fighters bomb Rabaul in New Britain.
23 January. Rabaul occupied.
24 January. Kavieng in New Ireland taken by the Japanese.
8 February. Gasmata in New Britain occupied by the Japanese.
8 March. Japanese land at Salamaua and Lae.
10 March. Two U. S. carrier groups execute co-ordinated attack upon Jap shipping at Lae and Salamaua. Japs land at Finschafen.
12 March. American forces land in New Caledonia.
18 April. Allied command under General MacArthur has been established in Australia.
30 April. A Japanese patrol reaches Alexishafen.
4–7 May. Battle of the Coral Sea.
16 May. Trial of gasoline bombs at Lae.
31 May. Sydney is attacked by midget submarines.

PAPUAN CAMPAIGN, JULY, 1942-TO JANUARY, 1943

20 July. GHQ SWPA is closed at Melbourne and opened at Brisbane.
21–22 July. B-17s, B-26s, and B-25s supported by fighters attack a Japanese convoy landing troops at Buna and Gona.
7 August. Thirteen B-17s carry out an effective raid on Rabaul in coordination with the marine landing upon Guadalcanal.
25 August. The Japanese land troops at Milne Bay.
10 September. The Japanese have been completely defeated at Milne Bay.
12 September. Nine A-20s escorted by P-400s drop parafrags on Buna air strip. This is the first use of this type bomb in the SWPA. Support of ground forces is begun in weight.

14 September. The Japs reach Ioribaiwa Ridge less than 30 miles from Port Moresby.
27 September. The Air Service Command, Fifth AF is established.
28 September. The Japanese are outflanked at Ioribaiwa Ridge.
5 October. Australian infantry battalion is transported by Allied planes to Wanigela Mission of the north side of the Owen-Stanley range.
9 October. Following an incendiary attack by RAAF PBY's, 30 B-17s drop more than 54 tons of instantaneous and delay demolition bombs on Rabaul. While this target had been continually attacked this was the largest bombing attack on that objective to date.
23 October. Eleven B-17s attack Rabaul probably sinking 1 cruiser, I destroyer, and 2 merchant vessels. In this mission skip bombing was first employed in combat in the SWPA.
8–9 November. Two regiments of the American 32d Division are transported by Allied troop carriers to Wanigela, and to other points across the Owen-Stanley's.
17 November. B-24s are used for the first time against Rabaul. Decision has been previously made to replace all B-17s by B-24s.
21–22 November. Dobodura strip ready for use by troop carrier planes.
9 December. Australians capture Gona.
14 December. Americans occupy Buna.
27 December. Twelve P-38s attack 20 to 30 enemy fighters in the Buna-Gona area and shoot down 9 fighters and 2 dive bombers. One P-38 is lost. This is the first significant combat engagement of the P-38 in the SWPA.
6–9 January, 1943. B-17s, B-24s, B-25s, escorted by P-38s attack a Japanese convoy which succeeds in landing troops at Lae. At least 2 transports are sunk and more than 60 aircraft destroyed.
22–23 January. Allied victory in the Papuan Campaign is declared complete.

Operations During the Northeast New Guinea Phase, January, 1943 to March, 1944

29–30 January. One hundred and twenty-two transport planes ferry in reinforcements, munitions, and supplies to besieged Australians at Wau.
30–31 January. Japanese at Wau defeated and driven back.
14 February. Thirty B-17s and 4 B-24s drop approximately 50 tons of demos and almost 4,000 incendiaries upon Rabaul. One hundred-lb. wire-wrapped bombs are also used. This is the largest bombing raid to date in the SWPA.
1–4 March. Allied air victory in the Battle of the Bismarck Sea results in sealing off the Huon Gulf from Jap convoys and proves the effectiveness of the modified B-25 strafer in mast-head attack.
3 April. Elements of the 162d Regiment land at Morobe harbor, 75 miles from Salamaua.
12 April. One-hundred-and-sixth Japanese raid against Port Moresby is carried out by 45 bombers and approximately 60 escorting fighters.

23 June. Seventeen B-24s make a 2,000-mile flight to Makassar in Celebes and drop 38 tons of bombs on docks and shipping. This is the largest number of heavy bombers used in a single raid in the Darwin area to date.

30 June. Allied forces land at Nassau Bay on Kiriwina and Woodlark Islands, on Rendova, Vangunu, and New Georgia.

22 July. First Australian-based raid is carried out against Soerabaja, a 2,400-mile trip by 6 B-24s.

27 July. Twenty-five B-25s and 18 B-24s drop 133 tons of bombs on Salamaua, probably the heaviest attack on that area to date.

13 August. Thirty-seven B-24s, 13 B-17s, and 9 B-26s break bombing record for the theater by dropping 175 tons on the Salamaua area. Nine B-24s make the 2,200-mile round trip from Darwin to Balikpapan and drop 11 tons of bombs.

1 September. Thirty-three B-24s and 43 B-25s carry out the heaviest bombing raid to date in the SWPA, dropping 201 tons of bombs on the Alexishafen-Madang area.

5 September. With bombardment and fighter support, 78 C-47s drop paratroopers of the 503d Paratroop Regiment at Nadzab.

7 September. Troop carrier planes land at Nadzab.

13 September. Salamaua is captured.

16 September. Lae is captured.

19 September. The 7th Australian Division moving through the Ramu valley, principally by troop carriers, capture Kaiapit.

27 September. Seventeen B-24s, 90–100 B-25s, 121 Allied fighters attack Wewak airfields and harbor and drop more than 160 tons of bombs. This is the climax of regular neutralization strikes.

1 October. First troop carrier plane lands at Gusap in the Ramu valley.

2 October. Finschafen is cleared of the enemy.

20–21 October. First units of the Third Air Task Force are flown to Gusap.

2 November. More than 80 B-25s and approximately the same number of P-38s strike at shipping in Simpson harbor, Rabaul. Sixty-eight enemy aircraft are shot down. At least 1 destroyer, 5 merchant vessels, a mine-craft, and a tug are claimed as sunk. Ten B-25s and 10 P-38s are lost. This attack was co-ordinated with the South Pacific landing on Bougainville.

19 November to 25 December. V Bomber Command and First Air Task Force carries out 1,845 sorties and drops 3,926 tons of bombs on Cape Gloucester and northern New Britain in preparation for landing on Cape Gloucester.

13–14 December. All types of Fifth AF bombers carry out almost 300 sorties and drop approximately 700 tons of bombs along the southern New Britain coast.

15 December. Elements of the Sixth Army land at Arawe.

17 December. American fighters begin operating from Finschafen.

26 December. B-24s, B-25s, and A-20s carry out 242 sorties and drop more

than 422 tons of bombs on Cape Gloucester area. First Marine Division lands.

30 December. Cape Gloucester airfield falls to the Marines.

2 January, 1944. After preliminary bombing and strafing by Fifth AF, elements of the 32d Division land at Saidor.

14 January. Australians capture Sio.

22 January. Air neutralization of the Admiralties begins.

3 February. Fifty-eight B-24s, 62 B-25s, escorted by 16 P-38s, 33 P-47s, and 17 P-40s drop 200 tons of bombs and nearly 1,000 parafrags and parafrag clusters on the Wewak dromes. Forty-three enemy aircraft claimed destroyed on the ground and 15 in the air. Wewak as a target is destroyed.

15 February. American troops land on Green Island.

29 February. The 5th Cavalry Regiment lands on Los Negros Island, and captures Momote air strip.

4 March. First important attack on Hollandia is carried out by 22 B-24s.

11–19 March. Fifth Air Force bombers (B-24s, B-25s, and A-20s) drop 1,588.92 tons of bombs on the Wewak area. The Japanese Army Air Service is forced to withdraw to Hollandia.

NETHERLANDS, NEW GUINEA, MARCH, 1944 TO AUGUST, 1944

30 March to 16 April. Fifth AF carries out 993 bomber and 572 fighter sorties against Hollandia, dropping 1,832 tons of bombs. Japanese air strength in this area decimated.

22 April. Allied amphibious forces land at Aitape, Humboldt, and Halmahera Bays.

24 April. C-47s land at Tadji. Australians enter Madang.

25 April. Hollandia air strips occupied.

26 April. Australians enter Alexishafen.

17 May. Elements of Sixth Army establish beachhead at Arara on mainland opposite Wakde.

18 May. Landing on Wakde.

27 May. Planes from Fifth AF bases made their first reconnaissance of the Philippines. Landing on Biak by U. S. forces after 15 days of aerial bombardment by the 13 Air Task Force and the Fifth AF.

7 June. Mokmer drome captured.

9 June. Twenty-second Bombardment Group makes first landbased daylight strike against a Palau airdrome.

20 June, 1944. Sorido and Borokoe airdromes seized.

21 June. Planes of the 375th Troop Carrier Group land at Owi.

2 July. Allied troops land at Noemfoor.

3–4 July. Troop Carriers from Hollandia drop 2,424 paratroopers on Kamiri drome, Noemfoor.

6 July. RAAF P-40s land at Kamiri.

30–31 July. U. S. troops seize the coastal area at Cape Sansapor and Cape Opmarai on the northwest coast of Netherlands New Guinea. Amster-

dam and Middleburg Islands off Cape Opmarai also occupied during the day.

17 August. Supported by air and naval forces, Allied troops land at Wardo beach on Biak and in the Cape Goodchoope area on the Vogelkopf Peninsula.

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES AND THE PHILIPPINES, AUGUST, 1944 TO AUGUST, 1945

23 August. Galela airfields are attacked by approximately 60 B-24s which drop 130 tons of demolition bombs. P-38s, operating at what was probably the greatest distance from their base in the history of this theater, accompanied the bombers, beginning a continuous neutralization of Halmerheras.

15 September. MacArthur's forces, co-ordinated with the Third Amphibious Forces attack on Palau, land on the southwest coast of Morotai Island.

15 September. Decision made to proceed direct to Leyte.

10 October. One hundred and twenty-five B-24s attack Balikpapen and drop 160 tons of bombs which virtually demolish the cracking and paraffin plants. For the first time fighters escort bombers to this target, flying 1,670 miles from bases in Morotai.

20 October. A strong force of American troops land on Leyte island in the Philippines.

22 October. Headquarters of an advance echelon, Fifth AF, arrives on Leyte.

27 October. Thirty-four P-38s of the 49th Fighter Group land at Leyte. AAF relieves ANF of the air defense of Leyte.

28 October. Second enemy ORMOC convoy.

3–5 December. Fifth AF "Snoopers" inaugurate attacks by Allied Air Forces bombers on Luzon establishments by hitting Clark and Zoblan airdromes.

6 December. Japanese launch ground and paratroop attack on Burauen Airfields on Leyte.

7 December. Fifty-six enemy planes are destroyed by American fighter planes in the last important air engagement over Leyte. One P-38 is lost.

14 December. Fifth AF begins a series of dawn-to-dusk attacks on enemy airdromes on Negros.

19 December. Fifth AF fighters begin operating from San Jose air strip on Mindoro.

26 December. GHQ announces end of all organized Japanese resistance on Leyte.

3–5 January 1945. American troops occupy Marinduque island in the Philippines.

9 January. U. S. Sixth Army lands at points on Lingayen Gulf.

15 January. Fifth AF fighters begin operating from Lingayen strip on Luzon.

17 January. Allied AF relieves Allied Naval Forces of responsibility for direct operation with the ground forces in the Lingayen area and for protection of convoys en route to and from Lingayen Gulf.
21 January. B-24s list Formosa in first large-scale night attack.
22 January. Fighters escort B-24s on the first mass raid in the reduction of Formosa.
24 January. Fifth AF medium bombers begin operating from Lingayen and Margsdam strips.
28 January. Air fields in the Clark Field area are entirely under American control.
29 January. American troops land in Subic Bay area after 10 days of concentrated air attack.
30 January. Allied ground units make an amphibious landing in Batangas-Tayabas area.
3 February. The 1st Cavalry enters Manila. Units of 11th Airborne Division make parachute landing near Tagaytay Ridge.
16 February. Paratroopers of the 503d Regiment land on Corregidor.
25 February. All effective enemy resistance is eliminated in Manila according to GHQ.
27 February. Organized enemy resistance on Corregidor ceases.
28 February. 186th Regimental Combat Team lands on Palawan.
2 March. Fifth AF B-24s, B-25s, and A-20s make their heaviest strike to this date on Formosa attacking 6 airdromes.
8 March. First landings on Mindanao.
10 March. Lashio, Burma occupied.
18–22 March. Panay occupied.
30 March. Last mission by B-29s from China, India bases.
1 April to 21 June. Okinawa Campaign.
5 April. MacArthur and Nimitz appointed to lead Army and Navy in the Pacific.
7 April. U. S. S. R. denounces neutrality pact with Japan.
7 April. First Fighter Escort Mission flown from Iwo Jima in support of B-29 strike.
29 April. Occupation of Baguio, Philippines.
1 May. Tarakan, Borneo invaded.
4 May. Rangoon, Burma occupied.
6 May. Davao, Philippines liberated.
24–26 May. Superforts blast Tokyo with fire bombs.
10 June. Australians land at Brunei Bay, North Borneo.
21 June. Australians capture Miri Oil Fields, North Borneo.
1 July. Australians land at Balikpapan Bay.
5 July. Entire Philippines liberated.
10 July. Fleet Bombers attack Tokyo area.
11 July. Balikapapan Bay, Borneo secured.
14–15 July. Fleet shells northern Honshi and Hokkaido, Japan.
18 July. Fleet blasts Hitachi, Najima Cape, Yokosuka, Japan.
19 July. Fleet blasts Hitachi, Najima Cape, Yokosuka, Japan.

26 July. Potsdam Ultimatum (U. S., Britain, China) demands unconditional surrender.
29 July. Premier Suzuki states Japan will ignore ultimatum.
6 August. First atomic bomb on Hiroshima.
8 August. U. S. S. R. declares war on Japan, effective 9 August, 1945.
9 August. Second atomic bomb on Nagasaki.
10 August. Domei, official Japanese News Agency broadcasts Japan's willingness to surrender, providing Hirohito's prerogatives are unimpaired.
11 August. Swiss legation receives State Department's note clarifying Allied position on Emperor and relays note to Japan.
14 August. Last B-29 mission against Japan.
14 August. Official Surrender Text transmitted by Swiss to State Department, carried to White House by Secretary of State Byrnes, and at 7 P.M. President Truman announces end of war.

39 The Co-Prosperity Sphere and Its Fate

BURMA

The political situation in Burma resembled that of India in so far as in both countries there was a strong anti-British nationalistic movement. The various factions opposing foreign control met in Tokyo in 1940 and reached an agreement with Japan on seven points:[1] (1) These groups were to be organized into a secret body, the National Revolutionary Party; (2) this party was to raise an army, the Burma Independence Army, under Japanese command and supplied with Japanese arms; (3) the National Revolutionary Party was to instigate insurrections in Burma; (4) Japan was to recognize the independence of Burma; (5) the Japanese were to defend the country; (6) a provisional government was to be instituted after the conquest of Tennasserim; and (7) the National Revolutionary Party was to be given 200 millions of rupees by the Japanese. The Japanese, in return for this support, obtained commercial privileges and control of the Burma Road.

The Japanese failed to take advantage of the anti-British sentiments. They supported local "quislings" and at the same time befriended pro-British leaders. Orders were given making it obligatory for all natives to construct docks and roads instead of paying taxes. In order to intimidate the 400,000 Indian workers in Burma, Japanese soldiers pulled the beards of captured Sikhs and shaved them, an insult to their religious beliefs. The Japanese looted Indian homes and business houses and killed Indian men, women, and children in the drive for mastery. They urged the Burmese in 1942 to create a base at Chitagong where the Japanese and their friends could link up with the Indian nationalists.

Burma was granted "independence" on August 1, 1943, by Japan, and at once declared war against the United States and Great Britain. The Burmese National Army, however, secretly supported the Allies and fought the enemy side by side with the British 14th Army in the last days of the war. In north Burma the hill folk, the Kachins and Chins, gave aid to the British. They saved scores of airmen who had parachuted into hostile territory.

[1] The most powerful of the nationalistic bodies was the *Dobamma Asiayone* ("Our Burma Organization"), founded in 1930. The other parties had little popular support. These included the *Sinyetha* ("Poor People's Party"), directed by Dr. Ba Maw and the *Myochit* ("Patriotic Party"), led by U Saw. U Saw was sentenced to be executed (December, 1947) for the assassination of seven Burmese cabinet ministers.

World War II brought extensive injuries to Burma. The enemy eradicated most of the small business houses and many of the farms through the creation of large organizations directed by Japanese. The American-built Gokteik viaduct was wrecked by the retreating Japanese. All large railroad yard stations and workshops were razed. In the region of Katha, north Burma, miles of rails were torn up. Asphalt highways were rutted. Most of the cities were demolished. Excepting China and Japan, Burma suffered more than any other Oriental country from the ravages of war.

The London government turned to political considerations before the Japanese were defeated. Leopold S. Amery, Secretary of State for India and Burma, announced in December, 1944, that England was prepared to aid Burma attain Dominion status. This plan was outlined in a White Paper of May 17, 1945, which provided for Burma's achievement of "full self-government within the British Commonwealth" in three stages. Owing to the material damages, immediate self-government was impossible and therefore stage one, ending in December, 1948, was to be marked by direct administration by England, assisted by an executive council which "could be expanded as opportunity offers by the inclusion in it of nonofficial Burmese." Stage two was to include general elections and a return to the type of self-government enjoyed before 1941. Stage three called for a constitution, to be approved by London, under which Burma was to have complete self-government as part of the Commonwealth. Burma's right to elect a Constituent Assembly and have an interim regime with more extensive powers was announced on January 28, 1947. The draft Constitution stipulated that the country was to be known as the Union of Burma, including all the territory within British Burma and the Karenni States. It was to be administered as an independent sovereign republic.

A treaty was signed in London on October 17, 1947, by Prime Minister Attlee and Premier Thakin Nu of Burma making the latter an independent nation on January 6, 1948.

During the second reading of the Burmese Independence Bill (November 5, 1947) in the House of Commons, approved by a vote of 288 to 114, Prime Minister Attlee stated that the bill represented the desires of the Burmese and it was the "duty" of the English to carry out these desires. He maintained that "in our view, nations have a right to decide the nature of their own governments." The Prime Minister also pointed out that all minorities were to be protected under the new constitution, trade with England was to be "regularized," and a satisfactory defense plan was to be executed. Arthur Henderson, in ending the debate for the Labor Government, said the bill was in accordance with the traditions of the House of Commons because England was supporting the "free and independent nations of this earth."

Winston Churchill, leader of the opposition, delivered a fiery denunciation of the bill. He warned his countrymen that the "horrors and disasters" visited upon India would be enacted in Burma. Half the number of troops "squandered" in Palestine would have enabled Britain to main-

tain Burma in the status of a Dominion. The wartime leader called attention to the fact that the Labor Government in January, 1947, had negotiated with the Burmese who "have either been murdered or are being tried for their lives for the mass murder of the Burmese Cabinet in July." [2] England now stood to face "another scene of misery and ruin, marking and illustrating the fearful retrogression of civilization which the abandonment by Great Britain of her responsibilities, has brought and is bringing upon Asia and the world." [3]

SIAM

Siam feared the power of Japan.[4] She had viewed Japanese moves with uneasiness and felt that more was to be gained through collaboration than by opposition. Some Siamese also hoped that Japan would aid them in the recovery of regions lost to France and Great Britain. Many of the younger officers, having been trained in Japan, were pro-Japanese. The Japanese slogan of "Asia for the Asiatics" appealed to many patriots. Japan had wined and dined Siamese officers when they visited the empire, treating them as equals, in contrast to the coolness displayed by Westerners.

Siam and Japan concluded a treaty in June, 1940, which included provisions regulating the exchange of information in matters of common interest and guarantees of nonassistance to a third power in time of war. Three hundred senior Japanese officers arrived in Siam in January, 1941, as instructors in the army and air force. The Japanese Ambassador to Siam, on December 8, 1941, presented an ultimatum to the government demanding that troops be allowed to pass through the country enroute to British Malaya. Influenced by the fact that there were about 2,000 Japanese soldiers within the Bangkok area, the Siamese cabinet ordered the army to offer no opposition to the invaders. Japan and Siam signed a 10-year military alliance on December 21, 1941. This understanding placed Siam under complete Japanese control.

The Japanese military in May, 1942, devaluated the Siamese *tical* or *baht,* despite the protests of native and Japanese business interests. Branches of the Yokohama Specie Bank were opened in the leading cities.

[2] Six leaders of the Interim Government were assassinated on July 19, 1947, including U Aung San, head of the Burmese National Army during the war and the most influential figure in Burma's political life. All were members of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League upon whom England was depending to direct Burma toward dominion-hood. The British arrested as one of the suspects in the murders, U Saw, a former collaborator with Japan who started a united front and agitated against the British.

[3] China, in 1948, was prepared to lay claim to 75,000 square miles of territory in North Burma. This boundary dispute started in 1894 as result of an Anglo-Chinese treaty which left open for later negotiations that part of Burmese territory north of 25 degrees, 35 minutes, North latitude.

The Burmese government, on December 1, 1947, announced that Burma had no intention of surrendering any of the disputed area.

[4] Siam was known as Thailand from 1939 to September, 1945. In the native language it is called "Thai," the name of a cultural or a language group.

The Hamburg-Siamese Company, of German origin, planned to exploit the tin resources. The Japanese made efforts to extend production for export of castor beans, hides, tungsten, zinc, and rubber. The Siamese government was required to allot large sums of money as rewards for work in agriculture and industry aiming at increased production.

The underground was a great aid in foiling the Japanese. Twenty-one Siamese students, enrolled in American universities, were given commissions in the "Free Thai" Army, and put under the direction of the Office of Strategic Services for training as guerrilla fighters. They and their American comrades entered Siam in March, 1943, and contacted the local underground, led by the Regent, Luang Pradit Manduharm. This unit instructed 10,000 guerrillas, constructed landing fields in the jungles, built weather and radio stations and aided in the rescue of Allied fighters.

The United States, on August 19, 1945, received a note which stated that the declaration of war against her friends had been erased and that Siam was ready to work with the United Nations for world stability. A treaty was signed on January 1, 1946, with Great Britain, after the United States had intervened in order to ascertain that Siam would not be forced to submit to terms detrimental to her interests. This treaty included reparation clauses and Siamese participation in regional security measures in southeast Asia and the southwest Pacific, under the guidance of the United Nations Charter. Siam, on April 29, 1947, was the fifty-fifth nation to enter the organization of the United Nations.[5]

KOREA

The pressure upon Korea after the beginning of World War II differed little from that applied since 1910 when the "Land of the Morning Calm" fell completely under Japanese sway. For 31 years Japanese edicts aimed to eradicate all civil rights and all freedom of speech. The Japanese announced on February 1, 1944, that Korean males between the ages of 18 and 45 were to be conscripted into the Imperial Army. Determined not to fight against the Allies, hundreds of Koreans fled into Soviet regions or joined the Chinese guerrillas. Many who remained opposed the Japanese through strikes and sabotage. The propaganda of the Japanese aiming to convert the Koreans to the virtues of the "Holy War" failed to impress all the Koreans. The Japanese Privy Council approved a bill giving Koreans representation in the Imperial Diet. This gesture did not win over the ardent nationalists.

The immediate task of the American occupation forces in south Korea was to disarm all Japanese and repatriate them to the homeland. The

[5] Army officers, headed by Field Marshal Luang Pibul Songgram, Japanese puppet during World War II, seized Bangkok and overthrew the government on November 9, 1947. Khuang Aphaiwong, premier for a short time in 1944 and 1946, leader of the democratic faction, was named premier. Parliament was dissolved, elections were promised within three months, and a new State Supreme Council was created to aid the 20-year-old (1948) King Phumibon Aduldet, at the time a student in Switzerland. His older brother, King Ananda, was assassinated in June, 1946.

second objective was to aid in economic rehabilitation and encourage development of a democratic, independent Korea according to the terms of the Moscow agreement of December, 1945.[6] The first American troops who landed on September 9, 1945, were greeted with jubilation. This feeling was not of long duration. Criticism was leveled against the methods employed by the Soviet Union and the United States. There were complaints against the policy of separating Korea into two zones, which gave the people two masters and also created serious economic difficulties.

In the summer of 1946, the Joint Soviet-American Commission was unable to settle its differences. The United States had suggested that the arbitrary division of Korea at the 38th parallel be discontinued in order to permit the country to function as a political and economic entity. This suggestion was rejected by the Soviet command, despite Russia's expressed intentions of aiding in the restoration of Korean stability. The United States Department of State, in August, 1946, made a statement, directed to Moscow as well as the people of Korea:

"The United States wishes to see a united, independent, and democratic Korean government established as early as possible and has made solemn commitments to aid the Korean people in achieving their independence. . . . We believe in the right of the Korean people to determine for themselves the kind of economy and democratic political organization they require and are opposed to establishing any minority group in power. We stand for freedom of speech, of assembly, and of the press. . . . The United States has no imperialistic aims in Korea. Military government was established to take over when the Japanese rule collapsed; it is temporary in nature. Therefore we desire to establish co-operation between all political parties and a Korean legislative body, to express Korean views and aspirations, and to provide Korean leadership."

After establishing order in south Korea, the American Military Government permitted the entrance of two political leaders, Dr. Rhee Syngam and Kim Koo, who had been in exile since 1919. There were many who were not enthusiastic over their appearance in view of the fact that neither of these elderly revolutionists had carried on direct relations with the Korean nationalist movement for more than two decades. Distrust was increased by their co-operation with a group of Koreans who had collaborated with the Japanese.

The American Military Government placed Rhee and Kim in control of an Advisory Council. This body was without authority because some of the democratic Koreans refused to accept seats on the Council. The Military Government thereupon created a Korean Democratic Representative Council with Rhee and Kim as chairman and vice-chairman respectively. Once again, the democratic groups refused to acknowledge

[6] This agreement, approved by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, included formation of a provisional democratic regime supported by an American-Soviet Commission co-operating with Korean democratic organizations and a four-power trusteeship for five years, to be followed by independence. The Moscow agreement was more specific than the declaration of the Cairo Conference which stated that Korean independence would be established "in due course."

this ultraconservative organ. The Americans supported Rhee and Kim with the aid of three parties, the Korean Democratic Party, the Korean National Party, and the New Korean Nationalist Party. These factions were conservative in aims, composed mainly of wealthy landlords, merchants, and officials who had accepted the presence of the Japanese.

As a result of the American Military Government's sponsoring of groups rooted in the old political and economic system, a popular opposition grew. This led to the coalition of the progressive, democratic bodies, including the Korean People's Party, the New Korea Party, the Korean Communist Party, the Korean Trade Union Alliance, and the Korean Farmers Union. The "democratic front" was supported by the Korean Youth Alliance, the Korean Women's Alliance, and representatives of the All-Korean Cultural Reconstruction Alliance, the All-Korean Scientists Alliance, and the *Chun Do,* the only native religion of Korea.

This popular opposition, reinforced by Soviet opinion, believed that the American Military Government merely was supplanting the old Japanese control. The view was strengthened by suppression of the Communist Party's press, imprisonment of many of its leaders, and curtailing of the rights of speech and assembly.[7]

The influence of these groups had its effect upon the American occupation authorities. An ordinance was promulgated providing for the creation in November, 1946, of the long debated Korean Interim Legislative Assembly which had its counterpart in the Russian zone as the People's Committee. The purpose of this ordinance was "to increase the participation of democratic elements in the government by the establishment of an interim legislative body and thus to foster the development of the country on democratic principles pending the early establishment of a unified Korean state." This decision was reaffirmed in January, 1947, by Lieutenant General John R. Hodge, commander of American forces in southern Korea.

The problem of creating a single independent Korea developed into a stalemate during the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Joint Commission for Korea held 62 conferences between March, 1946, and October, 1947. On every occasion the Russians refused to admit that any except Communists and their allies should be consulted regarding the type of government to be established. The Americans were firm in insisting upon a more democratic method of participation.

Korea also was considered at Lake Success, New York, during the sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Andrei Gromyko, Soviet representative, on November 5, 1947, accused the United States of using the United Nations as a screen to conceal "American expansionist plans" in Korea. The Russian declared that the "Korean people do not want to exchange Japanese slavery for American slavery."

John Foster Dulles, American representative, replied to these charges

[7] The picture was probably worse in northern Korea, but Soviet censorship prevented any detailed information from reaching the American press.

that it was "the absolute and firm intention of the United States to withdraw its troops wholly and completely from Korea and we have no intention of seeking bases and military holds on Korea."

The General Assembly, on November 16, 1947, voting 43 to 0, with six members abstaining, created a special commission for the supervision of Korean elections to be held not later than March 31, 1948. The Soviet Union and its bloc refused to vote on the ground that the United Nations was making a move without consulting the wishes of the Korean people.

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

Japan made many promises to grant self-government to Java and win the friendship of the island's 50 million Indonesians. An "autonomy program" was initiated in 1943. This act created a Central Council which had authority to advise and submit proposals to the Japanese military. Japan also planned to form "Councils of Co-operation" in the municipalities and appoint Indonesian "advisors" to the occupation government.

Japan instituted cultural bodies in order to obtain "effective co-operation between Indonesians, Chinese, and Eurasians." The drive for "cultural organization" was carried down to the community centers. This was accomplished by creating a "neighborhood association conference" system, in which from 3 to 20 households formed a unit. An Institute for Racial Studies was opened which sought to prove that the Japanese were a master race selected by the gods to rule over inferior peoples.

The Japanese hoped to eradicate all Western influences and stamp the islands with their mark. Telephone conversations in Java were permitted only in the Japanese and Malayan languages. Japanese language schools with six-year courses were opened. Newspapers were published only in Japanese and Malayan. The Indonesian national anthem, "Indonesia Rajah" (Great Indonesia) was replaced by the Japanese inspired "Asia Timur Rajah" (Greater East Asia). Slogans were displayed calling Japan "the Light of Asia," "the Mother of Asia," "the Leader of Asia."

The Japanese military administration made a revision of textbooks for Indonesian schools explaining, "these textbooks were compiled under Dutch rule and . . . they contain mainly improper stories which aim at checking the elevation of the cultural and intellectual standards of Malay children. The new textbooks . . . will greatly enhance the character of the native children, and they will promote their understanding of Japan and things Japanese."

The Japanese attempted to make Java into the "sole supply garden" for all occupation forces in the southern Pacific. They tried many methods to induce industries to maintain high quotas. The "Mining Industry Association," the "Goods Control Association," the "Farm Association," and the "Plantation Control Corporation" were created only to be dissolved and emphasis placed upon persuading individuals rather than corporations to co-operate.

One year after the occupation, the Japanese were faced with financial

chaos. They expected to replace Netherlands currency with their own issues in order to control all credit, but they encountered native resistance. The population hoarded Netherlands money and invested in real property as a backlog to the Japanese inflationary decrees. In the move to centralize finances, the Japanese liquidated the important banks and supported the Yokohama Specie Bank, the Bank of Taiwan, and the Mitsui Bank.

The Japanese were cruel to the natives. Prisoners-of-war and civilians were mistreated. Some were burned alive. Some were forced to drink soapy water and then soldiers jumped upon the swollen stomachs of the victims. Some were made to stand with eyes open to the blazing sun. Scores of women were bayoneted because they were discovered listening to broadcasts from the stations of the Allies. Out of 1,700 Indonesian slave workers in one labor camp, only 217 survived the brutality of the guards.

The Netherlands government in January, 1942, prepared the way for colonial autonomy within the framework of the empire. The authorities in exile in Australia planned to train Indonesians for the higher brackets of the Civil Service.

In line with this policy, many Indonesian leaders subscribed to the new order. One nationalist, Burhanuden, editor of the Malay publication, *Penjuluh* (The Torch), published in Melbourne, discussed sarcastically, in 1943, the "blessings" conferred upon his countrymen by the Japanese and expressed the hopes for a future of liberalism under the protection of Holland. "From olden times Indonesians have lived communally, but when the Japanese invaded . . . that age-old way of living became endangered. . . . We are convinced that one day the Japanese will be cleared from our country so that we shall be able to live again. Postwar Indonesia will be a better land, with more happiness and prosperity for all. Towards this goal all Indonesia will share with the other parts of the Netherlands Kingdom in the responsibility to contribute to security and lasting peace."

Dr. Hubertus J. van Mook, Acting Governor General of the Netherlands Indies, declared in May, 1945, that "the policy of the future . . . was outlined in the Queen's speech of December 6, 1942. Its main passages are as follows:

" 'In the previous addresses I announced that it is my intention, after the liberation, to create the occasion for a joint consultation about the structure of the Kingdom. . . . I am convinced that after the war it will be possible to reconstruct the Kingdom on the social foundation of complete partnership. . . . I visualize . . . a Commonwealth in which the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam, and Curacao will participate, with complete self-reliance and freedom of conduct for each part regarding its internal affairs, but with the readiness to render mutual assistance.' " [8]

Five days after the surrender of the Japanese, August 19, 1945, the Indonesian leader, Soekarno, gained leadership of "Independent Indo-

[8] Address by Dr. van Mook, "Past and Future in the Netherlands Indies," published by the Netherlands Information Bureau, New York

nesia," a faction supported by the Japanese. The first British occupation troops landed on September 29 at Batavia. Lieutenant General Sir Philip Christison, British commander of the Allied occupation forces, announced that he would not "become involved in internal politics." He had no intention to expel the Japanese-appointed "Indonesian government" but expected it to carry on the civil administration in the areas unoccupied by the Allies. Orders were given that Netherlands soldiers be debarred from participating in the landings because "leaders of the Soekarno movement had stated that they would oppose such landings." General Christison planned to bring Netherlands representatives and nationalist leaders to a round-table conference. The Indonesian troops conscripted by the Japanese and the members of the nationalist movement were not to be disarmed and were to be permitted to fly their "national flag."

The Netherlands government, on October 1, 1945, made it clear that it refused to deal with Soekarno. "This man with his fascist tendencies has systematically preached hatred against the allies. One of his slogans was . . . 'America we shall iron out—England we shall break open with a crowbar.' " Three days later, The Hague reiterated its determination to have no relations with anyone who had been appointed by the Japanese. It appealed to all Indonesians to work through the People's Council, created before World War II, for the "new status of the empire."

The nationalists had control of most of the official functions in Bandung and Surabaya by October. In both cities they had Japanese armored cars and weapons. The Bandung radio station identified itself as "The Voice of Free Asia" and called for recognition of the "Indonesian Republic and Soekarno." An answer was given to the nationalists by J. H. A. Logemann, Minister of Overseas Territories. He declared that "any promise to Soekarno and his movement would be . . . unfruitful. . . . The government has been asked to make promises, but some people have forgotten that the government has already promised to discuss the future structure of the Indies and the entire Netherlands Commonwealth at a round-table conference."

The Soekarno faction directed its attacks not only against the Netherlands but also against the "moderate" nationalists. The Soekarno paper, the *Berita Indonesia,* pointed out that "we must destroy the nationalist-reformist groups and also the nationalist-bourgeois group which is always trying to compromise." The official organ, the *Merdeka,* declared that "we warn all persons who collaborate with the allies that their throats are being made ready for cutting. . . . Long and sharp knives are at hand to cut the throats of all these traitors, for they are our enemies, no matter from which race or nationality they spring."

British forces landed at Padang, on the west coast of Sumatra, on October 13. The Batavian headquarters of the "Indonesia People's Army," spearhead of the "Indonesian Republic," issued a war proclamation. "When the sun sets we Indonesian people are at war with the Dutch. With this declaration we order all Indonesians to find their own enemy—Dutch, Eurasian, or Ambonese. The weapons of war are all kinds of firearms,

also poisoned darts and arrows, all methods of arson and any kind of wild animals, as for instance, snakes. Guerrilla warfare will be stepped up by economic warfare."

Five days of conflict between Japanese soldiers and Indonesian nationalists ended in Semarang, on October 19, 1945, after a detachment of Gurkhas had landed. At a meeting attended by Allies, Japanese and Indonesians, it was agreed that the Japanese would be evacuated and all Indonesians would be disarmed, excepting a police force. A statement was issued by Amir Sjarifudin, "Minister of Information" of the "Indonesian Republic," appealing to the world to settle the question "on an international platform." "The Indonesian government stresses that it is prepared to open discussion with anybody whatsoever on the basis that the right to self-determination of the Indonesian people is acknowledged."

Hostility continued. The 4,000 British in Surabaya were besieged. Reinforcements were rushed to Java in October, 1945. An order was issued by General Christison, warning the Indonesians that unless those who "have committed acts like the unprovoked attack at Surabaya surrender to my forces, I intend to bring the whole weight of my sea, land, and air forces, and weapons of modern war against them until they are crushed."

A statement of policy was released on November 6, by Acting Governor General van Mook. "The government recognizes the legitimate aspirations of the Indonesians towards national existence and is convinced that these aspirations can be realized by a process of evolution through friendly co-operation between Indonesians and Netherlanders. The central purpose is therefore the rapid development of Indonesia as a partner in a Kingdom which will be constructed to guarantee the national self-respect of all its member-peoples. . . . The admission of Indonesian and other non-Dutch citizens to the general services of the Kingdom can be systematically increased forthwith. Regulations and institutions based on racial discrimination or considered as such shall be abrogated or reformed. The distinction between the Netherlands and the Indonesian civil service shall be abolished."

This statement was rejected by Soekarno with the comment that he was "not in the least impressed," although his "Foreign Minister," Dr. Subardjo, suggested a plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations to determine whether the Indies were to remain with the Netherlands.

The London conference between British and Netherlands officials was concluded in December, 1945, with no basic changes in the policy and no indications that Indonesia was to be given immediate home rule. In the communique issued after the talks, the British reaffirmed their "obligation" to aid the Netherlands in re-establishing "without delay conditions of security," making possible negotiations with "representative Indonesians."

The British, in January, 1946, began extensive operations against the extremists in central Java. At the same time, the new moderate Socialist premier, Sutan Sjahrir, declared that settlement was impossible unless it

was made by the Indonesians and the United Nations, not with the Netherlands alone. The Netherlands, thereupon, offered to create a Commonwealth of Indonesia and promised that the people would have the right to choose freedom or partnership within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. This pronouncement did not break the deadlock. The Indonesians were determined to gain independence. They were suspicious of all proposals coming from the Netherlands, seeing them as expedients only to gain time in order to strengthen forces for a final blow.

Three battalions of Netherlands troops reached Batavia in March, 1946. Premier Sjahrir opposed this surprise move. His attitude, however, did not delay the meeting with the British and Netherlands representatives. The Hague stated, on May 2, 1946, that the peace discussions had made "real progress" and "when the sinister elements, which are now playing a major part, have been removed . . . then the Government has firm belief . . . that Java as an autonomy governed by the same groups who are now in power—the Indonesian Republic—will be the materialization of the political desires of the entire Indonesian population of Java."

At last, on November 13, 1946, an agreement was concluded in which the Netherlands granted self-rule to the Indies. All internal affairs of the Indonesian Republic were to be in the hands of the local government. The inauguration of the United States of Indonesia was set for January 1, 1949. The Provisional State of East Indonesia was proclaimed on December 25, 1946.

A brighter day appeared to be dawning for the peoples of the old Netherlands Indies. The Netherlands and Indonesia, on March 25, 1947, signed the "Cheribon Agreement" in which The Hague recognized the Republic of Indonesia, composed of Java, Sumatra, and Madura, and also worked out the details for the establishment of Indonesia, Borneo, and the Eastern Island as a sovereign nation by January 1, 1949. This nation was to be known as the United States of Indonesia, an equal of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the Netherlands-Indonesian Union.

This auspicious political move did not mark the end of tension. The commander of the Indonesian Republican Army, Lieutenant General Soedirman, called for resistance to the Netherlands. There were clashes in Sumatra between Indonesian and Netherlands forces. Holland requested military equipment from the United States for use against the natives, a request rejected by Washington.

Other events complicated the situation. The Pasoendan Party (People's Party), with an official membership of 12,000,000 Sundanese, a Malay people living in Western Java, in May, 1947, announced their intentions to establish an independent state in West Java, with capital at Bandung. It asked for aid from Holland against their ancient foes, the Javanese, and offered to return to legal owners all confiscated factories and plantations. Fights occurred between the Pasoendan militia and units of the Republican Army. The Pasoendan seized the 35-mile Batavia-Buitenzorg Railway in May, 1947, held by the Republic, and turned it over to the Netherlands army.

The Republican Cabinet met in June to consider the "final offer" of the Holland government that a joint temporary Netherlands-Indonesian regime be created in order to formulate a federal government for the anticipated United States of Indonesia. This proposal was accepted by the moderate groups led by Premier Sjahrir and Acting Governor General Hubertus J. van Mook, but the negotiations for a reasonable settlement were complicated by the interference of Netherlands' manufacturers, strife within the ranks of the Republic, the emergence of the Pasoendan Party, and the uncompromising military factions.

The Indonesian question was one of the most important problems debated by the United Nations. J. W. M. Snouck Hurgronji, Netherlands representative to the United Nations, on July 22, 1947, stated that his government had been forced to resort to "police measures of a strictly limited character" in order to maintain stability in the Colony. He accused the Indonesian Republic of violating the truce concluded with the Netherlands Government in October, 1946, and charged the Republic with inability to maintain "security, law and order in their territory while refusing to co-operate with the Netherlands Government."

Dr. Elco N. van Kleffens, Netherlands Ambassador to Washington, on July 30, maintained that the United Nations Security Council had no jurisdiction over the problem of Indonesia. He believed the Council's authority was to be extended only when sovereign states were involved.[9]

Dr. van Kleffens presented the Netherland's side of the story. He emphasized the point that all parties at The Hague, excepting the Communists and the Indonesian States of Borneo and Eastern Indonesia, advocated the use of military pressure against the Republic. In order to end hostilities, the Republic would have to adhere to the "Cheribon Agreement" which included the provisions for the creation of a Union. The Republic, however, had created governors for Borneo and Eastern Indonesia, carried on diplomatic relations with foreign countries, blockaded the areas held by the Netherlands, and made no moves to curtail the acts of terror committed by Republican soldiers. Dr. van Kleffens declared that no attempt was being made to destroy the Republic: "Any question of colonialism is out of the question. We have no use for servants there. What we want is partners."

The United Nations Security Council by a vote of 80 to 0, on August 1, 1947, asked both factions to "cease hostilities forthwith" and to "settle their disputes by arbitration or by other peaceful means." England, France, and Belgium abstained from voting. Colonel W. R. Hodgson, Australian delegate, who presented the case before the Council, stated that Holland, who had begun "police action," was required by

[9] Legal experts at the United Nations were in agreement that the action of Holland in Indonesia constituted a new aspect of international law. They pointed out that in view of the fact that the government of Indonesia was recognized by Holland, the opposition was not an act of rebellion. It was also emphasized that the conflict was not a war between two sovereign states because Indonesian independence was not to materialize until January 1, 1949. It is evident that the entire field of international law relating to former colonies must be revised.

the United Nations Charter to accept the verdict of the Council. The Indonesian Republic, on August 2, agreed to "cease fire" provided the troops of Holland withdrew behind the lines held before the outbreak of hostilities and eventually withdraw from all the Archipelago (Jogjakarta). This position was modified five days later when the Republic informed the United Nations that it was willing to accept any decision reached by the Security Council.

The Hague, on August 12, announced that plans had been made to convoke a round table conference to include delegates from all the states of Indonesia in an effort to construct a United States of Indonesia. This move indicated that Holland was determined to settle the problem without recourse to arbitration, in contrast to the Republic which desired intervention rather than independent negotiations.

Ex-Premier Sutan Sjahrir was the first Indonesian delegate to appear before the United Nations. He asked, on August 14, for intervention from the Security Council. The Indonesian representative discussed the history of the Indies before the coming of the white men and also attacked the invader. "Not only did Dutch oppression and exploitation account for our backwardness and degradation, but they also led to the fall of my country from its ancient proud place to that of a weak dejected colony."

Dr. van Kleffens spoke the following day against the Council's prejudice in favor of the Republic. "Let the Council beware of such precedents, precedents which in the course of time may bother your country just as my country may be bothered now." He claimed the Council was exceeding its authority. "We are all for a commission or an investigation, but we hold that the Security Council has not the right to establish one."

Vice-president Mohammed Hatta of the Republic of Indonesia, on September 19, demanded that Holland agree to a referendum, under international supervision, in order that the 9,000,000 people of Sumatra would be able to choose the Republic or the "small Dutch-controlled puppet states." Vice-president Hatta declared the government of Sumatra supported the premier in favoring negotiations with Holland on the basis of the "Cheribon Agreement" provided a third power supervised the talks in order to prevent any exclusively Netherland interpretation of agreements reached during the conversations.

The Netherlands, on August 26, made a step toward a future United States of Indonesia by creating the self-governing region of East Borneo. West Borneo and East Indonesia had been recognized early in 1947. At the same time, the Security Council appealed to the Netherlands and Republic to adhere to the cease-fire order. The United Kingdom was the only group which abstained from voting on this resolution.

The Hague, on August 29, accepted the aid of the Security Council in settling the dispute and acknowledged the authority of the consuls of the nations represented in the United Nations to act. Holland also took the position that it viewed the Security Council as incompetent to consider the problem and that Holland alone was responsible for law and order. The following day, Dr. van Mook suggested that Holland end the

authority of the Republic and push forces into the capital located at Jogjakarta. Dr. Louis J. M. Beel, Premier and Acting Minister for Overseas Affairs, announced, on September 23, a plan for a central body to function until the establishment of the United States of Indonesia.

The United States, on October 9, rejected a suggestion of the Soviet Union that both factions be ordered by the United Nations to withdraw to lines held before hostilities began. Warren A. Austin, United States representative in the United Nations, stated that this motion, made by Andrei A. Gromyko, could be interpreted as a violation of the Charter and result in weakening the rights of Holland. The Soviet official replied by criticizing "certain states" for supporting Holland and pointed out the Security Council would have to act immediately in the face of Netherlands guilt. The members of the Council opposed to the Russian position declared that no action was to be taken until a complete report had been submitted by the consuls or until the committee of the United Nations selected to study the dispute had completed its findings.

Dr. Elco N. van Kleffens declared before the Security Council, on October 31, that political questions were uppermost and no efforts were to be made to stop the fighting until these issues were solved. The same day, Premier Amir Sjarifoeddin broadcast from the Indonesian capital that hostilities would be extended and "lead to large-scale warfare" unless the Netherlands withdrew to positions held on July 21, 1947.[10] Then, on December 23, 1947, the Netherlands and Indonesia accepted the plan of the United Nations for a new demilitarized zone.

THE PHILIPPINES

The Japanese and their Filipino puppets set out to create a "new order" after the defeat of the United States. The Commander in Chief of the Japanese forces issued the following rules for guidance of the people:

"1. The significance of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere must be fully recognized, and the part the Philippines are to bear as a link in the Co-Prosperity Sphere must be fully taught for strengthening co-operation with Japan.

"2. The idea of depending on Britain and the United States must be abolished entirely, and Philippine culture based on the people's self-consciousness of being Asiatics must be established.

"3. The tendency of placing importance on material values must be rejected and morality be fostered.

"4. Diffusion of the Japanese language is to be encouraged, and the use of English is to be abolished.

[10] The United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment held in Havana, on November 28, 1947, considered the administration of Holland in Indonesian and accused it of using a "discriminatory, monopolistic blockade to strangle the Republic of Indonesia economically" and also being responsible for the low living standards of the natives. (For details of the dispute from the viewpoint of Holland, see *The Political Events in the Republic of Indonesia*, published by The Netherlands Information Bureau, New York City.)

"5. Importance is to be given to the diffusion of primary education as well as occupational education.

"6. Love of labor is to be fostered."

The benefits of the change brought about by the Japanese were given wide publicity. "Freed from the burden of American influence and expression, the Philippines are stepping forward vigorously along the road of reconstruction . . . the ravages of American gangsters are things of the past. . . . Free economy is a thing of the past. . . . With the defeat of the Americans, the Filipinos have awakened from their illusionary dreams. They have at last realized the evils of Americanism, and the fact that they are Asiatics, and that they are bound to revive the virtues of the East."

The reports were filled with descriptions of the charms of the economic innovations. "Until recently, should you ask a man anything, he was sure to say, 'I'll ask my wife first and then answer you!' If the wife shook her head, the matter was dropped entirely. The right of decision lay completely in wives' hands.

"However, with the coming of the Japanese soldiers, a great change has taken place among the women. They have learned to bow their heads to men.

"The cause lies in the Japanese soldiers. All Japanese bow to the Japanese sentinels who stand sternly erect day and night with heavy guns on their shoulders. The Filipino men first began to bow to them. Then the women, who hitherto had never bowed to a man, began paying their respect. The custom has gradually come into the homes and is changing the women's attitude toward men."

The harvest of Japanese labors, however, was found to be meager. Food and clothing shortages increased. Scores of agencies were created in order to control distribution. Rice was obtained by barter or black market. Most of the sugar was used by the Japanese for the manufacture of alcohol. Copra and coconut oil industries were dormant. Cities suffered from unemployment and community kitchens and governmental distribution of food and cotton cloth were necessary. The Bureau of Public Welfare announced, in September, 1944, that 600,000 people, excluding veterans and their families, had been given assistance.

In the summer of 1942, orders were issued for the labor of all unemployed persons in agriculture in order to "avert and forestall famine throughout the land." The campaigns for food cultivation were unsuccessful. In March, 1944, all able-bodied men and women between the ages of 16 to 60 were commanded to register for compulsory unpaid labor on the farms. Each one was compelled to work for one eight-hour day weekly. Labor battalions of Filipinos were underfed, overworked and treated cruelly. To this human degradation was added the material destruction. Tokyo ordered the razing of Manila and the killing of every inhabitant.[11]

[11] General Carlos P. Romulo stated that he had documentary evidence of this policy which he had given to the United States Congress. See New York *Times*, April 9, 1945. (For details of Japanese atrocities see New York *Times*, April 17, 1945.)

Cultural changes also were included in the program for the Philippines. Lieutenant General Shizuichi Tanaka, commander of the Japanese forces on the Islands, spoke in August, 1942, of the "spiritual renovation plan for the Philippine people. . . . The Filipinos know nothing but savage American materialism. . . . Therefore, first of all, the quality of the Filipinos must be improved and the simple and strong Japanese spirit must penetrate them." One of the first moves in this direction was the burning of the library of the University of the Philippines in order to eliminate all knowledge contained there pertaining to democracy.

The occupation authorities opened a campaign in 1942 to enlist the church as an agency for the propagation of the "new order." A Federation of Evangelical Churches was organized and a manifesto requested all ministers to urge their charges to co-operate with the Japanese because such a policy would lead to independence. Tokyo informed the people of Japan that the Catholic religion in the Philippines had been "rather indulging itself in mere formalities," but being "stimulated" by the work of the Religious Department of the military administration, it had returned to its original mission of "spiritual" labors.

The general effects of cultural changes were described in the Japanese press. "The young women of . . . Manila have discarded their Anglo-Saxon ideals and today have joined in the march for the construction of Greater East Asia. This is indicated by the fact that the Filipino girls have turned from the life of jazz dance and movies to that of the soil. . . . I interviewed a group of Filipino girls, clad in simple sport dresses at the Y.W.C.A. They told me to see their vegetable garden, where corn, beans, and lettuce were sprouting forth. The sun shone brilliantly on the green leaves as though rejoicing over the new life of these Filipino maidens."

The great day came on May 18, 1942, for those who were opposed to the presence of the Americans. Major General Hayashi, Director General of the Japanese Military Administration, spoke during a celebration marking the complete occupation of Bataan and Corregidor. The general said: "The Anglo-Saxon's encroachments in East Asia can be traced back to a long time past. During this long period how arrogantly they have behaved in this part of the world. I need not tell you about it, as you know very well through your own experiences. I believe that we Japanese shall be able to appreciate better than any other nation how you have suffered from the Anglo-Saxon's rule and to have a full sympathy with you, because, as a pioneer of East Asia, we have long struggled to defy the Anglo-Saxon's rampant domination in the East, and to surmount various difficulties for the realization of 'Asia for the Asiatics.' . . . The ultimate goal of the present Greater East Asia War in which we are now engaged lies in the eradication of the Anglo-Saxon's imperialistic ideology in political and economic domains, and of their ideas to look down upon all the races other than white as inferior. . . . Now that Japan has become a world power, she has taken up arms as the leader of the Oriental races for their emancipation from the Western yoke." [12]

[12] *The Official Journal of the Japanese Military Administration*, vol. 4, Manila, v–viii.

The Japanese, in November, 1942, set up "Neighborhood Associations," a system of control used universally in Japan. These organs included from 10 to 15 families, with each group a member of a district association under the jurisdiction of the mayor or governor of the province. "Citizens will be made collectively responsible for keeping the peace in their vicinity." If any member of these groups engaged in illegal activities, not only was the offender fined, but the leader of the neighborhood associations and the president of the district associations also were punished. Through these bodies, the Japanese declared the Filipinos "have learned the sense of neighborliness and co-operation which for so long had been dead under American Rule."

The "independent" Philippine Government was reorganized with nine ministries under President José Laurel on January 4, 1943.[18] Yet all was not well with the occupation plans. Tokyo admitted that "complete governmental rule cannot be maintained throughout the Philippines" because of the promise of independence made by the United States. The Japanese, in July, 1943, banned all patriotic organizations on the ground that many Filipinos were "obstructing reconstruction."

The American blueprint for the Islands did not wait for the victory over Japan. A Philippine postwar planning board was formed by Manuel L. Quezon on October 31, 1943, to study future trade relations. Senator Millard F. Tydings recommended in June, 1945, loans, a reformed tariff, and a gift of $100,000,000 for reconstruction under the direction of the United States Army and Navy engineers. Paul V. McNutt, High Commissioner to the Philippines, and in 1946 appointed the first American Ambassador to that country, asked for passage of the Bell and Tydings bills, the former giving the Island 28 years of preferential tariffs and the latter appropriating $450,000,000 for reconstruction. The United States Senate approved the Bell bill on April 12, 1940.

The government-in-exile in Washington set up a Cabinet in September, 1943, consisting of Manuel Quezon as President, Sergio Osmena as Vice-President, Major General Basilino J. Valdes as Chief of Staff of the Philippine Army and Secretary of National Defense, Colonel Andres Soriano as Secretary of Finance, and J. M. Elizalde as Resident Commissioner.

Manuel Quezon, first President of the Philippines Commonwealth, died on August 1, 1944. His successor, President Sergio Osmena, organized a new government in Washington based on complete co-operation with the United States. From his headquarters on Leyte, in December, 1944, Osmena declared that independence was desired as quickly as possible but the United States would be granted all necessary naval and military bases. Osmena swore in his Cabinet, on March 8, 1945, composed of individuals who had consistently opposed the Japanese. Later he was defeated

[18] Laurel was graduated from Yale University Law School, *magna cum laude*. He was a professor in the University of the Philippines Law School and an authority on international law. He was a member of the Island's Supreme Court at the time of the Japanese invasion.

by President of the Senate, Manuel A. Roxas, who was elected President on May 28, 1946.[14]

President Truman formally recognized the independence of the Philippines on July 4, 1946. And yet political independence did not signify that security was to be sacrificed. The Islands were linked to the general American defense system of the Pacific on March 14, 1947, when the Philippines signed a 99-year agreement granting to the United States military and naval bases.

Unrest in the Islands

The economy of the Philippines was based upon that of sixteenth century Spain. The land and its people were owned by a small group of Spanish grandees who protected them, governed them and encouraged the Catholic religion. In return, the people labored arduously and were kept in ignorance of the world about them. The Filipinos were serfs under the Spanish regime.

During the American period there were advances in education, public health, self-government, and a rise in the national income. Literacy also increased.

Despite these achievements, there was no development of a large independent middle class and an articulate public opinion. Most of the income filled the governmental coffers or enriched landlords and merchants without benefiting the peasantry who continued to exist under the old conditions.

This situation had been brought about by the American encouragement of free enterprise which resulted in a specious boom for the chief exports of the Islands and left about 85 per cent of the inhabitants living under a medieval economy in which land ownership was in the hands of a small number. This aristocracy, about 5 per cent of the population, controlled the wealth and political power and held in their hands the landless tenants and workers.

The average daily wage of an agricultural worker in 1939 was 22 cents;

[14] Accusations were made that Roxas and his associates had violated the Constitution of the Philippines. Senator Rayon Diokno, a lawyer, declared that "a handful of business interests" destroyed the Commonwealth by disqualifying minority legislators and forgetting that Roxas himself "violated his oath as a general in the United States Army by advising puppet-president José Laurel to declare war against the United States and its Allies during the Japanese occupation." (See *Amerasia*, December, 1946, 175–178.) Laurel and his occupation Cabinet were given a general amnesty by the Philippine Department of Justice.

The minority party, the *Nacionalista*, on November 14, 1947, accused the majority leaders of illegal election procedures in order to destroy the "popular will." Led by Eulogio Rodriguez, this faction accused the Liberal Party of not computing the final election returns properly. Other critics of the Liberal Party maintained that in some areas the electors were not allowed to vote by the Liberal Party election inspectors, who marked the ballots before the election.

The mayor of Manila refused to issue a permit for a mass demonstration against the Liberal Party.

the average monthly wage was $6.60, gold. Females received an average daily wage of 16 cents and $4.80 per month.

The number of Filipinos without land was high. In 1940, less than 40 per cent of the 3,143,886 families included in the native population owned both a house and some land.

The social unrest, especially on the large estates, was caused by a system which made it possible for the wealthy to heavily oppress the poor. The rice crop was divided into two equal parts between landlord and tenant. This left on the average of 60 *cavans* (1 *cavan* equals 120 lbs.), for the tenant yearly. Before World War II, a *cavan* of unhusked rice (*palay*) cost 2.50 pesos which left the tenant 150 pesos or $75.00, gold, annually. The tenant used about one half of this amount for the food needs of his family, leaving him $37.50, out of which he deducted one half for his cost of seed, harvesting, and threshing.

The Japanese invasion was a peculiar blessing to the Filipino peasant. The landlords fled from their *hacienda* to the safety of Manila and the new masters. The peasants remained to labor in the fields during the day. During the night, many fought the Japanese. The invaders initiated a reign of terror, supported by the landlords, who arrested peasant leaders and union organizers and turned them over to the Japanese military police, the notorious *Kempei-tai*. The peasant-farmers resisted by forming an army, the *Hukbalahap*.[15]

The *Hukbalahap* was born in December, 1941, and rallied the Filipinos for the cause of the United States. By February, 1945, when Manila was liberated, about 25,000 Japanese and their supporters, had been killed by this army.

To the conservative, the *Huks* were dangerous because of the Communist leanings of many of the leaders. To the liberal, these 5,000 well-armed men, 10,000 lightly armed first reserves, and some 35,000 unarmed reserves were capable of broadening the democratic basis in the Philippines by agitating for wider participation of the Filipinos in the government and by insisting upon a division of the large estates.

The Philippines at the Cross-roads

There were many who were determined to oppose any moves for complete independence for the Philippines. Some desired to control the gold reserves of the Islands. Some feared the area might become a fascistic state, after American withdrawal, and permit the Spanish factions to gain mastery. Some saw Great Britain or the Soviet Union entering.

It was pointed out by others that on these 7,083 islands, resided people of Malayan stock, speaking about 60 dialects, with most of the educated having Spanish roots and a Castilian tongue. Three-quarters were Cath-

[15] Tagalog for People's Anti-Japanese Army, *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon*. Its leader was Luis Taruc, of peasant stock, who had two years education as a pre-law student. This former union organizer was 35 years of age in 1948.

olic in faith and therefore akin to the peoples of Latin America. A large number of Filipino leaders, including the late President Quezon, hoped to gain closer relations with Latin America.

It was emphasized by realists that the great racial diversity always would be a barrier to social and political stability. Here were the primitive groups, the Negritoes, the Igorots, the Bontocs, pushed into the mountains by the more civilized groups. Here were the Moros of Mohammedan faith, potential enemies of all governments. Here were some 30 other racial groups, dominated by the Tagalogs, the Ilocanos, and the Visayans. Here were the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Chinese-Filipinos, the latter rapidly gaining leadership.

Here, then, were these islands of the Pacific into which the United States penetrated. To them Spain gave a language and a religion. To them America gave a government, an educational system, a health program, and protection. How long protection would be necessary depended upon the evolution of international government.

INDO-CHINA

The military maneuvers preceding World War II affected French Indo-China. The Japanese first protested against the shipment of munitions to China over the French railroad in August, 1937. The Japanese bombed the railway center at Mengtze on December 30, 1939. Indo-China "agreed," on June 17, 1940, to prohibit the exportation of gasoline and trucks to China. The Japanese pressure was applied steadily after France sued for an armistice in Europe in June, 1940.

The fall of France was followed by Japanese infiltration into Indo-China. Japanese agents, military and civilian, arrived in the country as barbers, innkeepers, and dancehall operators. Forty "inspectors" were sent to control the shipment of supplies to the Chinese armies. Hanoi by 1941 had more than one hundred of these special officials.

A "Franco-Japanese Mutual Defense Agreement" was signed on July 21, 1941. According to the terms: (1) France and Japan were to co-operate in the common defense of Indo-China; (2) Japan was to have the use of eight airfields in southern Annam, Cochin China, and Cambodia; (3) Japan was to have the right to station warships at Camranh Bay and Saigon; (4) Japan was to garrison southern Indo-China with 40,000 troops at specified airfields, naval bases, and other strategic points; (5) Japanese troops were to be free to maneuver in southern Indo-China; (6) the expenses of the occupation forces were to be advanced by the government of Indo-China; and (7) Japan was to reaffirm its recognition of complete French sovereignty over the region.

The general administrative features of Indo-China were not changed by the Japanese. The anti-Japanese Governor General, Catroux, was forced to yield his post to Admiral Decoux, pawn of Vichy. On instructions from Pétain he acceded to every Japanese demand. One of his first

acts was to purge the services of 300 officials, 150 of whom were "Free French," Masons, or Jews.

The French population had varied opinions regarding the Japanese. There was a lack of spirit among them, partly owing to the humiliations visited upon the mother country and partly owing to their own softened life in a tropical clime. Resignation was assumed by many because they hesitated to show any emotions before the natives they had ruled for almost a century. All were worried over their vanishing pensions for which they had endured separation from France. All were concerned over the moves of England and the United States. They hoped that these nations would save Indo-China, especially since Japanese victories were lowering the prestige of the white man in Asia. The French army and navy had been directed to co-operate with the Japanese against the democratic countries and prepared officially to carry out the orders. This course of action was relatively easy for the navy, with its anti-British sentiments.

The economic control of Japan over Indo-China was extensive. The colony in 1944 had a trading balance of about 500,000,000 yen in Tokyo. This fund was frozen by the Japanese and designated for trade only with them. During the occupation, the Japanese concluded commercial agreements, promising to deliver finished commodities in return for rice and other grains. These promises were mainly paper commitments.

As the war drew to a close, the Japanese, fearing an American landing, placed under "protective custody" Governor General Decoux and all commanders of the army, navy, and air forces. In the same month (March, 1945) General Charles de Gaulle's Cabinet announced that Indo-China was to be given limited self-government within the new political system of the "French Union."

Political promises did not ease the tension in the colony. In August and September, 1945, the French were opposed by the Annamite nationalists, the Viet Minh, led by the Communist, Ho Chi-min, who had been armed by the Japanese.[16] The French, on March 7, 1946, recognized the Viet Nam Republic of the Annamite nationalists as a "free State within the Indo-Chinese federation and French Union." French troops entered Tongking with the consent of the young regime. Ho Chi-min, in July, began negotiations in Paris at the same time that renewed strife marked the relations between the French and the Annamites.

The year 1947 was ushered in with France preparing to carry on prolonged warfare with her enemies in Indo-China who were determined to cast off the yoke of foreign domination. President Ho, in February, was anxious to appeal to the United Nations for arbitration of the case. He declared that Viet Nam was seeking national unity for the Annamese speaking states of Cochin China, Tongking, and Annam. He also hoped to furnish sufficient rice and clothing for every citizen, teach all how to read and write and usher in democratic freedom to reinforce the uni-

[16] The Viet Minh was a combination of Caudaists, the Youth Movement and the Communists, known as Viet Nam. This faction was headed by Ho Chi-min, "the man with 20 names," best known in Indo-China as Nguyen Ai-quoi, "the Patriot." He spent several years in the Soviet Union and returned to his native land in 1945.

versal suffrage bill of 1946. He emphasized the triple aims of "Unity, Independence, and Peace."

The French, early in 1947, advocated a provisional republic under a moderate politician, Dr. Li Van Hoach, who was unable to gain the support of many Annamites. These ridiculed the charges made by the French that the Viet Nam was a communist body and President Ho was dominated by the Executive Committee (Tung Bo), which under orders from Moscow, was seeking to achieve totalitarianism within the peninsula.

Paris, in March, 1947, refused to negotiate with the Viet Nam regime. Marius Moutet, Minister of Overseas Affairs, declared that "Viet Nam is not all of Indo-China and the Viet Nam Party is not all of Viet Nam." Moutet presented the French demands which were based upon the assumption that France had no intention of evacuating Indo-China and was striving to gain co-operation between all factions in order to build a strong French Union.

Emile Bollaert, French High Commissioner, hoped to gain independence for Indo-China within the French Union, with the exception of control of the army and foreign affairs. Steps were taken to give domestic autonomy to Annam, Cochin China, and Tongking; eliminate the French administration in these regions; and employ French technical advisers for Cambodia, and Laos. Bollaert, on September 10, 1947, made a "last appeal" to the Viet Nam to accept the offers of limited independence as outlined. William C. Bullitt, former United States Ambassador to France, was requested to mediate but was unable to achieve a settlement in October, 1947.

CHINA

The success of Japanese expansion depended upon control of China. Japan set up three puppet regimes in 1937–1938, the "Federated Government of Inner Mongolia," the "Provisional Government of the Chinese Republic" in Peip'ing and the "Reformed Government of the Chinese Republic" in Nanking. After 18 months of plotting, the Japanese organized in March, 1940, the "National Government of the Chinese Republic" which was to supersede the three regimes. Wang Ching-wei, exile from the Kuomintang, was made head of this paper government.

The basic principles for the "new order" were outlined after this initial victory: (1) the establishment on the foundations of reciprocity of co-operation among Japan, China, and Manchukuo; (2) the creation of strong Sino-Japanese solidarity in North China and Mongolia with regard to national defense and economic co-operation; (3) the institution of an economic zone in the lower Yangtze valley; and (4) the achievement of a paramount position for Japan in designated islands along the coast of South China.

The relations between China and Japan were to be "adjusted" in three ways: (A) "Friendly and Neighborly Relations"; China recognized Man-

chukuo; Japan appointed advisers to the "Chinese Central Government"; Japan, China, and Manchukuo conducted their diplomacy on the basis of "mutual co-operation" and the three countries were to amalgamate their cultures; (B) "Mutual Defense"; Japan stationed troops at strategic points in North China and Mongolia and warships in the South China Sea and the lower Yangtze River; Japan was given the right to supervise Chinese railways, air lines, postal and telegraphic services, harbors, and water routes; Japan, China and Manchukuo were to form an anticommunist military alliance; and (C) "Economic Co-operation"; Japan was given special privileges for the development of resources in North China and Mongolia; Japan accorded China the necessary aid for the development of industry and agriculture and for the formulation of financial policies; China adopted suitable tariff rates in order to promote commerce between Japan, China, and Manchukuo.

There were two special agreements concluded as props for the "new order." The "New Central Government" was to indemnify all Japanese who had incurred losses in China, and Japan was to be consulted in regard to the conduct of foreign relations. The second understanding concerned the status of North China and Mongolia which were to remain "independent" of the "Central Government," under direct control of the Japanese. Japan also was to participate in the construction of a "New Shanghai," and Amoy and Hainan were to be special administrative areas, under Japanese supervision.

"The Co-Prosperity Sphere" had little sparkle in China. The military in many cases were indiscreet, if not brutal. Soldiers stabled their horses in Chinese homes. Many of the troops allowed horses to roam in the fields to trample the ripened stalks. There was an unnecessary destruction of unwalled villages. These were leveled by the scores, and machine guns were turned upon the civilian inhabitants.

The Japanese attempted to dominate education.[17] In every high school in Peip'ing and Tientsin, a Japanese was appointed on the school staff. This individual was charged with the duty of observing the "actions" and "thoughts" of students and teachers. The Japanese language was the most important subject in the curriculum. All students were told daily that their most important obligation was to promote Sino-Japanese cultural relations and that ability to use the Japanese language was the first step in this direction.

Anti-Japanism among the students was rampant. The Japanese raided, in December, 1942, most of the colleges and schools in the northeastern provinces and made wholesale arrests. The Japanese military promulgated

[17] One Japanese writer had the following to offer on education: "(1) Western policy of university education in China is based on the idea of colonial development. This should be replaced by the spirit of co-existence and co-prosperity, sponsored by Japan. (2) More significance should be attached to science and practical learning, and efforts should be made to remove from universities the evils of useless theory and learning, which have been supreme in the past. (3) Confucian morality should be made the guiding spirit of university education." (See Dr. Shinzo Shinjo in *Contemporary Japan*, March, 1937, 711.)

a "law" called "Act for Correcting Thought" which defined several crimes which soldiers and police interpreted in an arbitrary manner.

Gambling and opium houses were supported by the invaders. In Shanghai, the "Six Power Hotel" contained six large gambling dens, each capitalized at $100,000,000, occupation money. Surrounding these dens were hundreds of opium dealers. More than 1,000 pawn shops also operated which loaned money at high interest on the belongings of the gamblers and opium smokers. Hankow had 3,000 opium dens and the municipal government created an "Opium Suppression Bureau" which served as an opium sales agency. Most of the narcotic dealers in Peip'ing were puppet officials, including the police, secret service agents, and interpreters. These were the ones through whom Japan ruled.

Chinese farmers were forced into the puppet armies. In North China there were, in 1944, about 180,000 of these troops. In the drive for man power the Japanese in Inner Mongolia inducted lamas and monks between the ages of fifteen and fifty into the armed services.

Labor hunting occurred regularly in North China. It was especially onerous in Shansi province where the Japanese organized the Shansi Reconstruction Corps. This organization set out to enslave the people. According to the regulations of the corps, a standing unit of laborers was organized from able-bodied youths between the ages of seventeen and nineteen. A reserve unit was created from those between seventeen and forty-five years of age. These virtual serfs were trained to work in industrial and mining concerns operated by the Japanese and their Chinese collaborators. The life of the Chinese in Manchuria also was bounded between slavery and death. Between 1936 and 1942 thousands of Chinese workers and their families were forced out of North China into Manchuria where they toiled in labor battalions.

The Chinese answer to the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" has not been given. Some see the China of tomorrow as the new economic frontier for the United States. Some regard the country as eventually a part of the Soviet Union. Some view China's economy as being dominated by the concepts practiced in Japan before World War II. Some consider that agricultural reconstruction should be given preference. Many more are disturbed by China's future industrialization which means automatic gum machines instead of candy sellers, voting machines instead of a council of village elders, a destruction of ancient marriage traditions and the coming of the divorce courts, and of the radio driving out storytellers.

All these conjectures must be judged in relation to official opinions. Chiang Kai-shek appeared to favor a China functioning with limited rights for the masses.[18] Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, believed in democratic principles and sought commercial contacts with the rest of the world. He repudiated the German plan of "regional economy" as well as the "industrial Japan and agricultural China" of the Japanese

[18] Chiang Kai-shek, *China's Destiny*, Roy Publishing Co., 1947, notes and commentary by Philip Jaffe; Macmillan published the "authorized" English of this book in the same year.

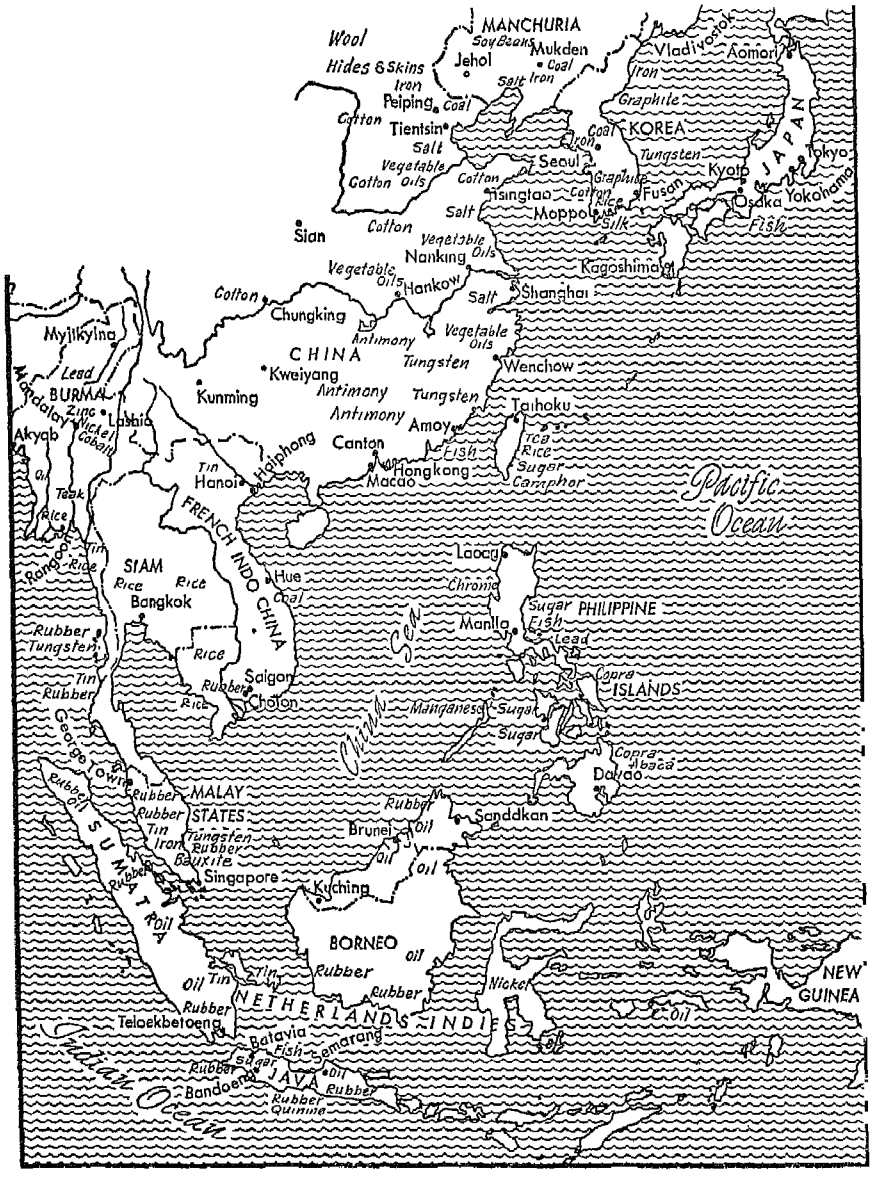


Plan for Redivision of China's Provinces by Professor Hu Huan-Yong

militarists. The "new economic policy" of a "new" China was adopted by the Supreme National Defense Council in 1944. This policy accepted free enterprise and encouraged private initiative as well as the use of foreign investments, to be co-ordinated with the extension of specified state enterprises.[19]

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was not reactionary in his thinking when he declared, on November 17, 1942, the war aims of his country. He

[19] Alex Taub, a member of the Nelson Economic Mission to China in 1945, suggested a plan. This plan recognized the serious state of Chinese industries and also the fact that unplanned aid in the form of sending machinery and tools was not suitable. Taub called for "seeding industries," that is, the scattering of industries, in contrast to the TVA-types outlined by Donald Nelson.



Natural Resources of Eastern Asia and Southeast Asia

may have had, in the midst of conflict, a vision of a future far different from that pictured in his book, *China's Destiny*. "China has no desire to replace Western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism or isolationism of its own or of anyone else. We hold that we must advance from the narrow idea of exclusive alliances and regional blocs, which in the end make for bigger and better wars, to effective organization of world unity. Unless real world co-operation replaces both isolationism and imperialism of whatever form in the new interdependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security for you or for us."

JAPAN

For the first time in modern history, the Japanese were faced with the occupation of the homeland by foreign forces. Days before the event, radio and newspaper carried official admonitions. Premier Prince Naruhiko Higashi-Kuni told the people to "maintain strict discipline and utmost equanimity in the face of the current situation." Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu said "it is necessary to change speedily our way of thinking."

The first stages of the occupation were carried out in August, 1945. United States soldiers entered Atsugi airport, 20 miles southwest of Tokyo, their officers dressed in combat uniform and the reception committee of Japanese generals clad in full-dress attire. Seven thousand marines and sailors and a naval airborne group landed at Yokosuka Navy Yard. General MacArthur, on August 31, arrived at Atsugi to tell the awaiting Americans that it was a "long road from Melbourne to Tokyo." By September 4, American forces had established the occupation zone over 720 square miles.

General MacArthur, on September 9, stated that he was in control of the government and that the Japanese would rule themselves according to Allied plans. Civilians were to be treated with consideration in order to "develop respect for and confidence in the United States and their representatives." A rigid censorship was placed upon all newspapers, with the comment that Japan was not an equal of the Allies but "a defeated enemy which has not yet demonstrated a right to a place among civilized nations." The Emperor Hirohito called upon General MacArthur on September 26. The Japanese press passed over this unprecedented act with the remark that the emperor "thanked General MacArthur for his efforts."

The Japanese government was ordered to abrogate all laws and regulations restricting freedom of thought, assembly, religion, and speech, to permit unrestricted discussion of the Emperor, the Imperial institution, and the Imperial Japanese Government, and to free all political prisoners. At the end of one year of occupation, concessions were made. The teaching of history in Japanese schools through "objective" texts was authorized on October 14, 1946. The report of General MacArthur for 1946

emphasized the fact that "major advances" had been made in the direction of liberalism.

The United States had five objectives during the occupation period: (1) impress upon the people the fact of defeat, prove their responsibility for the war, and bring to justice all war criminals; (2) eradicate militarism and excessive nationalism; (3) encourage democratic processes and a strong economic system; (4) foster a free government elected by and responsible to the people; and (5) promote political and civil liberties, democratic education, free elections, and a respect generally, for human rights.

Secretary of State James F. Byrnes invited the powers with interests in Eastern Asia to meet in Washington and formulate an Allied Advisory Council. This Advisory Council, consisting of representatives from Australia, Canada, China, France, Great Britain, India, The Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, the Soviet Union, and the United States, held its first session on October 29, 1945. The United States declared, in June, 1946, that it had offered to share control of Japan with China, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union for 25 years in order to maintain permanent disarmament.

Reparations were the subject of a directive of the Allied Command on August 24, 1946. The Japanese Government was ordered to designate for reparations 505 of the largest and best equipped plants in eight basic industrial enterprises, including machine tools, iron and steel, electrical power, shipbuilding, and chemicals.[20] Definite recommendations for exaction of reparations were submitted to President Truman in November, 1946, by Edwin W. Pauley, United States reparations representative. These included the complete removal of all plants devoted to the manufacturing of arms and munitions and all concerns making synthetic rubber, aluminum, and magnesium.

The heavy industries of Japan were more highly concentrated than in any other country. Most of the war plants were owned and operated by the government and the great financial houses, the *Zaibatsu*. The government took the initiative in financing and organizing the heavy industries in order to produce war material. The *Zaibatsu* co-operated with the government.

Mitsui was the largest banking house in Japan and financed many of the key industrial enterprises, especially coal mining and shipping. The Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Ltd., was the greatest single industrial body, with six factories and dockyards in Nagasaki, Kobe, and Yokohama. The Mitsubishi Aircraft Company of Nagoya was the largest plane manufacturing factory in the empire. Mitsubishi also controlled the N. Y. K. Steamship Line. Sumitomo and Yasuda were the third and fourth largest financial houses, the former supplying the government with materials, and the latter furnishing it with loans.

The term *Zaibatsu* also was applied to the business houses of Okura, Asano, Kuhara, Ogawa-Tanaka, Kawasaki, Shibusawa, Furukawa, and

[20] China asked for 40 per cent of the total Japanese reparations.

Mori. Okura was engaged in trading, mining, textiles, and motor transport; Asano in cement, mining, iron and steel, and heavy engineering and chemicals; Kawasaki in banking, insurance, and rayon; Shibusawa in banking, shipbuilding, and engineering; Furukawa in copper mining, refining, and electrical plants; and Mori in chemicals and electrical power generation.

Formal abrogation of the five largest *Zaibatsu* was set for September, 1946. At that time the operating and subsidiary shares of these enterprises were handed over to the government's Liquidation Commission for sale to the public.[21]

The Allies reformed the landholding system of Japan. The Japanese government was ordered to end the undemocratic land tenure by eliminating absentee landlords, furnishing governmental credit for purchase of land by tenants, stabilizing farm prices, and promulgating regulations for the protection of tenants against a return of the old conditions.

The government was ordered to remove all support from Shintō, the national religion, abolish its teaching in schools and "to free all Japanese from any compulsion to believe in or profess to believe in Shintō." The same order prohibited the promulgation of "militaristic and ultranationalistic ideology not only to Shintō but also to followers of all religious faiths, sects, creeds, or philosophies." This included "the doctrine that the Emperor of Japan is superior to heads of other states because of ancestry, descent or special origin." Limitations also were placed upon the ideology that the Japanese were superior to other peoples because of special or divine origin, or any other doctrine which tended to delude the Japanese people into embarking upon wars of aggression or to glorify the use of force as an instrument for the settlement of disputes with other peoples. The Ministry of Home's Shrine Board was abolished as well as the religious order in charge of the Grand Shrine of Ise, all public institutions for the training of Shintō priests and all "physical symbols of State Shintō" in public buildings.

The Great Japan Industrial Labor Patriotic Association, a government-controlled organization, was dissolved in order to permit the growth of a free labor movement. Antilabor laws were revoked and the control of labor affairs was taken away from the police departments of the prefectures and transferred to the Department of Domestic Affairs. Unions were encouraged to participate "in the democratization process in Japan and in measures taken to achieve the objectives of the occupation, such as the elimination of militaristic and monopolistic practices."

[21]Those affected were Mitsui, 91 corporations, capital of 3,880,000,000 yen; Mitsubishi, 31 corporations, capital of 2,767,000,000 yen; Sumitomo, 31 corporations, capital of 1,666,000,000 yen; Yasuda, 29 corporations, capital of 641,000,000 yen; and Fuji Industrial, formerly Nakajima, aircraft and munitions manufacturers, 66 corporations, capital of 281,000,000 yen. This was a total of 248 companies with a total capital of 9,235,000,000 yen, about one half of the total capital of the 1,200 enterprises liquidated. (For history of *Zaibatsu*, see T. A. Bisson, "Increase of Zaibatsu Predominance in Wartime Japan," *Pacific Affairs*, March, 1945, 55–61; "The Zaibatsu's Wartime Role," *Ibid.*, December, 1945, 355–368; Corwin D. Edwards, "The Dissolution of the Japanese Combines," *Ibid.*, September, 1946, 227–240.)

The first official words spoken by the destroyers of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" regarding the future political system were expressed on August 11, 1945. President Truman stated that the emperor would be allowed to remain, subject to the commander of the Allied forces. Encouraged by this acknowledgement of his position, the emperor, on August 17, selected a member of the Imperial Family, General Prince Naruhiko Higashi-Kuni, a cousin, to form a new Cabinet. The emperor, on September 4, opened the eighty-eighth extraordinary session of the Diet and called upon all Japanese to "win the confidence of the world, establish firmly a peaceful state, and contribute to the progress of mankind."

Baron Kijuro Shidehara, who replaced Prince Higashi-Kuni, on October 6, expressed the hope for support from "all right-minded Japanese." Baron Shidehara outlined his policies including the establishment of a government "based on righteousness" and the formulation of plans built upon international justice and common prosperity of mankind, maintenance of the rights of the people, reformation of the Diet and the bureaucracy, and the replacement of militarism by education aiming at development of the individual.

General MacArthur directed Baron Shidehara to democratize Japan by permitting women to vote, encouraging labor unions, liberalizing the educational system, abolishing oppressive police restrictions, and promoting business enterprises. The Japanese Cabinet on November 9, 1945, voted to cancel the conscription law affecting about 7,000,000 youths, leaving the country without an army.

On New Year's Day, 1946, Emperor Hirohito issued an Imperial Rescript: "(1) Deliberative assemblies shall be established. . . . (2) All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying on the affairs of state. . . . The ties between us and our people have always stood upon mutual trust and affection. They do not depend upon mere legends and myths. They are not predicated on the false conception that the Emperor is divine and that the Japanese people are superior to other races and fated to rule the world."

This news which stunned many a conservative, was followed by the publication in the Tokyo papers of a picture of the emperor garbed in civilian clothes. The Japanese government was ordered, in January, 1946, to remove from public office and ban from the general elections "all active exponents" of militaristic nationalism, all officials of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and the Imperial Rule Political Society, the two leading totalitarian groups. This order affected the Shidehara Cabinet; the premier himself and Foreign Minister Shigeru Yoshida being the only members not involved.

The emperor appointed Dr. Tatsukuchi Minobe to the Imperial Council. Dr. Minobe, a leading legal authority, had been driven from his university post in 1935 by the militarists, and his books had been burned because he had advocated constitutional government. The Home Ministry pledged honest elections, free from police interference, to "show the world whether Japan can fulfill the Potsdam Declaration terms and

whether democracy is possible here." And to complete the picture of a reformed land, the Emperor Hirohito visited factories in business suit and fedora.

The Japanese government, on March 6, 1946, published a draft of the new Constitution, based upon terms of the Potsdam Agreement and written mainly by the Allied Command. This Constitution included sections renouncing war "forever" and prohibited the maintenance of an army, navy, or air forces. It also abolished the House of Peers and substituted a "House of Councilors," created a "Bill of Rights" and revised the judicial system.

The Japanese went to the polls on April 10, and gave support to the two conservative parties, the Liberals and the Progressives, the latter led by Baron Shidehara. For the first time, women voted. The Shidehara Cabinet resigned in the face of opposition from the Diet on April 22. Shigeru Yoshida, Liberal Party Foreign Minister, formed a new cabinet, composed of members from the Liberal and Progressive parties.

Premier Yoshida refused to enter a coalition Cabinet with the Socialists who had allied themselves with leftist factions. Faced with strong opposition, he was succeeded, on May 23, 1947, by Tetsu Katayama, a Socialist, Christian, labor lawyer, who was elected Premier by a unanimous vote of both houses. Premier Katayama was the first parliamentary leader under the new constitution which stipulated that the Prime Minister must be elected by Parliament instead of being nominated by the emperor.

The Diet, on September 20, 1946, passed laws to liberalize provincial and local administrations by popular election of local officials. It also approved the Labor Relations Adjustment Act which prohibited strikes against the government. This law was opposed by the Socialists and Communists on the ground that it was a new version of the wartime Peace Preservation Law, an act regimenting labor.

The year 1947 was one of many strikes. There were more than 1,400, involving about 1,000,000 workers, many of whom were employees of governmental public utilities. This conflict disturbed the Allied Command and General MacArthur declared that the "dread uncertainty" in the battle between democracy and communism indicated that Japan could be "either a powerful bulwark for peace or a dangerous springboard for war."

THE MACHINERY OF OCCUPATION

The policies controlling the action taken by the forces of occupation were developed by two organizations which had headquarters in Washington, D. C. One was the Far Eastern Commission (FEC), composed of representatives of 11 nations; the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, France, the Netherlands, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, India, and the Philippines. The other agency was the State, War, and Navy Co-ordinating Committee (SWNCC), a United States Government

organization. SWNCC formulated the policies which the Joint Chiefs of Staff transmitted as directives to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

The administration of the occupation was directed by General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). SCAP worked closely in Tokyo with the Allied Council for Japan (ACJ), which was composed of SCAP or his deputy as chairman and United States member, one representative from the Soviet Union, one from China, and one representing jointly Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and India.

In order to carry out the services of occupation, SCAP had a specially staffed organization. This organization was made up of staff sections set up within General Headquarters at Tokyo. These special sections were concerned with virtually every phase of life in Japan. They recommended what should be done to achieve the objectives of occupation and evaluated progress. Their recommendations, after approval by SCAP, were issued to the Japanese Government which carried out the orders. The special staff sections in the General Headquarters had the following duties:

"The Economic and Scientific Section deals with economic, industrial, financial, and scientific affairs; the Civil Information and Education Section deals with public information, including press, radio, motion pictures, and theater, and with education, religion, fine arts, and monuments; the Natural Resources Section deals with agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mining; the Public Health and Welfare Section have such responsibilities as preventing epidemics; the Government Section would supervise the internal structure of civil government in Japan and military government in the southern part of Korea; the Legal Section deals with general legal matters; the International Prosecution Section handles the prosecution of war criminals; the Civil Communications Section rehabilitates postal, radio, and telegraphic communications in Japan and the southern part of Korea; the Statistical and Reports Section assembles, edits, and prepares statistical data and reports; the Counter-Intelligence Section handles security matters; the Civil Intelligence Section oversees civilian public safety and makes sure that the Japanese Government complies with instructions from SCAP; the Diplomatic Section, staffed by State Department personnel, handles matters affecting the relations of Japan with other countries.[22]

The military occupation of Japan included many elements: transporting, housing, feeding, and clothing about 152,000 American and some 38,000 British troops; maintaining their morale with movies, beer halls, clubs, and visits to temples, parks, and Japanese theaters; and keeping them in good health with doctors, hospitals, and rest camps. It involved a training program for green infantrymen, paratroopers, engineers, and ordnance, supply, and intelligence troops.

[22] "Occupation of Japan, Policy and Progress," *The Department of State Publication 267, Far Eastern Series 17*, 8–9.

The United States Eighth Army, which held all Japan except the British Zone of Western Honshu and the Island of Shikoku, was stationed mostly in small units at widely scattered garrisons. The Eighth Army's main duty was to check on Japanese efforts to obey SCAP directives.

The spearhead of British forces took over occupation of most of Southern Honshu in February, 1946. In the same month, 12,000 Australian veterans of the Borneo campaign who volunteered for occupation, landed at Kure. The British troops exercised military control and facilitated demilitarization, but military government remained the responsibility of the United States.[23]

[23] The Soviet Union had a token force, although their embassy contained 424. It was larger than all the others combined.

40 The Contributions of China and Japan to Western Civilization

The word "Rococo" to many students of art conjures up visions of a world of subtle charm and loveliness. One hears the skipping airs of the first operettas, mingled with the rustling of the exquisite robes of Chinese silk. One is enchanted by the richness of color in the world of refinement made more refined by these silks and other decorative articles. With the coming of the Enlightenment is found a change from the perfumed salon to the cool, severe, scholarly study. The Rococo, therefore, and the Enlightenment were in conflict, being developed from antithetical ideas.

In these opposites, however, a strange union is discovered—that yearning for the infinite, that urge for knowledge without limitations, that desire to live where intellectual anarchy could be linked to thought based upon rationalism, that seeking for a fixed standpoint, and that application of "laws" as guide posts for conduct. In brief, one finds intuition and science blended in the personalities of Confucius and Lao Tzŭ. In Lao Tzŭ is found the "soul" of the Rococo, with the lacquer cabinets and the porcelain, in misty hued silks, in all those objects treasured by the European philosophers and artists and known as "la Chine." Here the gentle Lao Tzŭ spoke out to be understood by the men of the West searching out the secrets of China's greatness. The humanism, too, of Confucius, with his middle-of-the-road-ism, with his complacent conclusions, with his airs of the "superior man," with his dry witticisms, is contained in some of the literary works of these years. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, three words were used often in the West—China, Confucius, and Political Morality.

Until about 1760 a benevolent view was taken of China in contrast to the subsequent commercial and material view. By the end of the eighteenth century, industrial considerations colored relations of the West and the Orient and contributed to the decades of hostility and misunderstanding and prejudice which followed.

FRANCE AND THE ARTS OF CHINA AND JAPAN

The Rococo in France was characterized by a relaxation of styles following the death of Louis XIV. It was not so much the written word which gave this period its conception of China. The beauty of

the Middle Kingdom was materialized above all other articles in porcelain. Father Le Comte in his important work, *China of Today* (1690), mentioned three kinds of porcelain; the yellow imperial, the gray "crackly" which he considered the finest, and the type appealing most to the taste of Europe, the many colored, "white, painted with figures of flowers, trees and birds." The Jesuit, however, was troubled by the undiscriminating eagerness with which Western traders introduced this inferior porcelain into Europe. They "no longer deal with the good artists, and, having no knowledge of these matters, take what the Chinese offer them."

In the seventeenth century, porcelain was a curiosity and displayed in quantities only in some of the palaces of Versailles. About 1700, owing to the demands for this article, it became a common household necessity of the wealthy. Walls and ceilings, tables and chairs, were made from porcelain. The greatest impetus to its popularity came from the fashion of drinking warm tea. There was need for suitable tea-services and it was natural that models were found in the land where tea was obtained. The Chinese and Japanese used cups without handles and special ones were manufactured for the West with handles, white porcelain often being imported from China and painted in Europe.

The forces of Chinese art at work on the evolution of the Rococo were not limited to porcelain. The Rococo, with its enthusiasm for the new, made demands upon other materials. This was seen in the lacquer fashion. During the seventeenth century, complete Chinese lacquer cabinets were imported into Europe, mainly for the French court. Lacquer making in France centered in the Martin family. Robert Martin enjoyed the favor of Madam La Pompadour who liked his graceful flower and bird decorations on dark lacquer backgrounds, taken from Chinese and Japanese models. In 1752 Pompadour gave him large orders for her palace at Bellevue.

Lacquer was not only applied to house furniture but also to sedan chairs. The closed sedan chair of Oriental pattern was introduced into Europe about 1600. Other types were the "latest novelty," referred to by Molière in his comedy, *Les Precieuses ridicules* (1659). In Japan it was customary for chairs to be mounted upon wheels and drawn by horses. It is evident that the French "chaises" were the first practical Western adaptation from the Japanese.

During the Rococo period the use of silk reached a high peak. In the Middle Ages, this article had been known to a few of the churchmen and the nobility, but it was not until the seventeenth century that there was an enormous increase in importations. By 1692, "robes indiennes" and skirts "a la Psyche" were popular.

The influence of the Chinese dyeing technique was evident as early as 1699. The Chinese taught the French how to produce cotton stuffs, dimity, muslin, and print them in fast colors. The figures of men, animals, and birds followed Chinese styles. In the matter of colors, the Rococo artists were enriched by the new materials introduced from China. There was the *Che-che,* the fruit of a leguminous Chinese plant which yielded an

unusual yellow-gold color. The so-called "Chinese green" was obtained from the bark of a Chinese thorn which preserved its sheen in the glare of artificial light.

With its love for salon intimacy, French society of the Rococo was interested in making beautiful living rooms. Chinese wall-papers fitted into this plan. These papers were imported into France early in the seventeenth century, owing probably to the custom of sea captains pasting the cheap and colorful material upon their cabin walls. Efforts were made in 1610 to produce wallpaper at Rouen, based upon models obtained from missionaries, but it was the English who can be given the credit for the manufacture of a superior substance.

French painting also received an Oriental flavor. Watteau applied the delicate tones of porcelains and silks. He was affected by the Chinese technique. This is noticeable in the "Embarkation for the Island of Cythera," hanging in the Louvre, a model of landscape from the Sung dynasty. Watteau also employed monochrome colorings to his backgrounds, one of the chief features of Chinese paintings.

The Chinese influence was prominent in French architecture. The adoption of alien constructional elements was widespread. Here is the beginning of the "chinoiserie," the creation of pretty and dainty ornamental work. In the "chinoiserie" the exotic was accentuated, reserved for special purposes where gaiety of appearance was the aim. No pleasure gardens with any pretensions to modernity were without their "Chinese pavilions" and "kiosques." On the roof of one Parisian hotel there was a Chinese garden with two Chinese bridges spanning a small stream.

In interior architecture also Chinese forms were evident. The peculiar style of roof-window was created in a frame of Chinese origin. The builders of European pleasure houses of the Rococo took from the Chinese the style of bringing the rooms into as close a touch as possible with nature by means of high window-like openings reaching to the ground.

With all these Oriental currents flowing westward, the social life of the times was affected. This is seen in the Chinese "resorts" which were patronized by smart society. There was a "Chinese Café" which employed Chinese servants. A "redoute Chinois" was opened in 1781 in the Faubourg St. Laurent where Chinese fireworks were shown. Among the amusements was a game, the "Jeu de bagne Çhinois," forerunner of the modern merry-go-round. Baths also appeared, set among scenes from the Chinese. Goldfish were stocked in the pools, and artificial streams were made to flow through parks and gardens.

The bizarre in the French mind was seen in the Parisian court balls and masquerades in which Chinese costumes were worn. These garbs soon spread to the fairs and the boulevards where Chinese "redoutes" were constructed and the "Theater des recreations de la Chine" arose. Chinese jokes invaded light opera and comedy. The Italian Comedians played for the first time in 1692 in the presence of the king in the Hotel Burgogne, the five-act comedy of Reynard and Dufresny, *Les Chinois*. The harlequin of this farce was a Chinese doctor and the scene was laid in a Chinese office.

Mechanization destroyed much of this love for Oriental display. It degenerated into a mere appendage of culture.

ENGLAND AND THE ARTS OF CHINA AND JAPAN

England, like the rest of Europe, was entranced by visions of the Orient, made real by the appearance in the "tight little isle" of rice, tea, furs, cotton, silk, gold, jewels, canes, fans, chinaware, pottery, knickknacks, birds, and dogs. New concepts entered the land. Living conditions, dress, and food were changed, making for a more refined existence. Englishmen became world-minded and were preparing emotionally for the great tasks of empire building. Edmund Halley published his chart on compass variations in 1700. The travels of Captain Dampier, with sober fact and sensational fiction commingled, stirred imaginations beyond the confines of home. Captain Anson in 1740–1744, took the little *Centurian* to the South Seas and China. Carteret and Wallis adventured here in 1766 and returned with strange native weapons. The Royal Society sent Captain Cook, in 1767, to the South Seas for scientific investigations of the planets. These and other explorations, freed man's mind of fear of new regions and new races.

Porcelain was praised by the first English travelers to China. By 1609, there were shops for its sale in London. Men and women of fashion gave prominent positions in their homes to ceramic pieces. Comedies of the early seventeenth century have many lines referring to this delicate ware.

Lacquer also was popular. The seventeenth century had its panels of screens of lacquered wood with designs of ivory or mother-of-pearl and trays, fans, toilet-cases, and snuff-boxes. The work of John Stalker, *Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing, Being a Compleat Discovery of those Arts,* appeared in 1688, in which the author called Japan "nature's darling and the favorite of the Gods." The great demand for lacquerware accounts partly for the rise of Birmingham as a manufacturing center.

The Orient altered greatly the decorations of English homes.[1] Interest in chinaware was common and the fashionable lady of the eighteenth century had all kinds of animals and trees and shells in her boudoir. As teadrinking increased, chinaware for use and decoration became more popular. Many Englishmen, including Horace Walpole and the Duke of Cumberland, collected chinaware. Sir Christopher Wren, when supervising the interior decorating of Hampton Court Palace, put alcoves in the dining room and niches on the chimney places for chinaware displays. Designs of the Queen Anne period included Chinese dragons and temples. In order to profit by this fad, English potters produced copies of these Chinese articles.

Wallpaper was used in England in the sixteenth century. The heavy, dark, and dusty tapestry was supplanted by the clean and light paper of

[1] It transformed also private habits. The cold bath, for example, dear to the Englishman, is of Asiatic origin. An Englishman, writing from Canton in 1769, described the Chinese love for cold water

Chinese styles and designs. One conservative wrote in 1755 that old forms of decoration were being "flung into the garret as lumber, to make room for great-bellied Chinese pagodas, red dragons, and the ugliest monsters that ever, or rather never existed."

The Chinese and Japanese preferences for black furniture, lac-work panels, gold-dust, with raised figures, were emphasized in England early in the eighteenth century. This style is termed the "Chinese Chippendale," after Thomas Chippendale, the fashionable carver and cabinet-maker of the day. He published in 1754, *The Gentleman's and Cabinet Maker's Directory,* containing a preface; "If his taste runs to the Chinese now in vogue, here is an assortment of frets from which to select." The *Directory* carried descriptions of Chinese or Sino-Gothic articles, such as china cases, shelves, candle stands, fire screens, teatrays, tables, clock cases, chests of drawers, and pier glass frames. England, with these refinements, was turning toward more comfortable, more luxurious, more beautiful home surroundings.

The style of landscape gardening was modified by these forms. During the reign of Queen Anne the formal garden came under attack. Addison, in *The Spectator* of June 25, 1712, wrote that he had no liking for the severe trees of his day. The urge for the natural was accentuated by the Chinese. The pioneer in this innovation was Sir William Chambers, who in 1772 wrote his *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening,* which long was the standard book for landscape architects. Chambers had traveled to China in order to study gardens and types of buildings. His prestige resulted in changes in designs for homes and grounds for the upper and middle classes. Public areas, too, such as Ranelagh and Vauxhall, were modified by the introduction of temples, bridges, summerhouses, waterfalls, and carved boats.

The extensive demand for chinaware and the cost of the imported articles encouraged many English artisans to produce more domestic goods. Josiah Wedgwood in 1769 was among the first to embark upon an industry which made fortunes for those manufacturing snuff boxes and jewelry of all kinds.

The eighteenth century brought a change in the food of England. Rhubarb, watermelons, and the peach all came to the tables of the rich. Joseph Addison was among the first to admit the smallness of the island when he wrote in *The Spectator* (May 19, 1711) that "if we consider our own country in its natural prospect, without any of the benefits and advantages of commerce, what a barren uncomfortable spot of earth fell to our share! . . . Our ships are laden with the harvest of every climate; our tables are stored with spices, and oils, and wines; our rooms are filled with pyramids of China, and adorned with the workmanship of Japan. . . . My friend Sir Andrew calls the vineyards of France our gardens; the spice-islands our hotbeds; the Persians, our silkweavers; and, the Chinese, our potters."

By 1750 tea drinkers included man and master, in spite of governmental taxes and the carpings of critics, such as Jonas Hanway, who complained

that because of its use "there is not quite so much beauty in this land as there was. Your very chambermaids have lost their bloom by sipping Tea." He foretold the doom of England if the pernicious habit persisted which "as a wise, active, and warlike nation, would least desire to imitate the most effeminate people on the face of the Earth—the Chinese, who are at the same time the greatest sippers of tea."

Yet the evil triumphed and by 1784, when duties were reduced, it was remarked that tea was taking the place of malt liquor among the middle and lower classes and was cheaper than beer. The tea habit also to some extent supplanted the consumption of liquors and brought about a social mingling of the sexes to replace the once popular and bawdy men's parties.

The taste for things Chinese grew through the years. By the end of the eighteenth century, ladies sipped the tea of China from cups of Nanking make, attended by servants dressed as Chinese, who stood by the chairs of their mistresses which Chippendale had copied from Oriental models. Contacts with overseas objects and thought resulted in an improvement in manners, especially among the merchants.

GERMANY AND THE ARTS OF CHINA AND JAPAN

In 1707, there came to Dresden an alchemist, one Boettger, who was taken under the patronage of Augustus the Strong. Out of gratitude, Boettger promised to manufacture porcelain and in 1709 succeeded in producing some of this popular article. The following year porcelain making was moved to Meissen and after 1717 the famous Chinese blue was imitated in the factory established in this city.

Lacquer also was used by the Germans. The first genuine lacquer was formed by Stobwasser of Brunswick in 1757. Lacquer canes with Chinese designs were introduced into the army by Frederick the Great.

The technique applied in the construction of French gardens was copied throughout Europe. About 1689, the resident castle of Clement Joseph of Bavaria was completed at Brühl and a small Chinese house was built near its main gate, the *maison sans gene,* with curved roofs and bells. This edifice was named the "Snail-shell" (*Schneckenhaus*).

The most famous garden in all Germany was Sans-Souci of Potsdam, constructed by Frederick the Great. In the southeast corner of this garden, prior to the Seven Years' War, was a freakish Chinese teahouse, with overhanging roof, and an Oriental figure on top supported by a gilded palm trunk around which were grouped teasippers dressed in Chinese garb.

There were other spots in Germany with a Chinese atmosphere. The palace at Pillnitz on the Elbe River shows Chinese influences. The Landgrave of Kassel conceived the idea of making a Chinese village consisting of houses grouped about a temple, with a stream spanned by a colorful bridge.

The music of Germany, especially the opera, was influenced by the Orient. Some of the eighteenth century writers of operas who employed Chinese or Japanese techniques included C. W. Gluck, G. Reutler, and J. Haibel.

In the nineteenth century there were J. Offenbach, P. Lumier, P. Ritter, and W. Wendland.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the most artistic theaters in Germany borrowed the Oriental revolving stage, invented about 1700 by a Japanese.

VOLTAIRE AND QUESNAY

The beginning of the eighteenth century was characterized by an interest in Chinese thought. Some of the works of Mencius were made available in French in 1711. To the Jesuits, the Chinese philosophers were supreme, having found the "principles of natural law, which the ancient Chinese received from the children of Noah." Confucius was regarded as the "master and oracle, most learned alike in moral and in political philosophy." The Chinese cult had its headquarters at the Sorbonne where many a Jesuit scholar had Confucius accepting the same god as the Christians.

One of the most important writers who was stimulated by the Chinese was Montesquieu. This political theorist in his *Spirit of Laws* (1748) frequently mentioned, and not always in complimentary terms, the civilization of the Chinese empire which had been confronted with all the problems besetting Europe long before there was a Europe.

The most outstanding French exponent of China was Voltaire who as a pupil of the Jesuits had admired the old empire of "Cathay." He wrote the *Essai sur l'histoire generale et sur les moeurs* (1756) in order to counteract the attacks of Montesquieu. He held in contempt the French idea that their culture was ageless when the Orient had more to praise. The antiquity of China impressed Voltaire as the most telling argument to prove to the French the poverty of their own civilization.

Voltaire was enthusiastic over the thought that the lofty sentiments of the Chinese sages had found echo in responsible groups in France and had been realized in the formation of the state. "One need not be obsessed with the merits of the Chinese to recognize at least that the organization of their empire is in truth the best that the world ever has seen, and, moreover, the only one founded on paternal authority."

There were others who believed that only through the acceptance of the Chinese way of life could the future be made secure. There were Diderot, Helvetius, and Quesnay. François Quesnay, "father of the Physiocrats," was regarded by some of his disciples as the "Confucius of Europe," mainly because he translated the *I-Ching* and in 1767 published his political views under the title of *Le Despotisme de la Chine*. In this work the French writer advocated acceptance of the precepts of ancient China

concerning goodness, which were capable of being taught and studied through investigations of the "natural law." His theory of education was based upon this concept. He envisaged public instruction in "laws," whereby the Europeans might travel along the only true path toward virtue. Quesnay regretted that "with the exception of China, the necessity of this institution, which is the foundation of government, has been ignored by all kingdoms." Louis XV, in 1756, at Quesnay's suggestion, followed the example of the Chinese emperors and solemnly guided a plough at the opening of the spring tilling. This act was the only public one Louis undertook to show his interest in physiocratic theories, but it at least shows that some Chinese traditions were known at court.

Quesnay insisted upon the value of education in the natural laws, with China as the model. The schools of this empire were praised. According to his account, the mandarins assembled the people in the village twice a month for instruction. He concluded from this custom that "it will be seen that in these small schools it is not, as generally with us, a mere matter of reading and writing, but that teaching is given at the same time which leads to knowledge. Thus in China the books which contain the fundamental laws of the State are in everybody's hands." It was in this perfect educational system that Quesnay saw China as the ideal state, in harmony with natural laws, "a State founded upon science and natural law, whose concrete development it represents."

The theory of taxation as worked out by Quesnay was based upon Chinese traditional principles. "The sum which has to be payed in taxation by the subjects of the Emperor is in proportion to the extent of their landed property, account being taken of the quality of the land; for some time past, it is only the owners of land who pay taxes, and not those merely who till the soil." This procedure was considered by the American, Henry George, in the nineteenth century and was the keystone of his single tax theorem.

LEIBNIZ AND GOETHE

An awareness of China was intensified by Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716), German philosopher and mathematician. Leibniz had learned about Asia in 1689 from the Jesuit, Claudius Phillip Grimaldi during a visit to Rome. Before Father Grimaldi left for China to become President of the Mathematic Tribunal at the court of Peking, Leibniz wrote him enquiring whether there were not some useful plants which might be introduced into Europe from China. He wished also to know if China had some knowledge of medical science unknown to the West; the possibilities of translating Chinese historical books into Latin; an investigation of a key to Chinese characters; and finally, the utilization of Chinese culture for the improvement of Western society.

Leibniz was more and more interested in China, hoping to see that empire Christianized. He utilized the Prussian Academy for this purpose

and was a sponsor of a similar institution in Moscow where the Chinese could gain information pertaining to the Occident and thus become part of Christendom.

Leibniz wrote *Novissima Sinica* or "News of China" in 1697, as a challenge to Protestant Europe to engage in missionary labors along the lines formulated by the Jesuits. He believed that if young America and old China were won over to the Protestant ideals, Catholicism would no longer be a world force. Leibniz, however, was no bigot. In a preface to the book he urged Protestants and Catholics to join hands for the Christianization of China.

Some Chinese concepts are found in the philosophy of Leibniz. His doctrine of monads has much in common with the Chinese ideology concerning "universals" and the principle of a pre-established harmony is inherent in the Chinese *Tao*. Leibniz reasoned that the Chinese *Li*, substance, being, or entity, was the equivalent of the Western God. The German aimed to bring about a synthesis of Oriental and Occidental thought in order to create a "pure Christianity."

Two outstanding disciples of Leibniz were A. H. Francke and Christian Wolff. Francke was active in missionary work. Wolff was immersed in philosophy. A long correspondence began in 1697 between Leibniz and Francke relating to the problems of Christianization of Russia and China. Francke started a school for missionaries at Halle, where Wolff in 1721, delivered his radical pro-Confucian address leading to his expulsion. The Orientalist had aroused too much opposition in his attempt to reconcile Christian and Confucian morality, to the advantage of the latter.

Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), historian and social philosopher, in his *Outline of the Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (1784), discussed Japan. Herder's most illustrious student, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), also was interested in the Orient. His early writings contained references to Chinese art objects. He reviewed a poem concerning China in 1773 and about 1777 began his *Triumph of Sentimentality*, act two of which has a Chinese background. Goethe in 1781 read the standard *General History of China*, by the missionary, Father Du Halde, and that same year, according to some German scholars, started to write *Elpenor*, an unfinished tragedy, similar to one quoted by Du Halde, called *Orphan of the House of Tchao*. Goethe composed *The Chinaman in Rome* in 1796 which showed his impatience with the romantic attitude taken toward China.

As he grew older, Goethe realized the importance of China and "considered this valuable country," as he wrote a friend, "a place where I can flee in case of need caused by present-day circumstances." He read Western translations of Chinese literature and was absorbed for a time with Chinese plays, although he was convinced that Occidental higher education should be based upon Greek and Roman models.

With the chaos left by Napoleon before him, Goethe in 1813 saw China as the perfect example of stability. Some critics believed that the second part of *Faust*, where Wagner, the scientist and student of Faust, speaks

with Mephistopheles of "crystallized humanity," means China. Goethe was enthusiastic over China in 1827, expressing wonder over the "orderly, citizen-like" characteristics of the people. He was impressed by their "severe moderation," to him the key to China's enduring civilization. The same year, Goethe wrote *Poems of a Hundred Beautiful Women,* of which three related to Chinese women and their problems.

There were others in Germany in the eighteenth century who saw the value of China and Japan in world culture. Chief among these were Friedrich Rückert, the Grimm brothers, H. J. Klaproth, and Wilhelm von Humboldt.

THE INFLUENCE OF CHINA UPON ENGLISH LITERATURE

The first detailed description of China printed in the English language was a translation of the book of Father Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, *The Histoire of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China, and the Situation thereof; Together with the Great Riches, Huge Cities, Politike Gouernement, and Rare Inuentions in the Same* (1588). The first accurate references to Chinese culture were included in *The Arte of Poesie* (1589) in which George Puttenham discussed verse forms.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, authors began to show their knowledge of China. Francis Bacon has many accurate observations in his writings, including a description of porcelain manufacture. Sir Walter Raleigh in the *History of the World* (1614) has two judicious comments upon China, one pertaining to the invention of printing. Robert Burton, author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) leans heavily upon China for his examples. Sir Thomas Browne also shows his knowledge of China in *Hydriotaphia; Urne Burial* (1658) and *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1683).

The first English dramatic piece with China as the theme was the tragedy by Elkannah Settle, *The Conquest of China by the Tartars,* given at the Duke's Theatre in 1673 and 1674. Settle also wrote *The Fairy-Queen, an Opera,* in which a Chinese scene (Act 3) is found and an excellent description of a Chinese garden.

The first Englishman who visited China and also knew something about the language was Peter Mundy. Mundy accompanied Captain John Waddell to China in 1637. He thus summed up his impressions: "Chinese excellencies; This Countrie may bee said to Excell in these particulars; Antiquity, largenesse, Richenesse, healthynesse, Plentifulnesse. For Arts and manner of government I think noe kingdome in the world Comparable to it."

The admiration of the seventeenth century for China was carried over into the eighteenth century although the adoration now was less marked. Lord Shaftesbury scorned the fondness for travel books dealing with remote lands which relegated to the background the glories of Greece and

Rome. Samuel Johnson also opposed these books and refused to give the civilization of China a high rating. John Wesley attacked those who idealized China. He considered the Chinese below the Turks in honesty and as to comparisons with Christians, it was "a mere pious fraud." James Cawthorn, master of the Turnbridge School, wrote in 1756 a condemnation of the Chinese craze:

> "Of late, 'tis true, quite sick of Rome and Greece,
> We fetch our models from the wise Chinese;
> European artists are too cool and chaste,
> For Mand'rin only is the man of taste."

In spite of the criticism from men of letters, China was leaving a mark upon the English language.[2] Some devotees of the land and its people were suggesting that the war with France was a blessing in disguise because now the Grand Tour was no more an institution, and the youth of England could be sent to Peking instead of Paris to drink at the fountain head of knowledge. The author of this plan slyly recommended that the dullard, the plodder, the admirer of the classical, should travel to Rome, but the intelligent, the liberal, the catholic in taste, the rich, should tour the empire of China.

It was natural for writers to take a romantic outlook upon peoples of Asia when they depended for information upon travel books which emphasized manners and dress. The seventeenth century had its masques, operas, harlequinades, and heroic plays with unreal Chinese parts. Some satires also contained Chinese or Japanese characters and settings. The first time that a Chinese acted as critic is in the *Lettres Chinoises* (1741) by the Marquis d'Argens. At the height of the caprice appeared Horace Walpole's *A Letter from Xo Ho, a Chinese Philosopher at London, to his Friend Lien Chi at Peking* (1757). The masterpiece, however, of this type of literature is Oliver Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World; or, Letters from a Chinese Philosopher Residing in London to His Friends in the East* (1762).

Oliver Goldsmith was not the only writer on political subjects to look eastward for subject matter. Daniel Defoe used the popular idea of Chinese superiority in the satiric work, *The Consolidator, or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the Moon* (1705) in which he tells of a voyage to China where he found an "ancient, wise, polite, and most ingenious people" who furnished him with knowledge of the technical arts whereby he might enlighten "the monstrous ignorance and deficiencies of European science." Defoe also wrote in 1719, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,* in which he scoffed at many of the Chinese customs, manners, and achievements. Crusoe upon returning to England,

[2] Many were the words introduced. Among them were Chinese, chinaware, Japan, lacquer, chintz. One of the most important was tea, first mentioned in 1598, with its compound words, such as, teaspoon, tea table, tea stand, tea equipage, teadish, tea-saucer, tea party, and tearoom. Daniel Defoe was annoyed over this vain extravagance and senseless show for "improvement."

was displeased at the Chinese vogue. He had learned from travels in the land that the people were "a contemptible Herd or Crowd of ignorant sordid Slaves, subjected to a government qualified only to rule such a People."

The height of regard for China is seen in the works of Sir William Temple who, like Voltaire, had discovered perfection in the institutions of this model empire. Sir William was attracted especially by Confucius whom he described as "infinitely sublime, pure, sensible, and drawn from the purest Fountains of natural Reason."

The amount and quality of the literature dealing with the Orient did not injure the Classical school. It furnished fresh material and new viewpoints. It aided in the satirical field as an effective antidote to British complacency. It became, too, the basis for the serious attention given in the following century to Oriental literature and languages.

THE JAPANESE INFLUENCE UPON ENGLISH LITERATURE

Until the Perry expedition of 1853–1854, Japan hardly was known to the English. Then, an eagerness to learn about this distant land was marked as diplomats and merchants wrote of personal experiences and scholars gave their countrymen accurate studies of the Japanese.

The first account in English of Japan appeared in 1577 in *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies and other Countries,* edited by Richard Eden and Richard Wiles, a work based upon Jesuit sources. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth with the exception of travel books and descriptions of explorers, no noteworthy contributions to the knowledge of Japan are found.

An attention to things Japanese was mentioned by John Evelyn in 1645 when he wrote from Naples that he had seen such articles as tables with "Japonic characters," fans, paper, prints, drugs, manuscripts, and a grammar written in Spanish. In 1682 he describes an English home containing Japanese screens instead of wainscot and cabinets. John Dryden also evinced his recognition of the East by translating *The Life of St. Francis Xavier* (1688) from the French.

Daniel Defoe had talked with sailors about Japan. He referred to the country in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) where the hero was planning to travel to Japan but feared to entrust himself to these "false, cruel, and treacherous people." Defoe (vol. 3) had Crusoe change his attitude and consider bringing Christianity to the world by force, starting with Madagascar, Ceylon, Borneo, or Japan, a "most sensible, sagacious people, under excellent forms of government, and capable of more than ordinarily receiving impressions, supported by the argument and example of a virtuous and religious conqueror." The Christian missionaries, incidentally, were not to learn Japanese but the Japanese were to learn English. In *A New Voyage Round the World by a Course Never Sailed Before* (1724) Defoe

mentions the Japanese and the fashion for "Chinese or Japan gold and silver" as well as "Japan works, pictures, fans, screens."

Jonathan Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) included a strange tale called *A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbu, Luggnagg, Glubbdubdrib, and Japan,* indicating that the island was regarded as half fact and half fancy.

Oliver Goldsmith showed his familiarity with at least the name Japan. Letter CXVIII of *The Citizen of the World* is an account of the Dutch at court. Here is told of a mission to a "proud, barbarous, inhospitable region" where the inhabitants were savages and yet more pleasing than the hypocritical Dutch. Goldsmith saw only the dark side of Japanese society and wrote about "a country where men are forbidden to think, and consequently labour under the most miserable slavery,—that of mental servitude."

Tobias Smollett in *The History and Adventures of An Atom* (1769) presents a satirical picture of political life in which the "atom," once a Japanese, is deposited in the body of an Englishman. This book is filled with words and phrases of an Oriental flavor and is valuable for the concept of Japan held by many of the writers of the eighteenth century.

A more intelligent outlook on Japan came after the opening of the empire and the publication of the *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan, in 1857–9,* by Laurence Oliphant, novelist, and secretary of the British Legation in Japan who contributed many articles on the country to the journals of Great Britain.

John Ruskin was not unaware of the Orient. He wrote in 1867 concerning some Japanese jugglers and a dancer performing in London, criticizing the "increasing interest in Japanese art, which has been very harmful to many of our painters." In 1871, however, he lectured upon the principles of sculpture, praising some of the Japanese creations as "at once the simplest, and, in mere patient mechanism, the most skilful piece of sculpture I can possibly show you." Part of Ruskin's lack of appreciation of Japanese art was owing to his disapproval of some of Whistler's works inspired by Japanese color-prints.

Rudyard Kipling knew Japan through a visit made in 1889. He has left a first impression in *From Sea to Sea.* Kipling loved the beauty of the land, seen in cherry-blossom time, but could not believe that these little folk were powerful enough to carry on extensive political experiments. Kipling returned to Japan in 1891 and has left an appreciation of the spiritual qualities felt in *Letters of Travel* (1892–1913). One poem only contains direct reference to Japan, the *Buddha at Kamakura* (1892).

Sir Edwin Arnold in 1891 wrote *Japonica,* a study dealing with manners and customs. He wrote also prefaces to catalogues of Japanese pictures and letters to the *Daily Telegraph* on his journey to Japan. Arnold gave lectures on Japanese civilization and wrote a play with a Japanese theme, *Adzuma; or The Japanese Wife* (1892).

Alfred Noyes in *The Flower of Old Japan* (1903), and his *Collected Poems* (1947) showed an appreciation of Japan. Noyes was impressed by the land only in so far as names and general beauty were concerned.

Books dealing with all phases of Japanese life were in demand in England during the first years of the twentieth century. Nitobe's *Bushido* (1904); Okakura's *The Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (1903); *Awakening of Japan* (1905); *The Book of Tea* (1906); and *The Japanese Spirit* (1905), were read widely. George Meredith, the novelist, wrote an introduction for this last mentioned book in which he lauded the "bushido," "almost an English word, so greatly has it impressed us with the principle of renunciation on behalf of the country's welfare."

John Masefield wrote *The Faithful* (1913) a re-telling of the story of the 47 *rōnin*. The poet was more concerned with the plot than art forms, although he composed several verses in the Japanese style.

W. B. Yeats, unlike Masefield, was affected by forms. He published some essays in 1919, including *Certain Nō Plays of Japan*. His *Four Plays for Dancers* appeared in 1921, containing the *Nō* stage atmosphere.

H. G. Wells was interested especially in the code of the Japanese *samurai* and placed in his Utopia an order of intellectual warriors to rule an ideal state.

Three contemporary British poets lived in Japan. These were Edmund Blunden, Laurence Binyon and William Plomer. In *Poems, 1914–1930,* Blunden included several verses called *Japanese Garland,* written during the years he was professor of English Literature at Tokyo Imperial University. In *The Mind's Eye* (1934) he added some poems dealing with Japan and also commented upon Japanese art. William Plomer wrote *Captain Maru* in 1935, a reflection upon Japanese civilization and foreign policies as found in the thoughts of a Japanese sailor. Binyon's works are widely known and appreciated in England and the United States.

CHINA AND JAPAN IN THE LITERATURE OF AMERICA

Chinese and Japanese themes are not prominent in American poetry. Some poets have used Eastern Asiatic settings although in the early eighteenth century the romantic and the legendary appealed to them. This changed about 1750 to an interest in historical subjects. Most of the poems evinced sympathy for the Chinese and opposed the British opium policy, until the "Chinese problem" of California brought forth anti-Oriental sentiments. The list of Americans who have recognized the value of Chinese sources is not imposing, despite the inclusion of some famous names.[3]

[3] Here are found Ambrose Bierce; Eugene Field; Philip Morin Freneau, "poet of the American Revolution"; Francis Bret Harte; Oliver Wendell Holmes; Julia Ward Howe; and Charles Godfrey Leland, whose creations have Chinese suggestions. There are also Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Herman Melville, Joaquin Miller, James Whitcomb Riley, Francis Saltus, Richard Henry Stoddard, Walt Whitman, and John Greenleaf Whittier.

A poetical revival came to the surface in England in the first years of the twentieth century, initiated by the London Imagists. It was not long before this movement motivated American artists. Between 1912 and 1918, appeared the translations of L. Cranmer-Byng, Helen Waddell, and Arthur Waley. Amy Lowell and Florence Ayscough published *Fir-Flower Tablets* in 1921. Chinese imprints were found also in Witter Bynner, William Carlos Williams, Marjorie Allen Seiffert, Vachel Lindsay, Arthur Davison Ficke, Marianne Moore, Harriet Monroe, Wallace Stevens, and Eunice Tietjens. Japanese currents moved "H. D.," Adelaide Crapsey, and Ivor Winters. Poetry, more than any other vehicle, was bringing Oriental points of view to American readers.

THE FOODS OF CHINA

China was the source of some of the most valuable foods familiar to the West. Out of 640 cultivated kinds, about 500 came from Southern Asia or China itself. Early Chinese writers composed many monographs on fruits. One published in A.D. 1178, the *Chu Lu,* contained a discussion of 27 varieties and an exposition on packing and shipping technique which has interest for modern fruit growers.

The soybean has been used for more than 50 centuries. Known as *shu* or pulse, now named *ta tou* ("big bean"), it was brought to France about 1740. Benjamin Franklin sent some of these seeds back to the United States and urged that they be grown but his suggestions were not followed. Recently the soybean has been cultivated for commercial purposes in Oklahoma and Illinois.[4]

THE CULTURES OF EASTERN ASIA IN HISTORY

It has been seen that the eighteenth century idealized ancient China, viewing the Middle Kingdom as a civilization of limitless wisdom, boundless humanitarianism, and countless nuances of manners. These visions have not been buried by the tumults of two world wars. They may be revived by dreamers of splendid dreams, by the followers of men such as Eugene Simon, G. Lowes Dickinson, Edward Carpenter, and Alexander Ular. Amid the clattering of machines and the shadow of the atomic bomb and the display of man's inhumanity toward man, some may discover rest in Confucius and Lao Tzŭ. Confucius searched for the reasonable man and the gentle man, trained in service to the state. Lao Tzŭ saw society as hypocritical, killing the natural virtues of the tormented individual, to be strengthened only by the destruction of the outworn symbols of life.

Many hope that man may weary of the bloody road toward empire and seek comfort with those in the fraternity of world brothers, living in harmony with their fellow men.

[4] Investigation of horticultural immigrants also is fascinating. The rose, for example, is a valuable study. The oldest records of roses are found in Chinese art in 1900 B.C.

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This reading list is not intended for the use of the expert. It has been compiled in order to aid the reader who is beginning to study the history of Eastern Asia and related subjects. Comments are given only for Chapters 37, 38, 39, and 40.

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